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LA HISTORIA COMO FICCIÓN –
LA CRÓNICA DE DON PERO NIÑO

Tesis Doctoral

HISTORY AS FICTION – THE CHRONICLE OF DON PERO NIÑO

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PREFACE

PREFACE

Schema

The overall outline of this study is designed, using several varied approaches, in such a way as to tease out the answers to many questions about *El Victorial* which are in the air. First an explanation as to why I became interested in seeking the answers to these enigmas is given, next, a modified structuralist methodology is employed to delineate the facets used to separate the elements needed to continue the study. Then, with the elements re-grouped into varying structuralis themes and units, research into the many facets most problematic for modern readers today is achieved through a series of formulae and graphs based on these themes and units to help the reader understand why *El Victorial* is one of the most complex of medieval chivalric narratives.

By looking separately at the techniques used by the author, in Chapter One: “Falsification and Transformation of History”, the varying techniques used by the author to choose only certain episodes in the life of the count of Buelna and silence others while adding more fictive descriptions to the chronology are explained. The resulting difference between those elements for what is found in legal writs and what is not, and how the author of *El Victorial* describes the historical chronology is discussed in Chapter Two: “Literary history as Chivalric Fiction in *El Victorial*”.

By using the same technique to separate elements in other chivalric narratives, in Chapter Three: “Historical Development of Chivalric Peninsular Narrative in *El Victorial*”, the elements found in the life of the count of Buelna, as told, is compared with other chivalric medieval narratives. As many elements gathered reflected traditional chivalric doctrine, these are scrutinized separately in Chapter Four: “Chivalric Doctrine in *El Victorial*”. Likewise, many other elements deal specifically

with chivalric models, rites and the symbolism involved in those customs, so Chapter V:” Models Rites and Symbolism” which delves into what amount of the chivalric narrative in *El Victorial* follows the legendary symbolism of the time.

A methodology which is linked to structuralist applications is that of narratology. A technique derived from narratological studies to observe the functions behind the sparse dialogue in this chivalric narrative was adapted to *El Victorial* and necessitated the organization of the Flowchart and various graphs in Chapter Six: Author Type/Reader Response in *El Victorial*”. In Chapter Six, the different ‘voices’, or narrators are described and the possible reactions of the readers to those narrators, as well. The resulting observations concerning the differing reactions of historians and literary critics required the organisation of a chronological, *not* alphabetical list of literary criticism, included in Chapter Six, but also commented upon and the reason for Chapter Seven: “Themes Related to Classification of *El Victorial*”. The chronological listing answered many enquiries as to the how and why various opinions on categorisation have been formed. To accompany the research, in the same Chapter Seven, *El Victorial* is compared to other chivalric narratives falling within the major categories resulting from the classification findings.

The conclusions to the previous Chapter on Classification and the findings on the types of classifications applied to *El Victorial* through the ages are discussed in Chapter Eight: “Classification Conclusions”. This part of the study is an attempt to explain the process literary criticism has followed and the reasons for the wide variety of categories amassed for *El Victorial*. Chapter Nine: “Conclusions”, in the first section, recapitulates the process and results of the methodology applied in each chapter. In the second section, *how* the four objectives proposed in this study have been met and *what*

these points represent to the field of research concerning *El Victorial* and the declared author, Gutierre Díez de Games are discussed.

Justification

Over the years, while reading for my course work in Hispanic Studies, two key themes kept coming to my attention. The first theme concerns the structures found in the “proto-novella”, referring to all of the varying genres of prose in co-existence during the Middle Ages up through the narrative consecrated by Cervantes. The second theme is three-fold. The first part follows another angle of research I have developed which is to notice the definitions of “fiction” and of “history” as seen by the authors of these same genres during the Middle Ages, the second part is to trace how literary critics have perceived the concepts of “history” and “fiction” as applied to the co-existing narrative, and, the third part is to discover how the references to history and fiction have changed over the centuries. Both history and fiction are involved in the chronicles at the time, but each chronicle is unique. As *El Victorial*, is among the most complex, I decided to concentrate on Games’ chef-d’oeuvre.

During my initial reading of *El Victorial, Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, by Gutierre Díez de Games, (hereafter referred to as *El V*),ⁱ working through the rich narrative of Pero Niño’s adventures piqued my curiosity and challenged me to dedicate my time, energy and study of the many patterns and obscure references in depth. For each of the countless times I re-read *El V*, I found yet another layer of meaning with new aspects to investigate and explain. It is not surprising that *El V* has been declared a work which “dispone una de las estructuras más complejas que puede hallarse en una crónica particular”.ⁱⁱ

Concerning medieval narrative in general, the medieval author purposely incorporated allegorical images and historical allusions into the structure of instructional Christian narrative, often making the narrative a complicated puzzle to decipher, and Gutierre Díez de Games (hereafter referred to as Games only) is not an exception; consequently the text can be read on many levels. *El V*, as the tale about the count of Buelna, has one of many readership levels written into the narrative in parallel to that of a story to be read aloud and heard several times. There are complex images and allusions within an intricate plot all of which would offer something new to the reader.

Objectives

Upon reading *El V*, I was aware a modern reader would not have the same keys available as a medieval lector to comprehend the hidden meaning. Consequently, the *first objective* is to make more sense of the material employed in writing about the highlights of Pero Niño's life. It was interesting for me to see how Games used techniques associated with "fiction" to describe "history". The *second objective* then, is to examine these techniques to illuminate how Games conceived and pursued his task as a historian.

In the title, Games declares himself the standard bearer of Pero Niño, the conde de Buelna. The peculiarity of the narrative in *El V* led me to speculate about the declared role of the author, Games, and the real purpose of his writing. How much of the text is truly "historical", that is, actually witnessed by Games, (as the supposed historical reporter), the standard bearer, on one hand and, on the other, how much has the author, (as the fictive narrator), added to the historical background in order to create the image of Pero Niño? The clarification of this dilemma is crucial in order to grasp

the meaning of this work and the intention of the author. My *third objective* is centred on why we are inclined to think whether the author and narrative is historical or fictive.

Very little is known about the author, Games, other than that he was possibly a scribe in the court as discussed by Rafael Beltrán.ⁱⁱⁱ The discourse and the adventures Games describes as a standard-bearer, which he supposedly was an eyewitness to, leads to the *fourth objective*, which is to analyse the results of the investigation to search for clues in order to reveal more information about Games, the standard-bearer, or another author, also named Games.

Methodology

The interpretation of a text as complex as that of *El V* is difficult for a modern twenty-first century reader far removed from the rhetorical and doctrinal influence, which was prevalent in the fifteenth century. As those elements were carefully woven into the medieval texts by the author for an erudite reading public, they would not be evident upon a first reading. A separation of these underlying structures would suppose a clarification of the allegorical and chivalric interpretations of the deeper meaning in *El V*, as presented historically so that modern readers can enjoy its rich narrative, as did the elite medieval audience for whom the author wrote: other courtly members, family, or lawmakers.

Clearly there is much more beneath the surface of the narrative. To properly begin our quest into the different layers of meaning, we need to identify the key elements and patterns of the text. A modified thematic approach, stemming from studies on structuralism, seemed to be particularly useful for the purpose of ferreting out the fictive elements from the narrative and the leitmotif and folklore. These fictive and historical elements and related narrative from all the co-existing genres of the epoch

would then have to be separated from the historiographical context of *El V* and reassessed in the light of the evolution of the chivalric narrative from the twelfth century on. Once these elements were isolated and the resulting patterns analysed, then it would be easier to re-associate the meaning behind the narrative with the deeds of the count of Buelna.

Bibliographical Influences

The following works were critical in order to study the various patterns and unravel the obscure threads behind the chivalric tapestry woven by the author of *El V* as presented by Mata Carriazo (1940).^{iv} Antonio Gimenez Cruz, who first suggested working on chronicles, provided me with not only the Mata Carriazo 1940 edition of *El V*, but also lent me invaluable biographical resources as well as very helpful advice on the topic.

Among the more recent studies, which stimulated my own line of thought, were Cristina González's work on the thirteenth - century chronicle *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*^v and Fernando Curto Herrero's thoughts in *Estructura de los libros de caballería*^{vi} on books of chivalry up to the sixteenth century.^{vii} The former helped me to devise a methodology for examining *El V*, and the latter helped establish boundaries for at least one of the complex structural patterns of *El V*: the order of the presentation of the different sections in a hero's life as elaborated by Games.

Basic reading for the historical background to novels as developed over time by Carlos García Gual in *Los Origenes de la Novel*^{viii} was essential. So too, were the discussions on the differences in genres in his *Primeras Novela Europeas*^{ix} and the *Historia Novela y Tragedia*.^x For the clarification between fiction and books of chivalry, the edition of *El Amadís y el género de la Historia Fingida* by James

Fogelquist^{xi} was key in focussing on specific characteristics as was *Historia y Crítica de la Literatura Española. Edad Media: Primer suplemento* by Alan Deyermond.^{xii}

The thesis, *Un Estudio Sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la realidad histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de “El Victorial”* by Rafael Beltrán was helpful in the localisation and organisation of material. In *La Prosa y el Teatro en la Edad Media*, Carlos Alvar, Angel Gómez Moreno, Fernando Gómez Redondo (1991) discuss the many elements in *El V* intended to exalt the figure of Pero Niño, and are glossed and that *El V* is affirmed as:

[...] uno de los empeños más acabados de fundir varias de las posibilidades genéricas que fluctúan a lo largo del siglo XV: historiografía alfonsí como estructura general, que ordena materiales tan diversos como poemas de clerecía, libros de viajes, sentimentales y caballerescos.^{xiii}

The organization of the materials in *La Prosa y el Teatro en la Edad Media* as well as Gómez Redondo's more recent three volumes, *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana*^{xiv} helped me to limit my choice of theme. José Maria Viña Liste, in *Textos Medievales de Caballerías*^{xv} as well as Carmelo Gariano in *El Enfoque estilístico y structural de las obras medievales*,^{xvi} mentions these same materials and the many more found in *El V*, as being germane to the Iberian Peninsula chivalric narrative. Indeed, the study by Viña Liste is based on the hypothesis that a more peninsular narrative should be considered chivalric.^{xvii}

The most recent triennial editions of *The Medieval Chronicles* (I-IX) edited by Erik Kooper^{xviii} have been insurmountable in elucidating the confines of international chronicles and the relationship of *El V* to this genre outside of Spain and to delve into the meaning behind the structures.

NOTES TO PREFACE

ⁱ Mata Carriazo, Juan de. *El Victorial, Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna* por su alférez Gutierre Díez de Games. Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1940.

ⁱⁱ Fernando Gómez Redondo. *La Prosa y el Teatro en la Edad Media*, Historia crítica, 3. Madrid, Taurus, 1991, 76.

ⁱⁱⁱ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. “Gutierre Díaz, escribano de cámara del rey, ¿autor de *El Victorial*?” *La Corónica* 18. 1980-90, 62-84.

^{iv} All of the quotes in Spanish from *El Victorial* in this study belonging to the edition and study by Juan de Mata Carriazo, *El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, por su alférez Gutierre Díez de Games. Colección de Crónicas Españolas, I. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1940.

^v Gonzalez, Cristina. *La Tercera crónica de Alfonso X: “La Gran Conquista de Ultramar”*. Londres, Tamesis, 1992.

^{vi} Curto Herrero, Federico Francisco. *Estructura de los libros de caballería*. Madrid, Ibérica, 1976.

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^{viii} García Gual, Carlos. *Los orígenes de la novela*. Madrid, Ediciones Istmo, 1988.

^{ix} García Gual, Carlos. *Primeras Novelas europeas*. Madrid, Istmo, 1990.

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^{xii} Deyermond, Alan, *Edad Media in Historia y Crítica de la Literatura Española*. Rico, Francisco (ed.) I/1 Edad Media, Primer Suplemento. Barcelona, Critica, 1980.

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^{xiv} Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana*; Vol. I ‘*La Creación del Discurso Prosístico: El Entremado Cortesano*’. Madrid: Catedra 1998; Vol. II, ‘*El Desarrollo de los Géneros La Ficción Caballeresca y el Orden Religioso*’. Madrid, Catedra, 1999.

^{xv} Viña Liste, Jose M^a. *Textos Medievales de Caballerías*. Madrid, Cátedra, 1993.

^{xvi} Gariano, Carmelo. *El enfoque estilístico y estructural de las obras medievales*. Madrid, Alcalá, 1968.

^{xvii} Viña Liste, José M^a. (1993), Op, cit.

^{xviii} Kooper, Eric, (ed.) *The Medieval Chronicles*. Vols. I-IX, Le Hague, Brepols, (1996 – 2015).

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

The following chapters will provide basic clues needed to help unravel some of the complex patterns behind the adventures of Pero Niño as told by Games. Without an understanding of the structural layout, the perception of the narrative within *El V* would be more obscure.

The first chapter gives examples of how readily available historical data has been modified for political, economic, or other reasons in chivalric narrative written at the time of the Christian-Moslem conflict. Then a series of techniques used by Games in the elaboration of *El V* is discussed as are those elements in common with other tales of knights of chivalry. Much of this chivalric material related to the texts found in *El V* is also used as a source in the re-elaboration of other historiographical narrative, including books of chivalry in the fifteenth century. Some comparisons with *El V* are made.

Then, in the second chapter, examples of varying interpretations of passages from *El V* illustrate the fusion of two literary, chivalric genres; namely the historiographical narrative and the books of chivalry as lived by knights-errant like Pero Niño in imitation of chivalric values.

The third chapter reviews the development of common medieval historiographical narrative, which influenced Iberian narrative. In this chapter, the varying concepts that precede *El V* are presented chronologically. This presentation lays the foundation for an examination of the roots of the Iberian Peninsula chivalric narrative shared by chronicles and books of chivalry as reflected, in particular, in the structure themes and leitmotif of *El V*.

The next three chapters review the development of some general chivalric material from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and the connection of this material

to *El V*. Each of these three chapters traces the development of a selected theme. This overview highlights the doctrinal and social themes underlying the chivalric narrative in *El V* to help clarify its place in chivalric writing.

The fourth chapter focuses on a rhetorical analysis of the Christian doctrine as was applied to the behaviour and values of knighthood. In *El V*, various stylistic approaches are used to illustrate the literary patterns of the time, which were used didactically to show opposing vices and virtues at play in the text. Examples are given of each approach to show how to look for these patterns.

In the fifth chapter, the development of the rituals created around knighthood and chivalric tradition as reflected by Games in *El V* is reviewed. The discussion of rituals outlines the obligatory passage of arms, chivalric models, symbolism and rites used by Games to underline the patterns of vices and virtues supporting the leitmotifs and the main theme purposefully created by authors of the era in the differing narratives.

The sixth chapter traces some references to narratology within *El V*. First, the different types of authors are discussed, then; secondly, the response of the reader according to the author type is detailed. The specific dialogue as spoken by Pero Niño is also analysed in the context of a series of functions as designed by Games.

The seventh chapter deals with the problems editors and critics have when attempting to classify the narrative material in *El V*. Following some thoughts on genre characteristics, *El V* is compared to other narratives traditionally considered books of chivalry which have structures in common with the model drawn up by Games.

Having set the stage for the reader of this study by analysing the text in *El V* as chivalric literature in the previous chapters, in the eighth chapter, I will examine the varying editor and literary critics' conceptions of *El V* as a mixed narrative of history

and fiction in a historiographical context through the ages. A chronology of classifications is presented in which the different opinions of editors and literary critics are discussed in an attempt to discover how the societal changes in cultural taste influenced the categorisation of *El V*. In view of the previous observations, the terms “chronicle”, “history” and chivalric prose or books of chivalry are related to the chivalric narrative of *El V*.

The conclusions in chapter nine are divided into two parts. In the first part, the results of the previous eight chapters reviews how the narrative in *El V* can represent multiple functions by way of the “novelesque” techniques adapted by Games. In the second part, the conclusions of these chapters are applied to the main objectives of this study: *objective one*: the organisation of apparently disconnected fictive and historical material to clarify the author’s fictive and historical role in *El V*; *objective two*: to assess the place *El V* reserves within the fictive chivalric tradition as presented by Games; *objective three*: to make the complex narrative of fictive and historical chivalric references as accessible for the modern reader’s enjoyment and the edification as it must have been for its original audience; and *objective four*: to analyse the results for further clues as to whom Games really is.

TERMINOLOGY



¡Error! Sólo el documento principal.**DEFINITION OF TERMINOLOGY**

Starting with its eighteenth century edition, *El V* has commonly been described as a chronicle. The careful scrutiny of its chivalric elements suggests that the word "chronicle" might not be the most appropriate term for *El V*, after all. In this paper, "chronicle" refers to the royal chronicles, unless otherwise specified.

As a consequence, and in order to eliminate superfluous terms, the terminology used herein has been simplified to avoid any concrete associations with literary criticism. Simplification is a necessary step so that the points made in these chapters can hopefully be contemplated without any previously conceived ideas that might impede the development of the new focus intended in this paper.

The word "narrative" in this study refers to text relating to events: whether these events are historically verifiable or have been created or modified by the author. In general, with reference to the texts of chivalric theme, the term "chivalric narrative" is broken down into two distinct classes: narratives which include fantastic elements, such as dragons, and those which do not. In this paper, narratives which include fantastic elements are referred to as "books of chivalry", and those which do not are referred to as "novels of chivalry". When both books and novels of chivalry are referred to as a genre within chivalric narrative, the umbrella-like term "chivalric narrative" is used.

The word "roman", or "romance historiography", which is usually associated with chivalric narrative and used by many literary critics, has been limited in this study to quotations from specific authors who use this term in their literary criticism. "Roman" has been related to "novel" for the literal translation from German and the use of romance historiography. Much of the use of novel is a result of modern literary criticism. Likewise, there really has not been a critical consensus in the dating of the

terms "novel" and "novelesque" as applied to the modern concept of the novel within Iberian literature. For this reason, regarding *El V*, the term "novelesque" might be considered anachronistic. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, "novelesque" refers to a narrative technique and a useful term for referring to 1) the imitation of chivalric canons (traditional standards) in *El V* and 2) the modifications of historical events used by the author to create the hero's image.

The term "historical material" refers to narrative gleaned from records, wills, royal annals, diplomatic documents and royal chronicles and documents which are considered reliable documents and the resource material drawn upon by the author. Within a historiographic context, "truth" refers to factual truth and "untruth" in a historical context refers to fiction as a faithful representation, referring to a convincing imitation. The words, "history" or "asunto" today are also used when referring to "matter", usually legal, or from a veritable truth. When "history" is applied to general chivalric narrative, it does not necessarily refer to the whole truth but to "a truth".

Beyond elements of narrative technique, the terms "fictive", and "fictitious", are used to refer to fantastic or fictionalised historical elements, common in both books and novels of chivalry. "Fiction", then, has generally been considered to be the narration of fantastic situations, falsehoods or untruths inasmuch as they are accepted as invented.

The terms "structure" and "substructure" are used in a general sense throughout this dissertation and refer to the patterns, leitmotifs and formulas that coincide with the medieval traditional canons of literature at that time. These words do not refer in any way to a specific methodology derived from recent structuralism, or deconstruction theories. Didactic narrative or "didactic prose" as mentioned in this dissertation, refers to the non-historical prose that includes religious or fictitious elements.

The term “falsification” refers to changing the narrative in such a way that the end product is no longer representative of the original document, meaning it is an outright invention. Within the chapters dedicated to the varying forms of falsification, the word “transformation” refers to the process in which elements are introduced, are left out of the original historical sources or are alluded to in different ways to create an effect that is different from the intended effect by the first author who drew up the initial document. The term “modification” is the way in which the original narrative has been affected the least by Games, in as far as the intent of the original author of the borrowed material.

The term “hero-worship literature” refers to the host of legendary narrative which was written in the advent of the Christian–Moslem conflict. This includes the ongoing religious and economical battles fought for eight centuries. “Epic legends”, like *El Cid*, come under the general concept of hero-worship literature which can be stretched, as seen in this study, to the fantastic forms of books of chivalry. The word “canon” refers to the chivalric conventions which were conceived of as traditional and standard. These conventions often appear to be requisites for books and novels of chivalric content based on hero-worship (Amadís, Arthurian literature).

The word “chapter” refers to the chapters as presented by the author and “heading” refers to the glossary added to the chapter number used by the author to highlight the information within the chapters. “Episode”, then, refers to a part of a chapter which constitutes a complete anecdote which might or might not comprise a complete chapter. “Relato” is comparable to ‘episode’ but usually is equalled to ‘fable’ referring to an invented anecdote.

As we really do not know who wrote *El V*, for sure, various types of narrator, leading to various author types, are detailed in Chapter Six of this study: “Author Type /

Reader Response in *El Victorial*". "Possible author" is used when it is important to refer to the fact that we really do not know who the author is. "Scrivener" refers to one Gutierre de Games whom Rafael Beltrán has found references to in legal writs as the probable author. "Original author" refers to the person who collected data and quoted sources which is the basic background material: the bulk of the text we see today. With reference to the narrative technique of using a self-declared, eye-witness, in *El V*, the Standard-bearer, Games, the term "Omniscient Narrator", is used. Frequently, the eye-witness narrator refers to the legends or legal information within the chivalric narrative which a possible scrivener had previously copied from legal text and the elaboration of the text proper.

The initials *El V* stand for the text *El Victorial* and all citations are taken from the 1949 edition by Mata Carriazo as this particular edition maintains the peculiarities necessary for this study. This is not in deference to the excellent editions glossed by Rafael Beltrán which are mandatory for any consultation.

All references to Gutierre de Games will be "Díez de Games" for ease of comprehension except for the article by Rafael Beltrán, "Gutierre Díaz, escribano de cámara del rey, ¿autor de *El Victorial*?", en *la Corónica* 18:1, 1989-90, pp. 62-84.

ABBREVIATIONS



ABBREVIATIONS

A (I) AHLM	Actas del Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval
A (II) AHLM	Actas del Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval
A (V) AHLM	Actas del Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval
A (XIX) CFR	Actas del XIX Congreso de Filología Románica
AEM	<i>Anuario de Estudios Medievales</i>
AM	<i>Anuario Medieval</i>
<i>Amadís</i>	Avalle Arce, Juan B. <i>Amadis de Gaula</i> , 2 vol. Madrid: Austral, 1992.
AML	<i>Annuaire de Morbihan pour L'anne</i>
ARL	<i>Anejos de la Revista de Literatura</i>
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
BASJ	<i>Bulletin Annuel de la Societé Jersais</i>
BBMP	<i>Boletín de la Biblioteca Menendez Pelayo</i>
BDELC	Breve Diccionario Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana
BF	<i>Boletín de Filología</i>
BH	<i>Bulletin Hispanique</i>
BRAE	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia Española</i>
BRAH	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i>
CE	Cabinet Encyclopedia
CH	<i>Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos</i>
CHE	<i>Cuadernos de Historia de España</i>
CL	<i>Cuadernos de Literatura</i>
<i>Corónica</i>	<i>La Corónica</i>
CRM	<i>Cajiers de Recherches Medievales</i>
CSIC	<i>Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas</i>
DILE	Diccionario Ideológico de la Lengua Española
DCELC	Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana
DRAE	Diccionario de la Real Academia Española
<i>EL V</i>	Díez de Games, Gutierre. <i>El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño. Conde de Buelna</i> . Edición de Juan Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940.
FCE	<i>Fondo de Cultura Económica</i>
GN	<i>Glosario Nautique</i>
H	<i>Hispania</i>
HM	<i>Historia Medieval</i>
HR	<i>Hispanic Review</i>
HSMS	<i>Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies</i>
JCL	<i>Junta de Castilla y León</i>
JIS	<i>Journal of Iberian Studies</i>
MCV	<i>Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez</i>
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
MPH	<i>Modern Philology</i>
NPh	<i>Neophilologus</i>
PMS	<i>Poema del Mio Cid</i> .
PMLA	<i>Publication of the Modern Language Association</i>
PPU	<i>Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias</i>

PUC	<i>Publicaciones de la Universidad Complutense</i>
RAE	<i>Real Academia Española</i>
RB	<i>Revue Britannique</i>
REH	<i>Revista Española de Historia</i>
REP	<i>Revista de Estudios Políticos</i>
RFE	<i>Revista de Filología Española</i>
RHC	<i>Revista de Historia de la Cultura</i>
RL	<i>Romanische Literaturstudien</i>
RLL	<i>Romance Languages and Literature</i>
RLM	<i>Revista de Literatura Modernas</i>
RO	<i>Romanía</i>
RPh	<i>Romance Philology</i>
RQ	<i>Revista del Quijote</i>
SC	<i>Summa Cervantina</i>
SELGYC	<i>Sociedad Española de la Literatura General y Comparada</i>
SPh	<i>Serta Philológica</i>
SRL	<i>Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>Tirant</i>	<i>Tirant lo Blanch</i>
TMC	<i>The Medieval Chronicle</i>
UAM	<i>Universidad Autónoma de Madrid</i>
UCM	<i>Universidad Complutense de Madrid</i>
UNCSRL	<i>University of North Carolina Press</i>
UNED	<i>Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia</i>
Zifar	<i>El libro del caballero Zifar</i>

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CHAPTER ONE: FALSIFICATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORY

CHAPTER ONE

FALSIFICATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORY

Falsification of historical documents

What is perceived during a first reading of a supposedly "historical" narrative and what is gleaned from that first reading may not in fact be anything other but the illusion the author has created of a transformed historical reality. The historical illusion may be so convincing as a literary representation of the historical moment that it persuades the reader that there is indeed historical truth behind the narration. Despite the reader's interpretation, at times, the writing itself reflects the author's intention to present fiction as history.

Manuscript 17648 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Spain *El Victorial*, penned by Gutierre Díez de Games in the second half of the fifteenth century and published in the seventeenth century under the title of *Crónica de Pero Niño*, has long since been considered an "historical narrative" of the services rendered by Pero Niño, the Count of Buelna, under the Trastámara Kings in Spain as perceived by the supposed author. As these historical events coincide with a gap in the official royal chronicles at the time, *El V* has been seen as an intended appendix to those "royal Spanish chronicles." Indeed, the literary presentation of the deeds of Don Pero Niño, the Count of Buelna "*La Crónica de Pero Niño*" as presented by Gutierre Díez de Games rings of the historical reality of the count and other knights as documented at the time in legal writs and chronicles.

Recently, however, the veracity of those same official royal documents has been questioned and, in many cases, as will be discussed herein, have been proven to be an

historical illusion. Whereas the 1792 edition of *Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna por Gutierre Díez de Games, su Alférez*, by don Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola has consecrated the literary tradition of chronicles in titles and author identification published since then, we still do not have any definitive information about the author or even the family background of Don Pero Niño. While it is considered a historical narrative, the question should be asked whether, upon a first reading of *El V*, the reader perceives an historical truth or the attempt to present fiction as history?

Several examples of stretching the truth to create a historical illusion, even deliberate falsification of historical documents as having had a direct influence on the Iberian peninsula chivalric narrative, like *El V*, goes back to the Greek and Roman texts,¹ and chronologically move up through Christian literature, basically from the Apocrypha to the Arthurian references, and in the other medieval chivalric narratives which were written in service of the Christian-Moslem conflict through the last eight centuries.

As a starting point in this analysis on the historical material used in historiographic and fictitious narrative, Aristotle's *Poetics*² discussed how to emulate historic writing from artistic creation, formed a basis of the conceptual division of widely read history and was used by authors for artistic creation for many centuries to come.³ Ludwig Lemcke discusses the application of Aristotelian poetics by Games as a basis of history, as well as the pseudo-historical character of *El V*, which is also common to peninsular chivalric narrative. Lemcke saw the key to Games' didactic intention as the word "*provecho*" which is taken from the Aristotelian principle of letting the reader fall into a state in which the reader reads a supposedly truthful story about the hero: the *provecho*, in the case of *El V*, is Pero Niño.⁴

What is important to understand when working with medieval chivalric narrative, and

its concept of history and fiction, is that there has always been a routine transformation of the historical reality. This tradition, for the creation of historical truth in the mind of any reader began long before *El V* was written. However, the correct way of presenting historical truth was of constant dispute.

On one hand, Lucian, a historian from Ancient Rome, in his *Historias Verdaderas*, denounced other historians for describing places they never visited in travel books, or even depicting "fantastic" animals never seen in the environments described. Lucian⁵ included Homer and Herodotus among the historians guilty of creating false historical truths. On the other hand, Lucian himself considered it the norm to deliberately alter texts and documents in order to prove something, usually, a historical concept or moral value.

These altered texts, namely, of place descriptions, later became commonplace in medieval prose and in *El V*. Also common to Iberian chivalric narrative is the depiction of "fantastic" animals. The obliged references on fantastic animals by Games in *El V* are the vacares: 'E aún agora ay en Angliaterra unas aves que llaman vacares, que nazen de los arvoles' (280/4-6); and the "pexe rey": 'Otrosí diz que es allí una natura de un pexe que llaman pexe rey, el qual nunca es fallado en ninguna otra parte sinó allí' (281/13-15); and the *elba marina*:

Durante aquel rey Millor Perio conteció que salió de la mar una serpiente muy fiera e grande e mucho espantable. Abía el querpo fechura de peseado, e la boca e pico como aguila e piernas e uñas como león e alas como abe. E llámanla elba marina. (282/16-19)

However, in deference to the marvellous descriptions in Roman texts, a Christianised explanation given by Games of the *elba* is:

Esta serpiente nasció por nuestro destruimiento. Benimos perseguidos de muerte e de fanbre, e fallamos esta tierra, e poblamos en ella, desterrados de

la nuestra, porque en ella pudiésemos escapar. No nos guerrean gentes, e una sola animalía nos quiere todo estruyr. (642/646-650)

Another interesting observation is the later borrowing of Greek and Roman text by medieval Christian chroniclers. As well, the chroniclers' who not only read diplomatic collections, wills, chronicles and other documents of legal status to recreate historical narrative, also wrote imaginative texts to accompany it. These creative authors were admonished by other historians for having adorned their work deliberately to make it more interesting.⁶ One example of this practice is the Jesuit Jean Hardouin (1646-1729), who was cited later in Spanish chronicles. In his edition of Pliny's Natural History, Hardouin pardons only (1) the texts of the Greek writers Homer and Herodotus, already condemned by Lucian, (2) Roman writers, (3) Cicero, (4) Horace (*Satires* only) and (5) Virgil (*Georgics* only) from the modifications of Greek and Roman texts routinely carried out by some Benedictine monks⁷ in the thirteenth century. The real number of texts changed to suit the purpose of the author at that time is unknown and difficult to estimate. What is clear, though, is that many of these falsified or created texts make up much of the body of medieval chivalric narrative, like *El V*.

Historians and literary critics in the fifteenth century also criticised the modification of historical data and expounded their point of view. Unfortunately, in spite of this, few documents appear to have been saved from this falsification process, even those taken from the Church. One priest particularly notorious for false inscriptions was Fray Antonio de Guevara.⁸ Fray Antonio de Guevara is known as a possible initiator in the use of euphemisms and for his overuse of them in reference to Greek and Roman heroes'. Guevara was also famous for inventing so many euphemisms that the book *Libro Aúreo del Emperador Marco Aurelio* and the passage on Caesar crossing the Rubicon are routinely signalled for their

dubious representations of the facts.

This overuse of euphemisms points to a continuity in a tradition of literary invention and creativity to propagate a legend, rather than a preoccupation to preserve facts and historical authenticity. In Iberian chivalric narrative, the Greek heroes are used as common examples of famous warriors of antiquity to serve as models for the knights' errant from the Middle Ages. These ancient heroes are frequently cited in chivalric narrative - Alexander the Great being the most outstanding. Over the years, literary critics have shown that many other portions of *El V* were literally taken from *El Libro de Alexandre*, beyond the obvious section of the poem that was included in the first part. Equally interesting, Beltrán has shown large numbers of borrowed historical characters in *El V* to play significant roles.⁹

Not only do many texts of the Greek and Roman historical narrative come under the suspicion of being falsified or modified, but also the medieval chronicles, chivalric and hagiographic texts used as models in chivalric narrative. As for other sources, particularly those texts used as moral-didactic examples in the elaboration of medieval books and novels of chivalry and those examples originating in early Christian texts also come under suspicion. Critics such as Juan Bautista Pérez in the sixteenth century openly harangued against much of the adulterated Christian narrative handed down over the centuries. One well-known example is the "*Apocrypha*", which related to early Christianity and was condemned as heretical by the Catholic Church, particularly during the Spanish Inquisition.

Many of the images of knighthood come from Christian literature, in particular the *Apocrypha*, as unlikely as it may seem. The image of Saint George and the dragon, to name one obvious example, is frequently repeated, as is that of Saint James who has become a legendary figure in Spain named Santiago.

In *El V*, Santiago is first evoked by Pero Niño's master teacher, *el ayo*, as a model for knights:

Toma exemplo de Santiago el cavallero, que fué taxado todo por miembros desde los dedos de las manos e de los pies, todos uno a uno, hasta los otros miembros e coyunturas, quantas en él ovo: nunca le podieron fazer negar a Jesucristo; antes estuvo firme, como buen cavallero. Esta es buena caballería triunfante; allí se gana la corona aureola que Dios promete a los vencedores. (66/78-83)

Later in the chronicle, Pero Niño evokes Santiago in battle: 'Llamad todos a Santiago, que es nuestro patrón de España, que él nos ayudará' (267/24-25). Santiago, a key iconographic reference in Iberian chivalric narrative about the Christian-Moslem conflict, reportedly appeared to knights on the battlefield and led the knights on to victory. This Christian military image is echoed in the battle cry of knights in land battles in *El V*: 'El capitán muy bien armado, desde ovo requerido toda su gente, comenzó a altas voces a llamar: ¡Santiago; Santiago!' (210/119-121)

Another Apocryphal image from the Bible, later repressed by the Inquisition, is the symbol of the Palm of Victory, and directly related to the title of *El V*, which comes from the story of Christ in the Evangel, the Pseudo Mateo.

References to hagiographic texts, also considered apocryphal, are numerous in chivalric narrative. Many literary critics have established correlations between the hagiographic texts and books of chivalry.¹⁰ Also, it has been pointed out that the hagiographic and "*piadosa*"¹¹ legends and oral traditions used in medieval¹² narrative are those which are modified the most.¹³ The San Eustace legend is most common and is also found in *El V*.

Other sources evident in chivalric narrative are the references to the Round Table. The legendary Celtic hero, King Arthur, is discussed by Lord Raglan in *The Hero*, as being of

dubious authenticity:

The view of Dr. C. B. Lewis, that Arthur is a combination of Atreus, Thyestes, and other heroes, and that the whole Arthurian cycle was derived originally from classical sources. E.K. Chambers also accuses Geoffrey of modelling Arthur's personality, count and conquests upon those of Charlemagne. (1956: 70-78)

The cycle of books bearing King Arthur's name, known as *La Vulgata*, dominated the Anglo-Saxon chivalric genre, which led to a cult of the hero-knight and to knight-worship. The name of the king, as well as those of other figures and beasts in the Arthurian cycle, appears as an obligatory reference in Iberian narratives evoking a theme of the romances of chivalry. However, as Armando Durán points out, the less Christian elements, such as adultery, are modified in Iberian narrative: 'la resistencia hispánica al adulterio lo sustituyo con el matrimonio secreto'.¹⁴ This is possibly due to moralist influence. In *El V*, both King Arthur:

Agora contar vos he dónde ovo comienzo la guerra que agora dura entre Françia e Ynglaterra, aunque otras guerras ovo ante: quando el rey Artur mató a Frole, rey de Françia, que tenía el reyno por los emperadores de Roma. (177/19-23)

and Merlin: 'Guardavos non creades falsas profezías, ni ayades fuzia en ellas, así como son las de Merlín' (68/7-9) are mentioned, but not without a Christianised explanation of the references. The learned wise man who gave Pero Niño lessons in knighthood, hereafter referred to as the *ayo*, warns young Pero Niño that Merlin is a false prophet and points out the mistakes King Arthur made:

Más Merlín, con la grand sabiduría que aprendió, quiso saver más de lo que cunplía, e fué engañado por el diablo, e mostróle muchas cosas que dixese. E algunas dellas salieron verdad. (68/29-31)

dixo algunas cosas que fallaron en ellas algo que fué verdad; mas en otras muchas fallesció. (69/1-2)

The obligatory reference to Merlin is made, but clarified for moralist readers:

E algunos que agora algunas cosas quieren dezir, conpónnelas e dizen que las fabló Merlin. (69/2-4)

E así todas las cosas pasadas e presentes e por venir, non son sinó en la presencia de nuestro señor Dios. ¿Quién es aquel que sabe la voluntad de Dios en las cosas que son por venir? ¿O sabe el hombre más que Dios? Esto es falso (69/4-7)

With the advent of the Christian-Moslem conflict and its attendant literature such as the Alphonine chronicles, came a series of new legal and literary documents necessary to push the Christian cause against the Muslims: for example, title deeds, charters, wills and statements of property rights. Other religious documents were drawn up, above all in the monasteries, and changed to grant special economic and property privileges to religious or chivalric figures. Needless to say, the cathedrals are full of archives with forged documents accrediting rights and "votos": vows, promises and votive offerings. *Los votos de Fernán González de San Millán de la Cogolla* are especially infamous, even though they were seemingly important historical and economic documents of the time.

On three separate occasions in *El V*, Pero Niño expects such privileges from his years of knighthood in recompense for having fought so loyally under the king. In addition, the vows from the knights to their ladies and the votive offering to the church before battle are promises made as a serious part of the chivalric code, are also mentioned frequently in *El V*.

A votive offering made by Pero Niño in Xerifontayne is:

De lo qual toda la compañía fueron muy alaegres e pagados, e aun muy maravillados los que algo dellos entendían. Los "vodos" no los escrivo, porque sería luenga cosa de contar; mas yo vos digo que el capitán entró en tales lugares donde bien pudo cada uno probar a cumplir se "bodo" como quier que la mayor parte los cumplió. (101/5-10)

The chivalric code, a moral-didactic creed, coupled with votive offerings, served the

Church as a means of spurring knights on to perform patriotic deeds in defence of nationalism in the Crusade against the Moors, as well as protecting the economic interests of those same knights and their kings. This suggests a reason why *El V* may have been undertaken in the first place: to defend the interests of persons, like Pero Niño, involved in the Church and State during the Christian-Moslem conflict.

Forged documents and accrediting rights were also found in literature associated with the Christian-Moslem conflict. One of the most famous historical battles, which gave rise to the battle cry *Santiago y Cierra España*, was that of Clavijo. So important was this battle to the cause of the Crusades and to the very essence of Spanish chivalry that a false diploma concerning Ramiro I was drawn up to sanctify the occasion.¹⁵

Another famous personage, Bishop Don Pelayo, Bishop of Toledo, who was known to have changed codices and ancient texts, falsified the confines of the dioceses and changed documents for his personal interest. All this was done to exalt his own diocese. As a result of his action and that of others like him, much of the information which serves as a basis for famous battles and historical moments in the chronicles, annals, wills, legal documents and diaries used to elaborate chivalric narrative such as *El V* might have been important politically or economically to the Church and State, but was not all that reliable.

Surprisingly, Beltrán has discovered that the real dates of the documents, like wills, title deeds etc. for the count and countess of Buelna do *not* coincide with those alluded to in *El V*.¹⁶ We can only guess about the veracity of the information transcribed from these original legal documents of the Church into the narrative form in the annals or chronicles or chivalric narrative treated by authors such as Games. Literary critics have proven the obvious: much of this borrowing and modification resulted in fiction, and many historical

descriptions of personages were modelled on characters from fictional sources.

The result of the use of fictional sources as models is that the validity of supposedly historical documents or chivalric narrative, like *El V*, becomes difficult, if not impossible, to establish, especially when economic interests and personal benefit cause tampering of historical events. One might surmise that these documental changes, perhaps anti-historical with regard to falsification and creating of supposedly historical documents, made a veritable picture of history truly difficult to achieve. These examples help demonstrate the nature of the purportedly "historical" genres of early literature. As a consequence, the material, which serves as a basis for historiographic material and chivalric narrative about the Christian-Moslem conflict, much like *El V*, might not be historically correct, but rather more or less fictitious, due to forgery, or adulteration.

One study, *Writing to Conceal: Silencing in Fifteenth Century Castilian Biography* by Lynne Fisher Echegaray,¹⁷ deals specifically with the theme of voluntary concealment through omission in *El V* where Games 'deliberately silenced many specific facts detrimental to the chivalric image of his protagonist'. The following section is an analysis of the many ways, not just omission, in which Games has changed the existing chivalric narrative concerning Pero Niño as the mirror image of the "Perfect Knight".

Falsification of History in *El Victorial*

Some Iberian chivalric narrative, including *El V*, contains basic historical information that was used to elaborate narratives referring to heroic acts, which could have been forged, adulterated or misconceived. There are many techniques of narrative recourse used by authors to transform information, or to foster the misconceptions found in this chivalric narrative. Many of those techniques of narrative discourse were used by Games to present polemical

historical material. By analysing the techniques the author employed, one can partially discern something about his style and his method of writing about history. The following three sections show to *what* degree and *how* Games transformed history to suit the story he wrote of Pero Niño.

Figure 1.1: The falsification of history by Games through novelesque techniques

Omission	Simple omission of fact
(Falsification)	Narrator discourse
Allusion.....	Space and Time
(Transformation)	Added Presence
	Modification of image
	Substitution of names
Transformation....	Added Dialogue
(Creative)	Pure Invention
	Direct Dialogue

The manipulation of official or historical documents by Games in the elaboration of *El V.* was effected through the use of three general techniques of narrative recourse: *omission*, *allusion* and outright *modification*. These techniques are arranged from that in which veritable history is least affected to that in which the actual historical narrative is transformed the most. In the section on the omission of history, the types of *omission*: *simple omission* and omission through *narrator discourse* are discussed. The section on allusion shows how Games played with *space and time*, *added presence* and *modification of image*. In the last section, modification, *substitution of names* and that of *direct dialogue* are discussed. For transformation, ‘invention’ of history is understood and Games was able to change history as a result of how he applied this recourse.

Omission of History in *El Victorial*

Simple omission

One way in which Games has treated a historical incident which had political repercussions was to use the narrative recourse technique of simple *omission of fact* by not referring to other individuals to augment Pero Niño's participation in the historical event, albeit almost negligible. The omission of fact is not considered outright misrepresentation of material, but it can create the same effect. It seems that Games intentionally omitted factual historical material which would not focus on Pero Niño.

As for the reason behind the choice by Games of certain episodes in Pero Niño's life, María Teresa Ferrer i Mallo¹⁸ has noticed a deliberate omission of key historical information essential to a reliable historical biography of Pero Niño.¹⁹ Ferrer suggests that this information has been deliberately silenced because it would detract from the success of the event, but admits that it could possibly be due to an omission or simple oversight.

One such episode discovered is that Games did not mention Pero Niño's victories in the jousts in Requena pointed out in the *Crónica de Juan II*.²⁰ This omission of important information on the part of Games, I believe, is deliberate because a reliable historical biography was not the primary intention of Games in *El V*. The presentation of all the facts pertaining to events would detract from the main chivalric theme of the narrative: the chivalric and allegorical episodes referred to as moral didactic victories won by Don Pero Niño in the name of the Church and the King. The overall framework of the narrative, as discussed in this dissertation, is too structured to think an oversight possible; especially, as Ferrer also noticed, as a definite emphasis was placed *not* on those primary historical incidents recorded in historiographic narrative, but on the secondary incidents in navigation.²¹

An additional problem for modern literary critics investigating historical events is that there *might* not be enough documents to research. Ferrer and Beltrán have found some references of Pero Niño in contemporary annals and chronicles. However, the amount of documents *not* found from the fifteenth century necessary for modern critics to recreate the important maritime and land battle scenes means that it is difficult to determine just how much invention by Games is present within the text.

Narrator discourse

Evidence weighs heavily in favour of the fact that Games did not "have to" but "wanted to" invent those circumstances judging by the manner in which he chose to narrate those deliberate omissions, or *lacunae*. Thus, the common narrative stylistic device Games used by declaring himself *alférez*, and by inferring that he, as narrator, was also scribe and witness to the experiences Pero Niño lived during the years written about in *El V*, cancels any question in the mind of the reader about non-existent or omitted material. This "supposed" presence tends to lead the reader to believe all scenes were witnessed by Games. As explained later in this dissertation, the author did not witness events, but reports them as told by others. The "supposed" presence of Games would have provided information for the campaign against the Corsairs, for which very few documents have been found relating directly to Don Pero Niño's presence there, or even that of his literary companion Avedaño.

The Mediterranean Campaign, however, is mentioned in the documents edited by Roger Highfield, a historian and specialist in the fifteenth century, who has researched the Franco-Castilian Alliance of 1408. The mention of important personages is a common narrative technique used in historiographical as well as fictional narrative, and important names like Pero Niño's, together with that of Avedaño's, could have been found in these

documents. However, it is strange that Roger Highfield, in his research on the Corsair campaign, could only suppose that:

It is possible that Pero Niño's Campaign was connected with the news sent from Murcia by Pedro Monsalve on June 14 of that year, in a letter to Henry III (AGS Estado, Castilla, Leg. 1-1^a, fol. 59), that Agde had been attacked by Sarracen pirates and that fifteen corsair vessels were infesting the Mediterranean.²²

In *El V*, the lack of aggressiveness on the part of Avedaño is of note. The name of Pero Niño is mentioned, and when it does appear, Games also makes it look as if Pero Niño were acting on his own, although he was really under the direction of Avedaño. ‘A esta guerra envió el rey don Enrique a Pero Niño, capitán de tres galeras, e a Martín Ruy de Amendaño, con quarenta naoes armadas, en ayuda de Françia segúnd que dicho he de suso’ (184/4-7).

Allusion to history by Games

Space and Time

Another narrative technique employed by Games is the use of factual material on Pero Niño's life modified in space and time. Not one, but many instances have been found where Games changes the order of the historical events as they appear in *El V* as contrasted with the same events in which Pero Niño is mentioned as narrated in official chronicles.

One such instance is the second siege of Gijón, which is taken out of order by interrupting the action with an illogical amount of space and time between the first and second sieges, creating an almost unnoticeable gap.

Chapter XXIV:

Cómo partió el rey de sobre gijón, e fué a Sevilla; e cómo Pero Niño mató el

grand puerco javalí, a nado, en Guadalquivir. (75/9-11)

Chapter XXV is in Sevilla:

Durante el rey aquella vez en Sevilla, fueron fechos muchos juegos de cañas, en los quales este donzel, de cuantas vezes aquel juego se hizo. (74/25-27)

Chapter XXVI:

Cómo el rey don Enrique vino otra vez sobre Gijón, e la çercó; e de lo que ende fizo este donzel Pero Niño. (340/1-3)

Not only is the circumstance narrated in a much more natural story form not found in the original sources, but Pero Niño is also portrayed as the protagonist: ²³ ‘En aquella çerca ovo Pero Niño muchos golpes e feridas de lanças e espadas e de otras armas, en que él pasó grandes trabajos’ (79/29-30).

The reason Games has changed the order of events is to introduce an episode that necessarily has to precede the following episodes in hero-worship literature: the killing of a beast. In *El V*, in the interval created by the switching of episodes, Pero Niño kills the "gran puerco javali". The killing of a beast in hero-worship narratives usually accompanies the leitmotif of loyalty in chivalric narrative. Pero Niño is a knight, and a leitmotif in chivalric literature is loyalty to the King. By changing the order of events Games not only has Pero Niño heroically kill a beast, but he also emphasises Pero Niño's knightly loyalty to the King as Games has Pero Niño save the King's life. This occurs in the chapter moved after the episode with the "gran puerco javali" and before returning to Gijon:

Chapter XXV:

Como Pero Niño corto la maroma que estava atravesada en el rio, por donde el rey e los otros fueron librados del grand peligro. (76/1-3)

These two hero worship requirements; the heroic killing of a beast and the proof of knightly loyalty and/or saving a King's life, are stereotyped in chivalric narrative before a young man, or, "*donzel*", as Pero Niño is still portrayed in these chapters, can be received in the ceremony of first arms as a knight. In Gijon, just after these episodes, Pero Niño fights in such a way that he is no longer considered a "*donzel*", but ready for his first arms. By changing the order of the historical facts and portraying Pero Niño as the protagonist of chivalric deeds required in chivalric fictive narrative, Games is following the patterns established for the hero-worship literary canon underlying chivalric narrative.

The modification of the order of official historical events in which Pero Niño participated, perpetrated by Games, is not occasional but constant. This is done to glorify the image of Pero Niño. Not all of the episodes exchanged are easy to detect, but one in particular, the taking of Montanchez by Pero Niño, stands out blatantly as quite untrue:

E Pero Niño fué sobre Montanchez, e dello por tratos e dello por fuerza, tomó a Montanchez, e entrególo al rey su señor; en lo cual le hizo servicio muy señalado, segúnd el tiempo. (333/10-13)

The Montanchez scene covers another instance recorded in the *Crónica de Juan II* where Pero Niño complains about not having received compensation for his participation in the Montanchez battle. Games has taken advantage of a peaceful turnover in the chronicles to build Pero Niño's image as the protagonist, depicting him as having taken Montanchez by force.²⁴

Looking at this obvious transformation of history in a different light, one could say it is a way for Games to justify the unjustifiable - this, too, almost becomes routine for Games: 'Comenzábase estonze la guerra entre Francia e Ynglaterra, sobre el ducado de Guiana e sobre que avían estonze los yngleses muerto a su rey el rey Richarte, que hera casado con hija

del rey Charles de Francia.' (142/6-9).

Added presence

Pero Niño's presence in any historical event as recorded in official documents is taken advantage of by Games through many narrative techniques to modify this official data to build Pero Niño's positive image. Often, Games employs several narrative techniques to manipulate official historical material where Pero Niño's name does *not* appear in the narration of events, to make Pero Niño's presence in historical events look official.

The amount of factual material in which the name of Pero Niño can be found and that which was actually chosen for the weaving of the fabric of *El V* is an enigma. Although historical sources behind the narrative about the count of Buelna are stressed and substantial evidence of borrowing from other chronicles exists, we really do not have a clear idea of the quantity of material Games actually had on Pero Niño as factual proof of his life as a knight.²⁵

A look at the chapter headings where Pero Niño's name appears in *El V* could be indicative of those historical moments in which Games wanted to connect the name of Pero Niño to "factual proof". To some extent, these connections, this "creative linkage", occurs where Don Pero Niño's name is related to a general historical victory, or where contemporary chronicles may or may not counter his participation, in such a way that during the first reading no reader would question his presence there. Interestingly, only one third,²⁶ of the chapter headings include Pero Niño and coincide almost exclusively with specific moments in historical campaigns and battles where Pero Niño is on a mission for the King or some other noble personage.

The name "Pero Niño", then, in *El V* does not appear that often, and perhaps, but not necessarily, is limited unconsciously to situations for which Games has authentic material about Pero Niño's life: whether annals, marriage licences, legal scriptures or the maritime diaries, such as those documents suggested by Maria Teresa Ferrer.²⁷

An example of key material *not* favourable to Pero Niño, which could have been silenced, concerns Ruy Díaz de Mendoza. In order not to stain the virtuous image of Pero Niño, or reflect any animosity, Games avoids the issue of confrontation entirely.²⁸ Nicolas Round gives a clue to the legal opposition between Pero Niño and Ruy Díez de Mendoza while tracing the career of Doctor Gómez de Miranda, a specialist in property disputes, who had been given the task of looking into disputed claims by Ruy Díez de Mendoza and by Ruy Díez's "old enemy", Pero Niño.²⁹ The word "old" reveals a long-standing offence and we can only imagine the emotional content that accompanies it.³⁰ It is not surprising, however, that in *El V*, the name of Rui Díez de Mendoza is first subordinated to that of Pero Niño: 'Un día acordaron algunos cavalleros mançevos de lo mas esmerados del real en los quales yban Juan de Estúñiga, e Rui Díez de Mendoza, e Pero López de Ayala, e otros, y de yr lanzar lanzas a la puerta del palenque (78/12-14).

The name of Rui Díez is glossed over very quickly. Neither is it surprising that in the same paragraph, Pero Niño, evidently younger than Ruiz Díez and the others, stands out as equally brave and willing to fight: 'e súpolo el donzel Pero Niño, e fué e demandó sus armas al rey e arrose e fuese con ellos de pie' (78/14-15). To mark differences, Games clearly separates Pero Niño from the others, making the feat look singular: 'E así yendo hasta allí apartóse dellos, e fuese sólo al palenque, contra la torre que llaman de Villaviciosa' (78/17-18).

These citations clear up any doubt that the author attributed the successful actions to no one, other than the younger, but more adept, Pero Niño. Also, as in most references of any action taken on by Pero Niño, the author first describes the action as dangerous: ‘a muy grand peligro e con grand trabajo, (por) que lançavan de la villa grandes vallestas’ (78/19-20).

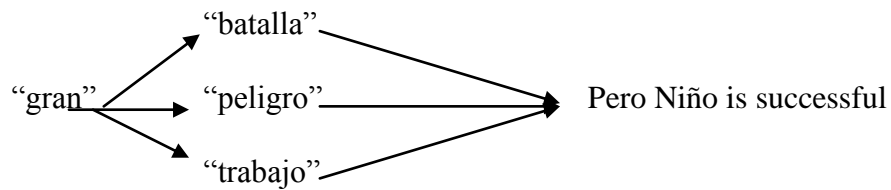
As is usual in the descriptions of Pero Niño's actions, the triumphant, self-commended mission is described in heroic, almost superhuman terms:

Subió Pero Niño e llegó al palenque, e peleó con los que ende falló muy reziamente, ronpiendo el palenque a todo su poder. Allí perdió la lança e puso mano a la espada, e allí fue ferido de muchos golpes de lanzas e fachas e espadas; e a pesar dellos, derriuó vna tabla del palenque, e a Dios graçias salió dellos dende muy bien. (78/23-29)

The author has surreptitiously hidden any possible animosity between Pero Niño and Rui Díez behind a heroic act, which serves, on the one hand, to augment Pero Niño's image as a hero and, on the other, to subliminally leave Rui Díez behind as his inferior.

This pattern, the suppression of major data in favour of the description of Pero Niño's participation, becomes a formula, frequently using the adjective "*gran*" before nouns like "*peligro*", "*trabajo*" and "*batalla*" as it is repeated in many similar instances throughout the narrative in encounters between Pero Niño and other possible "hero" adversaries. One example is within a chapter heading: ‘Como Pero Niño e mosén Charles partieron de Samalo de Lilla para pasar en Angliaterra, e de la muy grand tormenta que pasaro en la mar’ (Ch. 67/505-509). This is but one of the many formulas used by Games, as well as other medieval authors, to structure their work. The end result is to augment the heroic image of Pero Niño by making the pending danger the worst possible so his victory is even more resounding

Figure 1.2: Formula for heroic acts



Modification of image

Another type of modification of official historical data would concern changing the historical image of Pero Niño from one of a controversial person to one where Pero Niño is a perfect knight.³¹ In true life, for example, in legal documents concerning Rui Díez, it would not be surprising to find individuals who were jealous of the count of Buelna, or who did not like Pero Niño. This case stands out, especially in the light of Games's omission of the legal differences and animosity, which purportedly existed between Pero Niño and Rui Díez de Mendoza.

Like Rui Díez de Mendoza, Roger Highfield seems to have an opinion of Pero Niño other than the one Games creates in *El V*. Specifically, Highfield analyses the Castilian political environment in general, and in particular, the policy changes of the Bay of Biscay to keep the routes of Flanders open. Highfield's comment on the fleet sent to patrol the French waters commanded by Martín Ruiz Avedaño is not complimentary:

The fact that the notoriously untruthful Pero Niño was in the fleet, and that his chronicler was the no less untrustworthy Gutierre Díez de Games, may have led to error in the judgement of the campaign. The bloody raid of the count of Buelna and Charles de Savoisy was simply another act of piracy, among the many the Atlantic had witnessed.³²

In effect, this episode is also carefully pruned in *El V* Mosén Charles;³³ "Sabosil" as Games refers to Savoisy, usually acquiesced to Pero Niño when decisions had to be made: 'La razón

de Pero Niño acabada, dixo Mosén Charles que hera derecho de buen cavallero e fuese fecho todo segund él mandase' (193/5-7) and later, another reference to their agreements: 'Pues el capitán Pero Niño e Mosén Charles fueron de yn acuerdo.' (202/7-8)

Games, evidently very much aware of the political repercussions of the French and Spanish "patrol" fleet, covers for Pero Niño and the Spaniards with a small "miracle":³⁴ 'E aún conteció miragro allí. Que un castellano puso fuego a una casa de paxa techada, que nunca jamás la pudo fazer arder, ca non lo ponía de voluntad' (204/9-12).

As a result, the French are described as those guilty of the historically condemned activity which was of ravaging and burning houses: 'Estonze los franzeses que heran en la compañía comenzaron de poner fuego a las casas' (204/6-7), and Games expresses the incident as though God had willed it: 'Los franzeses, tantos que ponían el fuego hera luego la casa ardilla' (204/12-13).

To leave Pero Niño free from all blame, Games takes further advantage of the fictive miracle which serves to save face for Pero Niño to introduce another virtuous quality that Pero Niño possesses: the virtue of pity: 'porque la gente de la yola hera pobre' (204/7-8),

Esto fazía que los castellanos non avían voluntad de fazer más mal en aquel lugar, con piedad que avían de aquella gente. Bien sabían ellos que tal hera la voluntad de su capitán: fué blando a lo flaco, e fuerte contra lo fuerte. (204/13-17)

Games leaves out any trace of ill will. As the author is aware that these moments are polemical, he uses a doctrinal perception of good will to help the reader see Pero Niño as a hero, a perfect knight with the virtues a knight possesses who confronts the vices; e.g. evil in one battle after another.

In the previous section, which dealt with the creativity and falsification of the documents used to narrate history, much of the historiographic material, including Pero

Niño's name, was modified by Games to augment the participation of Pero Niño in official historical events. This section deals with the effect of the manipulation of historical material by Games, which does *not* include Pero Niño in official historical records, which results in an outright transformation of historical material.

As part of the image building in this transformation process, it has been noticed that: 'Los momentos históricos que coinciden en las fechas y los acontecimientos en la Crónica de Ayala o el Sumario del Despensario, Games aprovecha para meter a Pero Niño como si estuviera anotada y en hechos heroicos'.³⁵

Substitution of names

There are many examples of another narrative technique: that of alluding to situations where Games has borrowed a description of a historical event and slipped in Pero Niño's name to suggest the count's participation in that event. One example is the list of names borrowed by Games from the *Crónica de Juan II* in the last chapter of 1419; Pero Niño's name appears in *El V* added to the text.³⁶

E sobre esto hubo tantos debates é contiendas entre los Grandes, que fué cosa maravillosa; é como los más procurasen ante sus propios intereses quel bien ni la pacificación del Reyno, pusieron entre estos dos hermanos Infantes tan grandes turbaciones é sospechas y enemistad, de manera que cada unos dellos hubo de trabajar de atraer á sí los Mayores del Reyno; é luego el Reyno se partió en dos partes, é los unos eran del Infante Don Juan, al qual seguía el Infante Don Pedro, su hermano, é los otros eran del Infante Don Enrique. E los que principalmente siguieron al Infante Don Juan eran el Arzobispo de Toledo, Don Sancho de Roxas, y el Conde Don Fadrique, é Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, y el Condestable Don Ruy Lopez Dávalos, y el adelantado Pero Manrique, é Garcifernandez Manriquez.³⁷

Another scene, that of the attack on Cetina, is portrayed by Games as one of Pero Niño's battles, although Pero Niño's name does not appear in any of the contemporary

chronicles.

El Rey asentó su Real sobre *Hariza*, que es lugar *asaz fuerte* é tiene buen *castillo* y emmontado asaz; é como los de la villa vieron asentar el Real del Rey, los más dellos se subieron a la fortaleza, é luego el Rey mandó combatir la villa, donnde se prendieron algunos de los que quedaron pensando defenderla, é los otros se subieron al castillo, é la mayor parte de *la villa fué quemada*.³⁸

As another way to allude to an action and then surreptitiously link Pero Niño to the event, Games also reminds the reader of the count when he speaks of a former presence of Pero Niño in Tuy, the same geographical location in which the event takes place, but without overtly saying that Pero Niño participated.³⁹

En aquel tiempo çercó el rey de Portugal la ciudad de Tui, que es en Galicia. El rey de Castilla ayuntó su hueste, e envióla con don Rui López de avalos. E llegaron a Padrón, e ovo discordia entre los cavalleros de Castilla; e si estonze Pero Niño fuera creydo, aunque era moço, la ciudad fuera acorrida e non se perdiera aquella vez. (81/7-18)

The Transformation of History by Games

Added Dialogue

Another technique of modification used by Games to link persons to events is by inserting a dialogue. Thus, Games intends to justify Pero Niño's action in Tordesillas, which serves the purpose of underlining Pero Niño's loyalty to the King.⁴⁰

Estonze Pero Niño puso mano a su espalda, e volvióse el rostro contra los de fuera, e dixo:

- Señor, yo fago aquello que debo; si ál cumple a vuestro serviçio, mandadme, que yo soy presto, e desto son testigos don Alvaro de Luna, e el duque don Fadrique, e el conde de Benavente. (326/13)

One opinion which justifies Games's technique of using true situations in which the count of Buelna's commentary is added is: 'los episodios de Pero Niño, aunque

evidentemente novelizados nunca dejan de ser "historia verdadera" ⁴¹ True history is correct as far as the historical episode is concerned; however, for Pero Niño, the borrowed circumstances are purely fictitious as he was really absent.

Direct Dialogue

The previous sections dealt with the transformation of the official and factual historical material. However, in situations where there was *no* material available, Games had to "pad" or invent a situation in order to continue the story of Pero Niño in the created, transformed historical context he had already begun. Other narrative techniques are brought into play to achieve this goal.

It is significant that it is precisely in those chapters dedicated to the missions shared by Mosén Charles and Pero Niño where the fewest historical sources are overtly cited (202-262). ⁴² Neither are there any phrases which begin with "el autor aquí dize", as if Games had copied information from a diary on board, or an annal. ⁴³ In lieu of missing material and as a narrative technical recourse, the author has increased the amount of *direct dialogue*, as if various conversations had been overheard. Games also takes advantage of the absent material here to insert classical motives; a *locus amoenus*, a quote from a philosopher against "*la infamia y la vileza*", a discussion on Fortune, the dialogue about the Wind and Fortune and some conventional "*plantos*": e.g. '¡O Biento! ¡O fortuna' (256/31).

As a result of the elaboration of fictitious material added to the chivalric narrative, the information about real people and real places in *El V* is of very little true historical value although Games manages to create an overall picture as a backdrop for further image building of Pero Niño. ⁴⁴ One example is Pero Niño's reception in Marsella: 'El e sus cardenales lo resçivieron muy bien, e los grandes hombres que cerca dél heran' (109/16-19), and another is

the meal with the Pope: 'Allí comía el papa en el tinel e comían en una mesa solos el conde de Pallarés e Pero Niño' (109/21-22).

In reference to the frequent use of fictitious narrative involving Pero Niño's actions and in relation to the image building process it has also been noticed that:

nos hemos ido acostumbrando y lo vamos a seguir descubriendo en el resto de los pasos - al ver que Games implica nunca *directamente* a Pero Niño en acontecimientos ficticios, pero *insinua* su relación con ellos al presentarlos yuxtapuestos.⁴⁵

Examples of narrative techniques of falsification like these are normally abundant. In order to build the hero image of Pero Niño more effectively, Games inserts an informative digression before narrating a historical event with real names and places which would otherwise have been historically questionable, such as the one described above with Mosén Charles, if it had not been presented in an adequate doctrinal light. Using a moral-didactic approach, Games can describe Pero Niño's actions in these events as irreproachable or with any other characteristic so desired.

These "irreproachable" descriptions, inserted by Games, one after another in official historical narrative, slowly build up an image of perfection in the mind of the reader. This image of perfection, at the end of the book, creates what I call a "white legend". A "black legend" would be the opposite, all negative criticism, whereas the "white legend", corresponding to "white knights", is one of moral perfection. This is the image created by Games for the future count through the modification of historical narrative.

These techniques are part of the basic structural elements throughout *El V*. Using the episodes with Mosén Charles as an example, it is noticeable that all of the chapter headings concerning this part of the French campaign begin with "como". (Ch. 65-69)

Como entró *Pero Niño* con sus galeras por el río de Gironda arriva, hasta llegar a Burdeos. (Ch. 65/495-501)

Como fueron las galeras a Samalor. Non se pudieron avenir *Pero Niño* e *Martin Ruyz de Mendaño*, para pasar en Anglaterra. (Ch. 66 /502-504)

Como *Pero Niño* e mosén Charles partieron de Samalo de Lilla para pasar en Anglaterra, e de la muy grand tormenta que pasaron en la mar. (Ch. 67 /505-509)

Como las galeras aportaron en Ynglaterra, al pays de Cornualla, e tomaron una villa que llamaban Chita. (Ch. 68 /510-515)

Como se concordaron *Pero Niño* e mosén Charles, porque amos a dos heran buenos. (Ch. 69/516)

That is to say, these quotes from imaginative text do not begin with another word such as "*fabla de*", or with an event including dates or names. Use of the device "*como*" is significant because these chapter headings reflect the literary style of an epoch "chronicle": an elaborated story about history, in a specific text and not of an annal; and not a historiographic chronicle: chronological facts about history used to write royal chronicles.

This fictive epoch "chronicle" style used in episodes like those about Mosén Charles in *El V* is also seen in earlier chronicles, rather than the annal style, which became more developed in the fifteenth century in historiographic narrative following a chronological order. The following discussion explains how early chronicle style chapter headings have been related to fictive style in chivalric narrative.

Cristina González, in her study on Alphonsine style,⁴⁶ distinguishes between the concept of history in "chronicles" and "annals", the latter of which distinguish factual truths as a mere chronological organisation of dates, names and information on pilgrimages, births, deaths, floods, etc. The events narrated in annals are important to the narrator and to the

chronological order. The overview of annals is fragmentary, a series of disconnected occurrences linked together only by time.

Unlike those in *El V*, some examples of Spanish annals are listed below: from "Annales Toledanos Primeros", from the early thirteenth century.⁴⁷

Arrancaron moros al Rey don Alonso en Zagalla, era MCXXIII...
El Arçobispo don Bernaldo terçero día de Março fue a Jerusalém a ver el sepulcro de Jesu Christo, era MCXLIII

El Rey don Alonso, fillo del Conde don Raymondo et de doña Vrraca, filla del Rey don Alfonso, naçió primer día de Março, et antes de su nauidad apareçió enel cielo vna estrella cuentada et duro assi por treynta dias que no se tolo, era MCXLIII

Contrary to the annals, the epoch "chronicle" has organised the material in a set pattern and presents the story as a result of Divine Providence. The view of the world is one of a whole, and the circumstances which best show the intervention of God are chosen to support that whole. Consequently, the narration is important, as a whole, to the reader, but not to the narrator. *El V* reflects the vision of this whole as does the chivalric narrative of Alfonso X, for example, in *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* as shown by González.⁴⁸

Another example of imaginative text is that supporting the *locus amoenus* theme so popular in medieval narrative to create "irreproachable" descriptions of commonplace situations. On many occasions, Games used passages, mainly from the Old Testament in the Bible, to "pad" descriptions of the travel route taken by Pero Niño to get from one place to another. These descriptions pass by the modern reader inadvertently, but for a medieval reader, they would have underlined the religious Christ figure image of Pero Niño so carefully constructed by Games.

In conclusion, the transformation of history by Games through the manipulation of the narrative selected from special documents by way of the various techniques discussed above

(omission: simple omission and narrator discourse; allusion: space and time; added presence, modification of image, and the substitution of names; and transformation of history through added dialogue and direct dialogue) results in a fictive, but historically believable vision of Pero Niño's life.

NOTES AND CITATIONS FOR CHAPTER ONE

¹ García Gual, Carlos. *Los orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, Istmo, 1988, 171-177.

² The concept of poetics is "pero uno cosa es escribir como poeta, y otro como historiador; el poeta puede contar o cantar las cosas no como fueron, sino como debían ser; y el historiador las ha de escribir no como debían ser, sino como fueron, sin añadir ni quitar cosa alguna". History as in writing does not necessarily mean history as in chronicles, as seen in the next chapter.

³ The emphasis here is on the term "conceptual" widely read in Spanish at the time Games wrote *El Victorial*.

⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la Realidad Histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de El Victorial*. (Tesis doctoral presentado por Rafael Beltrán Llavador. dirigida por D. Juan Bleca). Valencia, 1986, 948.

⁵ Much of this material was used as a basis for the legends of Troy, part of the classical foundation of the Alphonsine Chronicles, which in turn provide a basis for *El Victorial*. n. Caro Baroja, Julio, *Las Falsificaciones de la historia*, Barcelona, Clásicos Hispánicos Noguer, 1976, 25.

⁶ Caro Baroja, Julio. *Las Falsificaciones de la historia*, Barcelona, Clásicos Hispánicos Noguer, 1976, 26.

⁷ Caro Baroja, Op cit., 27.

⁸ Caaro Baroja, Op cit., 30.

⁹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. 1986, 1337.

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- ¹⁰ Viña Liste, José María. *Textos Medievales de Caballerías*, Madrid, Catedra, 1993, 27.
- ¹¹ Merciful, passionate.
- ¹² Viña Liste, José María, 1993, *Ibidem* 27.
- ¹³ Caro Baroja, Julio, 1976, *Op cit.*, 42.
- ¹⁴ Durán, Armando. "La amplificatio en la literatura caballeresca española". *MLN*, 86, No. 2 (1971), 156.
- ¹⁵ Caro Baroja, Julio, *Ibidem*, 42.
- ¹⁶ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Op cit.*, 662.
- ¹⁷ Fisher Echegaray, Lynne. *Writing to Conceal: Silencing in Fifteenth Century Castilian Biography*. Diss. University of Connecticut, 1993, 70-103.
- ¹⁸ Ferrer i Mallol, María T. "Els corsaris castellans i la Campanya de Pero Nino al Mediterrani (1404)" *Documentos sobre El Victorial*", *AEM*, V, 1968, 312.
- ¹⁹ These actual circumstances referring to pacts, agreements, governmental missions or encounters are easily found documented in letters or legal papers. See Heusch (2009, 2010) and Beltrán (1986, 1987, 1993, 1997).
- ²⁰ Beltrán suggests that this is done so that perhaps the participation of Pero Niño in the joust in Tordesillas would ring true. *Op cit.*, n, 478.
- ²¹ This refers to those maritime events such as storms, wind, and the locus amoenus of the ports and bays, and moorings.
- ²² Highfield, Roger, ed. *Spain in the Fifteenth Century*. Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain. Trans. Frances M. Lopez Morrilla. Stratum Series. London, MacMillan, 1972, 74.
- ²³ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Op cit.*, 185.
- ²⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Ibidem*, 555.
- ²⁵ The rest of the sources Games could have used would be non-historical, presumably doctrinal, allegorical, biblical or those from oral transmission or pure literary invention to support the doctrinal substructure in *El Victorial* so common in the Middle Ages.
- ²⁶ 31,3%, which is 32 out of 97.
- ²⁷ Ferrer i Mallol, María T, *Op cit.*, 311.
- ²⁸ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Op cit.*, 265.
- ²⁹ Round, Nicholas. *The Greatest Man Uncrowned: A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna*. London, Tamesis, 1986, 195.
- ³⁰ The reference in *El Victorial* (edition of Mata Carriazo *op. cit.*) to Díez de Mendoza (Rui) is listed as: "*El Calvo*", 78, 96, 97 and 297.
- ³¹ Four other examples of how Games utilises historical moments to present Pero Niño in a good light are: 82/32-34; 83/11; 83/19-20 and 83/26, Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, n, 202.

³² Highfield, Roger, Op cit., 31.

³³ Other references to Mosen Charles are: pp. 202, 208, 210, 213, 216, 248, 250, 252, 254, 261-262 in the 1940 Mata Carriazo edition.

³⁴ In fact, when there are situations which are historically dubious in *El Victorial*, they seem to always be covered by a miracle.

³⁵ The scene from the *Sumario del Dispensario*, is that of the king in Sevilla 76-77, Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., n, 189.

³⁶ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 487.

³⁷ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 7.

³⁸ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 24.

³⁹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 198.

⁴⁰ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 514.

⁴¹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 924.

⁴² These chapters are LXXXVI - LXXXIX (248-262), ed. de Mata Carriazo, 1940.

⁴³ In fact, it may be that, sometimes, when Games uses 'el autor aquí dice' it is because he is inventing a source to give a sense of factual information to the narrative. This technique is common to fictional didactic prose as well as to historiographic narrative in the fifteenth century.

⁴⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 247.

⁴⁵ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 981.

⁴⁶ González, Cristina. *La Tercera Crónica de Alfonso X: "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar"*. London, Támesis, Ltd. 1992, 20.

⁴⁷ González, Cristina, Op cit., 21.

⁴⁸ González, Cristina, *Ibidem*, 21.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERARY HISTORY AS CHIVALRIC

FICTION IN *EL VICTORIAL*

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LITERARY HISTORY AS CHIVALRIC FICTION IN *EL VICTORIAL*

Chivalric History as Reality

The difference between the concept of 'narrative' in didactic prose, labelled "*crónica*", presented in a chronicle considered 'historiographic narrative' and the concept of 'factual history', as presented in annals, is crucial to this study as it helps to re-evaluate the meaning of 'history' in chivalric narrative, be it historiographic or didactic. In turn, the use of the word 'history' is basic in revealing the purpose behind chivalric narratives like *El V*.

The narrative of "chronicles", such as Cristina González has pointed out for *La Gran Conquista del Ultramar* in historiography, is interpreted according to the canon deemed necessary; that is, the events are not important to the narrator or in a chronological series, as they would be in an annals, but the events are re-organised according to the narration of the theory defended in the text.¹ Contrary to the concept of annals, where the events narrated as factual truths are fragmentary, the vision of the world in "chronicles", like these interpretations, is partial, as a series of disconnected circumstances are linked together under the main theme chosen.

The examples in the previous chapter in no way suggest that Games purposely falsified historical texts for deceptive purposes. The author, the declared standard bearer, did quite the opposite. Games followed the literary conventions of the fifteenth century in order to correctly portray the life of Pero Niño as that of an ideal knight, which is the canon: the interpretation deemed necessary. The interpretation was well fraught, as *El V* is praised as

being one of the few sources for a clear fifteenth century picture of how knights-errant fought at sea and on land, in jousts and tourneys, and even how they wrote letters or spent their free time.

So, given the mixture of creative texts in a historical context, what is reality, then, as a representation of a truth within a complex text like *El V*? For Mario Vargas Llosa,² and in reference to chivalric narrative, it is the likeness to reality achieved by the author in writing an anecdote or about a historical figure which results in fiction. In many books of chivalry or novels of chivalry this likeness results in the sheen of realism, which makes reality credible. Consequently, those stories written about historical moments which are realistic are those which create reality about the situation because they imitate it. Texts which do not imitate or reproduce a faithful image do not ring true and as a result, are not believed, or considered true. In *El V*, Games imitates the patterns recognised in his time as the correct presentation of reality for chivalric narrative. Those patterns are discussed in the next chapters.

The realities represented symbolically in narrative are not literally true, as they are not direct experiences, but indirect. In the end, they are just a symbol of that reality. As a consequence, how close to being real or how far-fetched the story is when represented symbolically is not of great importance. What *is* of importance is the appearance given to that symbolic truth.

The words "truth", "untruth", and "faithful representation" all refer to what modern readers understand as concepts of history presented as factual truth, and to fiction as untruth. "Faithful representation" refers more to a convincing imitation. This misconception of history as factual truth and the chivalric narrative about heroes like Pero Niño in *El V* categorised as historiography has been the crux of a classification question of *El V*, which began when the

life of the count of Buelna was categorised as "chronicle" in the eighteenth century.

The Result of the Transformation of History

The confusion of history and real life in El Victorial

Frequently, the author is not the only one to transmit an opposite, changed or a mistaken identity of the protagonist. Sometimes, literary critics, unwittingly, misinterpret history and create confusion in an attempt to understand the transformation effected by the author. This confusion lays the first step in bonding history with legend, allowing the reader to initially identify with the protagonist, and sets the stage for creating a fusion of historical and legendary identities later on.

Following are some examples of the different ways in which the historical material in *El V* has been perceived or discussed by literary critics. These examples serve as proof of how misconceptions of narrative discourse can be effected in the first reading of the text, particularly in light of the falsification techniques mentioned in the previous chapter.

One example of how historical references are often misunderstood concerns the chivalric aspects interpreted on a literary basis more recently by literary critics or historians. The generalised comment by Round is: 'Tournaments and excursions take the place of war: chivalrous love as in the amorous manual which Gutierre Díez de Games includes (in his *Victorial*) supplants heroic passion. The Kings extend their protection to Knights errant'.³ This view reflects a global appreciation of the intended fictitious value that Games gave *El V*. It was precisely the fact that Pero Niño had *not* received his compensation for fighting so loyally under three different Kings which is drawn to the reader's attention by Games in two instances in the second and third parts of *El V* which sponsored this global appreciation.

Another comment by Highfield, referring to the historical circumstances under which Pero Niño fought, is based on one of the textual inferences made in *El V*:

wide repercussions of Doña Catalina's act and its immediate consequence was the division of the Royal Council, the formation of two political factions, and the beginnings of an unstable period which made everyone wish to have Don Ferdinand's government back again. The *Crónica de don Pero Niño* says in so many words that when Doña Catalina became sole regent Respect died and Justice sickened in the greater part of Castille.⁴

The only comments in *El V* about Doña Catalina are those concerning the birth of the *Infante*:

En este comedio estava la reyna doña Catalina en Toro, preñada, en tiempo de parir. E tenía puestas el rey paradas en todo el camino de Toro a Segovia; e ençima de los oteros estavan puestas atalayas, prestas para hazer almenaras e avmadas, partidas por señales, en manera que el rey supiese en poco espacio quando la reyna pariese, e que avía parido. (139/5-6)

The birth of the heir gives the King a reason to start a tournament:

E de allí fué el rey a ver el ynfante su hijo; e dende vñose a Tordesillas, e fizo fazer allí un torneo muy famoso, en que entraron los mayores cavalleros de castilla. En aquel torneo entró Pero Niño, e fizo tanto en él como el que más ende fizo. (139/ 15-18)

The problems related to ‘Respect dying’ and ‘Justice sickening’ mentioned later in the narrative, however, are *not* blamed on Doña Catalina, but on the uprising of the nobles and count Arbi, son of the duke of Alencaste:

Alzaron en su lugar por rey al conde Arbi, hijo del duque de Alencaste, hermano de la reyna de Castilla que llamaron doña Cathalina. E quebrantaron la paz, e comenzaron la guerra. (183/18-21)

in contradiction of the historian’s observation Games comments:

Más [era] entonze en Castilla el ynfante don Fernando, leal e noble e muy católico, el qual desvió todas la otras cosas; e quedaron por tutores del reyno el mismo ynfante e la reyna doña Catalina, madre del rey don Juan: los

quales mantubieron el reyno en paz e en justiçia e en grand asosiego mientras ellos bibieron. (290/1-6)

Later, another comment about the Queen as Head of the government:

‘Puso la gobernanza en la reyna, madre del rey’ (298/25-26) ⁵

and where the Queen also helped Pero Niño:

E la reyna avía dçias que savía el fecho, e ayudava a Pero Niño; mas non podía nyn osava tanto quanto ella quisiera (311/15-17)

In fact, the Queen seems to do everything possible to help Pero Niño:

De lo qual dixo que ella abría gran pesar por non poder y más fazer’ e que lee rogva que se fuese al alcázar de Palençuela, que entonze tenía Pero Niño, e que tanto ella faría quanto pudiese en honra suya e Pero Niño des que vio la razon de la reyna, e cómo ella non podía más fazer, partió dende e fuese a Palençuela, e estuvo ende algunos días. (312/17-22)

The last reference to the Queen is about her death: ‘E dende a poco finó la reyna Catalina’ (320/2-3). These are the references to Doña Catalina which would cover the political circumstances referred to in the original quote by the historian, but, as one can see, Games associates Doña Catalina with the birth of her son; to when Doña Catalina tried to help Pero Niño until her death. There was nothing said about ‘Respect dying’ and ‘Justice sickening’. This example only underlines the fact that the interpretation of a text as complex as that of *El V* is difficult for the modern reader or literary critic who is so far removed in time from the commonplace rhetorical and doctrinal inferences employed by authors of the Middle Ages.

The Fusion of history and fiction

A look at examples of how historical situations are first perceived and then written about and how those texts result in chivalric narrative is the first step in understanding the

process of creation involved in building a perfect hero such as Pero Niño. In the first section, various narrative techniques for making history look different were discussed. The previous examples in this section show how a simple misinterpretation of the text can build up or destroy an image. The resulting confusion of both sections just adds to the legend of a perfect hero. The following examples show various situations in which history and fiction fuse into one. Many of these examples parallel chivalric circumstances and narrative found in *El V*.

First, an important example of confusion between the narrative version of history, as recounted in historiographical narrative, and a book of chivalry, is the battle of Roncesvalles. This is a case of obvious, deliberate obsession with trying to change the reader's perception of a historical moment. Another case is the *Crónica de Turpin*, also called the "pseudo Turpin", and composed by the family of the Bishop of Santiago de Compostela, Bishop Gelmírez. It is believed to be French in origin⁶ and has been acclaimed as the first book of chivalry belonging to the Carolingian cycle.⁷

The cycle of books about Bernardo El Carpio began a process of *personalisation* within narrative written about knights. The development coincides with the resurgence of nationalist sentiment promoted by the Christian-Moslem conflict and which provided a foundation for the chivalrous patriotic sentiments between two areas in Spain, the Castile-León holdings, more Christian, and the southern part, more Moslem, which was considered the "other" part (or as Caro Baroja refers to this phenomenon: 'un sentimiento patriótico opuesto').⁸ This personalisation process led to legends, which were created to promote local heroes for young knights to emulate, and to build a patriotic sentiment among those who fought for the Church and State. Legends of knights, like those of Pero Niño in *El V*, fall within the type of legendary literature created for the chivalric narrative of Christian-Moslem

conflict in Castile and León.

The legend of Bernardo El Carpio became so popular that certain effects were created to continue to propagate the legend. As an example, the sword Bernardo El Carpio supposedly used is kept in the Armoury Museum in Madrid. Many literary critics have accepted his existence as a real knight. Further, Padre Mariana wrote about the life of Bernardo el Carpio in great detail.⁹ An epic poem dedicated to El Carpio¹⁰ and a play by Lope de Vega¹¹ helped continue to form the image of this national hero.¹²

As a consequence of such cycles of both books and novels of chivalry about supposedly real characters like King Arthur and Bernardo El Carpio, many people believe that the "knight in shining armour", the "knight-errant", or the "caballero andante" was a literary invention, existing only in books of chivalry, from the fourteenth century on or like, Bernardo El Carpio, in that the literary hero was a knight.¹³ The role of the literary knight was still being played out by knights-errant during the fifteenth century: the "waning of the Middle Ages",¹⁴ as Johan van Huizinga has called this epoch. What occurred at that time was a fusion of interests, both literary and historical, partly as a result of the fury of the Christian-Moslem conflict, which spurred knights-errant on in battle to imitate those "caballero andantes" written about in the literature created for the Christian-Moslem conflict.

In the fifteenth century in particular, as a result of this fury, knights were so enthusiastic about the popularity of the heroes described in books of chivalry that they would name their children after literary figures. One man, Johan Tolsa, named his son, Gawain, like the nephew of King Arthur. Many individuals were so convinced by the narrative in the popular *Amadís*¹⁵ that they evidently identified with the protagonist and named their children likewise in hopes the children would imitate the feats and chivalric behaviour of *Amadís*. One

example is Galaor Mosquera, a Portuguese knight who fought in *El Passo Honrosso*, who bore the name of the famous knight, Galaor in *Amadís*. Even a dog, as far back as 1372, was named "Amadís",¹⁶ suggesting that books of chivalry and in particular the original *Amadís*, had already created a certain social vogue. In one edition of *El V*, there is even a will entrusting property rights to Pero Niño's grandson who bears the name Tristán:¹⁷ "Que Tristán su nieto haya los trece mil maravedis de juro que le dexó su abuela la condesa Doña Beatriz, con mas otros cinco mil, que por todos sean diez y ocho".¹⁸

This ongoing popularity of fictive chivalric figures during the time of the Christian-Muslim conflict spurred knights like Pero Niño to continue living the ideals of chivalry, not only in jousts and tournaments and for personal reasons, but also in defence of national interests. These national interests were the reasons why Pero Niño participated in the three military and maritime campaigns and travelled to other countries (France and England).

Spanish chivalry was influential enough in the fifteenth century that even foreigners came to fight in the still throbbing Christian-Moslem conflict, to gain fame, but even more to pit themselves against other famous knights like Galaor.¹⁹ The novels of chivalry in existence before *El V*, like *Jehan de París*, *Tirant*, and *Curial and Guelfa*, reflected the real social life and individual battles of a knight at the beginning of the Christian-Moslem conflict. Later, towards the end of the Christian-Moslem conflict, authors like Games wrote chivalric narrative like the type of narrative written in reflection of the social life in the fifteenth century. Then, jousts and tourneys were held on important social occasions, such as royal weddings, where knights gathered to compete with the best of the Spanish knights.

At that time, the crusaders participating in the Christian-Moslem conflict were still battling against the Moors in southern Spain. The chapters dealing with the Mediterranean

campaign in *El V* reflect part of this historical moment. The skirmishes and the battles in the name of the Crusades of the Christian-Moslem conflict were opportunities for knights like Pero Niño, to not only prove their strength but also win favours from the King. One of the chivalric leitmotif patterns within *El V* is built around the compensation that Pero Niño does not receive from the three kings he fought under.

As these knights, like Pero Niño, were also, in a sense, intoxicated by chivalric literature, the popularity of narrative about knights-errant created a vicious circle of reading: fighting for fame, writing narrative, imitating famous knights, reading, and so on. Martín de Riquer refers to this process as "osmosis".²⁰ What is quite clear though, is that without a basis in reality the narrative about human knights like the count of Buelna who fought battles all over Europe and the parallel fictive creation of the figure of the "caballero andante", among them, *Tirant lo Blanch*, *Curial*, *Güelfa*, the other novels of chivalry would not have been possible; the conquest of the New World would have been entirely different²¹ and the literature about the New World as well.

The "osmosis" referred to by Martín de Riquer is just one example of how historical fact can become historiographic narrative and then, through the use of real names, can become chivalric narrative about real people. The lineage of Pero Niño is difficult to prove, so, *El V* has a sketchy genealogical historical reference and an excellent historiographical narrative, which at the same time is an excellent chivalric narrative.

One example of how easily historical data can become chivalric narrative is, at times, nothing more than a simple misunderstanding of terms as the series of intentional or unintentional "slips of the pen", easily done by any literary critic, like those made by Argote de Molina,²² while writing about the Niño family directly connected with *El V*. One critic sees

the description of Don Pero Niño's ascendancy by Games as rather ambiguous, even on purpose. However, Argote goes one step further to assure the reader that: 'Don Pero Niño [...] fue descendiente de Juan Niño Cavallero Francés de la Casa Real de Francia, como escribe Gutierre Díaz de Games en su historia, de cuyo linage son [...]'.²³ In historical documents, the name "Niño" seems to be difficult to trace and, to date, there is no clear ascendant line. What is clear is that in the second half of the fourteenth century 'La familia de los Niño parece poder ser adscrita a una baja nobleza de mínimas posesiones'.²⁴

Evidently, after much research, there is barely a clue as to the lineage of the Niño family but many theories. This is a possible explanation of the sparse mention of ascending family names, dates, births or deaths in *El V*. When the name does appear in historical documents, sometimes the antecedents are referred to as 'Pedro Fernández, El Niño'.²⁵ Within the narrative of *El V* itself, the references to lineage are few and purposely ambiguous.

It seems that Games refers to lineage in such a way as to lead the reader to believe there is a linkage, but no proof is given so that the true lineage of the Niño family is resultantly confusing. If it were true that Alfonso Fernández, "El Niño", illegitimate son of Alfonso El Sabio, were the ancestor of Pero Niño, then this would be equivalent to the recognised conditions declared for the protagonist in books of chivalry. If this were true, then, Señor de Molina would have been his name²⁶ - a title passed down and equivalent to a lineage used as a standard for heroes as referred to in books of chivalry, not novels, where the ascendant line is usually discovered and recognised by the protagonist at the end of the narrative.

Apparently, as seen in the quotation from *El V* about the count of Buelna, fighting for that recognition of lineage, Pero Niño has undertaken the same quest begun by his

grandfather. The *historical* interpretation of *El V*, as Beltrán has pointed out, is that Pero Niño is in search not only of his beginnings, but also specifically of the noble status his supposed family once had and lost.²⁷ The *literary* interpretation is that the reinstatement of their status, for fifteenth century society, would be the equivalent of the situation usually found in books of chivalry: the hero is unaware of his noble birth and after long battles and the quest for the origin of his family name, finally finds out who he is or meets his family again, usually at the end of the plot.

There is a coincidence between the situation in the Pero Niño family, an ambiguous lineage and the fight on the part of Pero Niño to return to his family's previously higher status, to that of a noble class (as referred to by the old wise man, the *ayo*, who taught Pero Niño the chivalric doctrine in the first book of *El V*²⁸) and the normal plot in books of chivalry. This fusion between literature and history for noble lineage, like many other circumstances in the life of the count of Buelna, could give rise to the structuring of Pero Niño's life circumstances on patterns of those novels and books of chivalry extant in the fifteenth century.

References to Orders of Knights

One such example of structuring Pero Niño's life on chivalric patterns is the order of knights referred to in Spanish as "*la Dama de Oro*" or "*La empresa del brazalete*", and in French, as "*L'écu vert à la Dama Blanche*". Pero Niño, as a knight errant and as a faithful representation of the Christian tradition, like his literary predecessors, was invited to join the "*empresa del brazalete*". Games uses the novelistic letter technique in the form of an invitation from the French knights belonging to the "*Orden del brazalete*", which alludes to the chivalric tradition within which he wishes to place the count of Buelna. (Chapters

XXXV, Primera parte, and LXXXIX, Tercera parte).

Originally formed by Jean de Mingre, Boucicot (1364-1421), the Mariscal of France, this order of thirteen knights, a number which coincides with the number selected for King Arthur's Round Table, (the twelve knights and the "other" chair) was distinguished by a golden arm band, the "*brazalete de oro*", worn by its members: 'liee autor du bras, une targe dor esmaillee de verd autout une dame blanche dedans'.²⁹

After being sworn in, the knights signed a letter promising to defend, above all, damsels in distress. Pero Niño was invited to join the French order as the knight to fill in the last vacated seat - that of Guillén de Chastel, a very famous knight in Europe. The last seat is another echo from the Round Table in Arthurian legend where the rule is the empty or "last seat", as it was referred to, was reserved for the knight who was to be recognised as the best of all knights.

The fact that Games does not have Pero Niño participate in the battle, could be taken as another proof, subliminal or not, on the part of the author to associate his narrative with a book of chivalry. Pero Niño is only invited to come, but as he never joins the knights to complete their battle of seven against seven, it seems to be more of a pretext on the part of Games to incorporate as many traditional chivalric images as possible.

This unfulfilled invitation points to an allusion more than a reality: the association of Pero Niño with a necessary traditional chivalric element to comply with the required hero worship fame of a knight errant in a book of chivalry. The example of the "*brazalete de oro*", in general, is used in French chivalric literature in such a way that Martín de Riquer refers to it as: 'un claro ejemplo de interferencia u osmósis entre lo real y lo novelesco'.³⁰

Games could have used the "*Orden de la Banda*", a historical order founded by

Alfonso XI, but the osmosis factor is more important to Games as a pattern for the count's life, so the chivalric fictive order is used instead. Two more fictive orders from books of chivalric narrative are associated with *El V*, Beltrán³¹ has studied *Tirant lo Blanch* and seen a comparison between the "*brazete de oro*" and the *voto* "*la devisa de la Banda*", similar to the "*Orden de la Banda*" founded by Alfonso XI – perhaps even the same as that order and "*la Orden de Ganotera*" to which Froissart alludes and Martorell in *Tirant lo Blanch* have placed their narratives.

Chivalric Numerological References

Numerical references in El Victorial

What caught my attention upon reading *El V* was the repetitive use of certain numbers throughout the text, which seems to be randomly placed. These numbers are largely, two, three, four, five, seven, ten, twenty, the odd thirty, forty, the odd fifty, a hundred, two hundred, the odd four hundred, five hundred, one thousand, two thousand, or the odd twenty thousand. The list of these numbers as they appear by chapter is gathered in Appendix H: "Numerical Scheme by Chapter". By looking more closely at the placement of these numbers, the function of the numbers used by Games to elaborate the text has indeed become a bit clearer.

Before looking at all the numbers, however, it is necessary to distinguish the different types of numerical references, meaning those which were lifted along with the original text borrowed from the source material, or those references employed by Games to complete the biographical description. The index, elaborated by the editor Llaguno in 1782, and reproduced in Appendix G: Synoptic Chart, shows the headings of the chapters where

borrowed material is concerned which are differentiated from the italicized titles referring to borrowed material not concerning Pero Niño. Here it becomes quite evident that only one third of the chapter headings even mention Pero Niño.

The borrowed material in *El V* refers to quotes from the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, classical literature, the book of Chivalry, *Amadis*, Arthurian references, part of the Brut legend, or that of Alexander the Great, as well as material from the official annals written at the time. Needless to say, the numerical references in the borrowed material from all the sources are maintained, when borrowed by Games, or omitted as he wished when these sections were woven into the chivalric narrative. These numbers, in conclusion, were not initially significant to the structure in the original composition of *El V*.

What is of interest in this research is the unapparent, but careful weaving of the text done on the part of Games. It is not only important *which* specific numerical references were chosen, but also *how* these references were used; the order in which they were placed; sometimes *where* the specific numbers were placed in the text; *which* numbers were reiterated time and time again and therefore, finally, the meaning behind the numbers assigned by Games in the placement thereof.

General Observations

Upon pondering the use of these numbers, many findings have, happily, highlighted suggestions made over the centuries by different editors and literary critics. Others have pointed towards a mediated symbolic use on the part of Games in the creation of the chivalric narrative about the count of Buelna.

As for the symbolic use of numbers and the organization of references to accompany that symbolism, most of the references are very, very closely knit into chapters which make

up the 'Preamble' through Book One up to Chapter Forty-Five. The editor, Llaguno, believes Chapters Forty-six and Forty-seven have been added, and I agree. Not only does the system of corollary numbers set up in the Preamble break down here, but also, the style becomes more open and more literary, as if it had been added much later when literary styles were no longer the same as the original draft seems to show. As a result of these numerical observations, I believe there could be more than two authors involved.

Number seven

The first numerical reference is that assigned by Games to the narrative in general about Pero Niño. The front page, the cover page, bears the shield representing the Niño family. On the shield, we have seven fleur de lis representing the supposed relationship of Pero Niño to French nobility as referred to in the text. We have found no papers justifying this claim. In Spanish Genealogy, shields reflecting one, three or five fleur de lis are common. Only the descendents of Pero Niño's family have used this shield as theirs as no previous shield has been indicated or found.

There are two possibilities as to the origin of this shield. As Adrian Ailes, a genealogist particularly interested in the French nobility, has noted,³² many shields were created upon the naming of a count by Royal decree when lands and favours were granted to an individual faithful to the King during wars. This is a likely situation in the case of the Niño family, as no similar shields are found before this date. What is interesting, though, is that the number seven is repeated in various forms throughout the narrative so carefully elaborated by Games, as if he were trying to evoke the number used in the shield.

In his 1940 edition, de Mata Carriazo glosses a reproduction of the first page of ms 17648 from the National library with a note referring to the fact that it was the great grandson

of Pero Niño's brother, the Patriarch of the Indies, who, centuries later, added his shield and the border found on the manuscript with the fleur de lis, and seven signet ring designs placed at equal distances around the border. Each signet has a different symbol, which, oddly enough, does not reflect any of the other designs used by any of the Niño families. The number seven is, however, used in *El V*, to signify the key chivalric episodes likened to certain passages in the Bible, the titles, and associated with the different chivalrous traditions in the narrative about the count of Buelna.

In the Preamble, it is the seventh chapter where Games uses the story of Jesus and the Palm Tree, taken from the Old Testament, to explain that the Palm of Victory is an honour given to the unconquered knights. Games, further on in the text, links this Palm of Victory episode to the title of the chronicle, *El Victorial*, and to Pero Niño as a successful knight.

In Book Two, in Chapter Sixty-eight, Games tells the story about the French knight, Guillen de Chastel, 'el más valiente caballero que se pudiera encontrar en todo el reino de Francia, incluso en Inglaterra, Guillame de Chastell'³³ and mentions the chivalric traditions of the battle of seven against seven. A few paragraphs later, he explains the circumstances of Chastel's death preparing the stage for the necessity of Chastel's French order to look for a substitute, who will be the unusually young, but already widely re-known Pero Niño.

In the Middle Ages, the phrase "seven against seven" echoes the battle of the seven virtues against the seven vices.³⁴ The seven virtues and vices are alluded to in the Preamble of *El V*. The biblical meaning of the number is that of being a "perfección espiritual",³⁵ or chaste, sharing the same meaning in English. Several critics have noted the relationship between the name, Chastel and "chaste", giving another meaning to Chastel's name and the concept of "spiritual", which is, then, transferred to Pero Niño by association of the fame

shared with his French counterpart.

This same battle of seven against seven appears later in Chapter Eighty-four and applied to the count of Buelna. Here, Pero Niño receives a letter inviting him to take Chastel's place, which is number seven. The count, very pleased to be considered, graciously accepts the seventh chair and attends a banquet as the seventh knight.

As was common in the Middle Ages, in real life, knights would emulate their favourite historical or fictive knight by dressing in the colours of a famous knight, such as the "Green Knight", covering the shield with the pattern used by that knight, adding plumes to a helmet and presenting themselves with the same name. During tourneys, these knights, as a continuation of the acting out of deeds attributed to those famous knights, would joust in the name of their chosen knight as well. All of this reaffirms the doctrine of knighthood which supported the knights' attempt to associate their names with those of recognized fame. These examples are yet just another reflection of how literature was lived out by knights' errant and would-be knights' errant.³⁶

The underlying association the fifteenth century reader would make with number seven is found in the Arthurian tradition. The seventh knight at the round table is the most important. Frequently, the chair remained vacant, as the allusion made in *El V* shows. This position, then, given to Arthur, seen as that of Chastel, and later offered to Pero Niño, is to subliminally create a line of descendents of the most important knights leading directly from the origin of Arthurian legend to the French successor Chastel, and then to Pero Niño as Games has the count nominated to be the Castilian successor of the knightly dynasty. This is another allusion to the Arthurian legend which Games places in the story of the count's life.

In the introduction to the Preamble a system of numbers relating to the total sum of

seven is introduced as a key number system used by Games in the layout of his text and the explanation of the outline he has followed in the structuring of Pero Niño's adventures at this particular time of life. In the Preamble, Games refers to the four Cardinal Virtues and their importance. Next, he names four Princes, each exemplary of one of the four Cardinal Virtues. The importance of the four knights is that each embodies a concept of the Cardinal Virtues from classical literature.

The first knight mentioned and dealt with in the first chapter following the Preamble is King Solomon, who, in turn, is described as the embodiment of Justice, linking his actions to the first of the four Cardinal Virtues discussed in the Preamble. After this, each Prince is discussed with reference to a specific virtue; Alexander the Great is associated with moderation; Nebuchadnezzar is strength; Caesar is prudence. After this, Games reminds us that a good knight should always be governed by the seven virtues: the four Cardinal and the three Theological ones. To follow, Games cites the four Virtues and explains how each virtue is related to chivalry.

Then, these Cardinal Virtues are discussed and associated with anecdotes. The layout of the reflections concerning the virtues is to be found in a group of three explanations of four points each (referring to the Cardinal Virtues, the Princes and the anecdotes). This construction is one of the four concepts mentioned three times, coincidentally or not, leading to a total of four plus three, which is seven.

It seems to be that this pattern is not capricious as it is repeated with the advice given by the narrator, Games, when referring to how a good knight should behave. The examples are not the Cardinal virtues, but taken from different types of text, be it common beliefs, instructions from the *ayo* as given to Pero Niño and the Prince as a child before he takes his

first arms in the beginning chapters. The advice comes in groups of three and there are four groups placed throughout the narrative about the count of Buelna's chronicle. The placement of three groups of four which add up to seven seems to be too much of a coincidence to be random on the part of Games. As a result, I believe there must be a canon the author was following upon laying out the text.

Later, in the text where Games describes the battles of the count of Buelna, these references to the specific virtues are linked to Pero Niño. As the story of the count is being developed, Games very carefully relates the heroic deeds of the famous chivalric Princes to Pero Niño in his actions during the campaigns and at other moments throughout the accounts of his life, thus creating a parallel of virtues along the way. The advice given in the four groups of three is also re-iterated throughout the narrative and conveniently associated with Pero Niño during his adventures and exploits.

Another reason why Games refers to the battle of seven against seven is a clear reference to numbers frequently used symbolically in books of chivalry. The allegory associated with the battle appears in the episode in which Don Pero Niño is invited in a letter by the duke of Orleans to replace Mosén Guillén del Castell.

The reference in *El V* is:

este hera el noble cavallero mosén Guillén del Chastel, a qual Dios faga merçed, que murió en Cornualla, en guerra, como vuen cavallero. Porque vos rixamos que por honrra de cavallería, e por amor de vuestra amiga, vos plega de ser nuestro hermano en lugar del buen caballero mosen Guillén del Chastel, e de ser vno de los que deben delibrar aquesta enpresa (243/12-18)

Games, then, by having el conde de Buelna invited into an order, which participates in the battle of seven against seven, is placing Pero Niño within the chivalric tradition and fulfilling the two main requirements for hero worship literature alluded to in the letter to fight against

evil and defend all women, and for his woman in particular, (at that time, Madame Xirofontayne). The letter of invitation refers to Castell:

Mosén Guillén del Castell, el noble e muy baliente caballero [...] (513/65)

Tanto se atrebía en su balentía, que muchas vezes en los canpos acometía al que le caya en suerte de lo tomar a manos. Entró en una vatalla de siete por siete, e los otros contrarios eran yngleses, e fué bençedor él e sus compañeros [...] (193/25-26; 196/8-12)

By inviting Pero Niño to join them and substitute the vacant seat left by Mosén Guillén del Castell, the band may continue to battle as seven against seven.

For the medieval reader, the opposition of seven against seven evokes the vision of two camps at the battle in which the seven virtues in Eden triumph over the seven proud heads of the apocalyptic monster; and also represents the seven capital sins.³⁷ The opposition of seven against seven also evokes the image of the trees in the Garden of Eden symbolising good and evil, the roots of which are Charity and Egoism. All vices spring from the love of one's self, whereby the virtues come from the abnegation of self. The seven virtues appear as seven trees in the Garden of Eden, which, in turn symbolise the soul.³⁸

Pero Niño, if we are to follow the interpretation intended by Games, has been called upon to participate in the recreation of the great Christian battle of the seven virtues against the seven vices:

Ya savedes cómo mosén Ponze En-Perellós trae la Dama blanca bordada en su ropa, e vn brazal de oro, en despecho...E vos bien sabedes cómo nosotros, mercedes a Dios, delibramos el canpo de los yngleses, siete por siete, e fuemos benzedores (242/30; 243/1-2; 243/6-8)

The allegorical significance of "la Dama blanca" is the Virgen Caudillo for whom the knights

fight: an image which echoes the words in the *Proemio*: ‘de la Siempre Virgen gloriosa nuestra señora, e nuestra esperanza e abogada, e nuestro caudillo, Virgen Santa Maria’ (1/14-16).

Here, then, the battle of the seven virtues against the seven vices is also an echo of the moral doctrine presented in the *Proemio*. In turn, the battle is also the reminder of the common chivalric narrative leitmotif "*buen caballero/ mal caballero*" found in books and novels of chivalry: the "*buen caballero*" being Christ, or symbolised by Guillén del Chastel (the name is "purity" in French). The "*buen caballero*" possesses all the virtues, as does Pero Niño. In this reference, Games reminds the reader of the "chasteness" of Pero Niño at the same time he echoes the Arthurian cycle's "empty chair", the perfect knight element common to ‘La Vulgata’ books of chivalry.

We do not have proof that Pero Niño attended the battle of seven against seven but Games places him in the famous jousts after the wedding ceremony. These jousts are so popular in France that the prize for the winner of the foray in the Costura de Santa Catalina was ‘un brazal de oro con un barescudo e un chapel muy rico’ (238/27).

The formula behind this scene is to repeat itself frequently in *El V*, as Pero Niño goes from battle to battle. In the allegorical references, whether in numbers, images, climactic or natural conditions, he is constantly pitted against symbols of the evil in the world. In one battle after another, Pero Niño, with his sword; i.e., his faith in God, is victorious. From this concept Games has taken the title of the work, *El V*.

This one reference to the battle of seven against seven, then, is an emblem for *El V*. The episode is full of symbolism which refers to the protagonist: the leitmotif of "*buen caballero*"/ "*mal caballero*"; the main theme of arms and love; the required Arthurian echoes;

the French didactic fusion, and use of a letter form as common in the sentimental genre also developing as a narrative form at the same time as this chivalric narrative prose. If there is a signature episode in chivalric narrative in *El V*, this is a good example of one.

'El voto'

This episode of the "*empresa del brazalete*" is an example of similar episodes, which appear in many narratives all over Europe. This specific aspect of the original "*voto*", or promise: the brief mention of the "*empresa del Brazalete*", is a way in which Games can make sure that the future count participates in all types of vows and promises common to other European chivalric narrative contributing to the osmosis of reality and fiction in *El V*.

The real vow or promise has two purposes: love and arms. Both vows echo the main fictive theme introduced in the *Proemio*: arms and love. For love, Games explains that knights:

E otrosí porque saben que por su amor son ellos mejores e se traen más guarnidos, e fazen por su amor grandes prezas e cavallerías, ansí en armas como en juegos, e se ponen a grandes abenturas, e búscanlas por su amor, e van en otros reynos con sus empresas dellas, buscando canpos e lides, loando cada uno su amada e señor' (90/28-29;91/1-4)

There are other types of vows or "*votos*" in which Pero Niño participates in the battles: first, a religious one, the promise to go to battle for God:

De lo cual toda la compañía fueron muy alegres e pagados, e aun muy maravillados los que algo dellos entendían. Los "*vodos*" no los escribo, porque sería luenga cosa de contar; mas yo vos digo que el capitán entró en tales lugares donde bien pudo cada uno probar a cunplir su "*Bodo*" como quier que la mayor parte los cumplió (101/5-10)

Another specific aspect of the "*empresa*" or promise is: '*Justificaba* y se daba cierto contenido simbólico al deseo de combatir por el placer mismo de exhibirse luchando cuando

no existían razones de odio o de malquerencia.’³⁹

An example of the fervour with which Pero Niño fought as a vocation is:

El donzel Pero Niño se esmeró mucho aquél día y fue uno de los que más adelante llegaron e más fizieron por sus manos (78/4-6)

subió e llegó al palenque, e peleó con los que ende falló muy reciente, rompiendo el palenque a todo su poder. Allí perdió la lança e puso mano a la espada, e allí fué ferido de muchos golpes de lanzas e fachas e espadas; e a pesar dellos, derrivó una tabla del palenque, e a Dios gracias salió dellos dende muy bien (78/26-29)

An excuse for the knights’ errant to imitate episodes found in books of chivalry was the knights’ vow or "*voto caballero*", which normally led to a joust, or could even lead to "*a Paso de Armas*". The "*paso de armas*" usually lasted several days or even weeks. The number of lances to be broken was preset and the place chosen was usually one where the person for whom the knight was jousting could see him:⁴⁰

como los que consideramos en páginas anteriores, los hombres del siglo XV imitaban episodios novelescos y se inspiraban en la literatura, como bien claramente revelan los títulos de los que acabamos de recordar.⁴¹

The knights’ vow is important because it binds the knight to a promise that he must fight in order to be liberated from this vow, whether to a knight or for his lady:

La pelea era tan fuerte, e la priesa tanta, que al que mejor yba tenía asaz trabajo. Tan buenos heran de amas partes, *e tan a voluntad lo avían*, que si non por un seso que Pero Niño tomó en poca de ora se acabaran todos unos a otros, que muy pocos quedaron bibos (269/5-9)

The vow also bound the knight to do battle to settle differences: ‘Con mucha frecuencia las batallas entre caballeros eran debidas al odio o a discrepancias en diversos aspectos.’⁴²

A challenge, or ‘*desafío*’ of Pero Niño often takes form of a dare. This situation, like many others, shows how a knight will dare another to battle just for having spoken against the king:

Envió allá un araote con requesta a dezir que si avía alguno dellos, cavallero

o escudero perteneciente, que dixese que el su rey de Portugal non avía començado aquella guerra e tomado la çuidad de Vadajoz malamente, teniendo tregua con su señor el rey de Castilla e estando seguros e en paz, que él ge lo faría conosçer de su querto al suyo, delante de su rey, a pie o a cavallo, como quisiesen; para lo qual envió su empresa. (80/8-12; 80/13-15)

Another part of the vow was to maintain the rules of the order the knight pertained to;

Ca él tenía cargo de hordenar las guardas de los campos, e de los herueros e de las gentes que yran fuera del real. (727/377-379)

Allende de todo esto, él armábase e fazía el exercicio de la guerra, así como cada uno de los otros caballeros (334/3-4; 334/6-8)

or for political reasons and to fight to establish the Faith in God:

El buen caballero vió que non tenía ayuda sinó de Dios, e que a él sólo conbenía delibrar aquel fecho: peleó tan fuertemente que es una cosa dura de creer, salvo a aquellos que lo vieron. Dió tan fuertes golpes, e firió e mató a tantos que en poca de ora desenbargó la gente e los llevó delante sí fasta la mitad de la galera (403/36-38)

E venía ya el día claro, e vieron los moros que un solo hombre hazía aquel daño todo en ellos: volvieron a él como canes ravisos, e tan fuertemente ferían en él, que los no podían sufrir (403/41; 404/42-43)

E fué a ellos tan brabo como ba el león a la presa, firiendo e matando en ellos, llevándolos por la galera adelante xorada ya toda fasta la proa (403/29-34);

and other battles are for the disgrace of the enemy:

E fizieron aquel día mucho serviçio a Dios e al rey, e mucho de sus honrras, ca ronpieron aquél día aquéllos henemigos de la feé, e fueron firiendo e matando en ellos, e atajaron toda la hueste de los moros, e daxaron a la parte de la mano yzquierda más de ochenta mill moros desconcertados. De que los moros vieron al conde e a su gente, e cómo heran atajados, fuyeron (335/25-31)

or for the pure delight of competitive sport:

Allí fué una reça peleá en muy breve espacio. A la fin los yngleses, mal su grado, ovieron a dexar la plaza, e posáronse en la tierra firme. (528/63-66)
El capitán facía allí aquel día tiros de ballesta en que derrocava e fería

muchos dellos. E duró aquél asaetear unos a otros muy grand tienpo fasta que los pastió la noche (205/13-15; 205/25-27)

Games followed the literary conventions with the intention of interpreting the theory which supports the main theme. Sometimes, literary critics added further to the fusion of history and fiction by creating a legend. On the part of many authors, an imitation of "real life" knight errantry was sought by using literary models for the interpretation of action by real knights for books of chivalry, on one hand, and imitating real life situations for imaginary knights in novels of chivalry, on the other.

It is likely that some chapters were added and it is my belief that the study of the meaning behind the numbers, Gematría, was considered upon creating the text and the author had a definite purpose in choosing certain numbers. Given the results, there are probably two authors – who knows, or perhaps other scribes. Through the figures we have seen, certain patterns precluded specific actions and that certain images and numbers seem to be obligatory, further study on patterns arranged by numbers might help identify the author.

NOTES AND CITATIONS FOR CHAPTER TWO

¹ González, Cristina. *La Tercera Crónica de Alfonso X: "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar"*. London, Tamesis, Ltd. 1992, 21.

² See Mario Vargas Llosa, "Introduction" to Edwin Williamson's book *"El Quijote y los libros de caballerías"*, Madrid, Taurus, 1991, 13-17.

³ Round, Nicholas. *The Greatest Man Uncrowned. A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna*. London, Tamesis, 1986, 106.

⁴ Highfield, Roger, ed. *Spain in the Fifteenth Century*. Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain. Trans. Frances M. Lopez Morrilla. Stratum Series, London, MacMillan, 1972, 163.

⁵ The other reference (p. 139) refers to the Queen giving birth to her son where a tournament was held to celebrate the birth.

⁶ Much of the imagery basing Spanish chivalry scenes on the text of *El Victorial* is also believed to be French in origin and it is included in the chapter on novelesque elements.

⁷ Caro Baroja, Julio. *Las Falsificaciones de la historia*, Barcelona, Clásicos Hispánicos, 1976, 43.

⁸ Caro Baroja, Julio, (1976), Op cit., 36.

⁹ Caro Baroja, Julio, (1976), Op cit., 43.

¹⁰ Caro Baroja, Julio, (1976), Ibidem.

¹¹ Caro Baroja, Julio, (1976), Ibidem.

¹² These and other minor heroes are commented upon by Julio Caro Baroja, (1976).

¹³ This epoch coincides with the more literary side of knowledge about knights as we have documental proof and general historical movements of monarchies. Few books, *El Victorial* being one of them, add such detail to battles and arguments, albeit with clear religious and political propagandistic undertones.

¹⁴ This term refers to the end of the Middle Ages.

¹⁵ This refers to the primitive version of the *Amadís* before the sixteenth century Christianised version by Montalvo.

¹⁶ The dog belonged to the then duke of Gerona, the future Juan I of Aragón.

¹⁷ Vid. Salvador Diez, Mariano, *La Villa de Cigales*, Cigales, 1989.

¹⁸ De Llaguno Amirola, Eugenio. *Crónica de don Pero Niño*, Madrid, 1782, 227.

¹⁹ Riquer, Martín de. "Las armas en *El Victorial*", *Serta Philológica*, Homenaje a Lázaro Carreter, Tomo I, Madrid, 1983, 100-05.

²⁰ Riquer, Martín, 1983, Op cit., 12.

²¹ Riquer, Martín, 1983, Op cit., 170.

²² Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza en Andalucía*. Sevilla, 1588, 209-210 e "índice. 1588.

²³ Rafael Beltrán cites this example in attempt to trace the Niño family line. However, although he has not found a manuscript, he shows the subtle switch in concepts. n. Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la Realidad Histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de El Victorial*. (Tesis doctoral presentado por Rafael Beltrán Llavador. dirigida por D. Juan Blecua). Valencia, 1986. 55.

²⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (1986), Op cit., 116.

²⁵ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (1986), Op cit., 127.

²⁶ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (1986), Op cit., 100-107.

²⁷ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (1986), Ibidem.

²⁸ Mata Carriazo, ibid, Chap. XIX - Chap. XXI.

²⁹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (1986), Op cit., 148.

³⁰ Riquer, Martín de, (1983), 15.

³¹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (1986), 28.

³² Adrian Ailes, after a lecture on "Medieval Genealogy", in a private conversation during the *Fourth Medieval Chronicle Conference* in Reading, England, July 2005.

³³ Riquer, Martin de, (1983), Op. cit., 41.

³⁴ This point is also mentioned in the section on the "Choice of names" in this paper.

³⁵ E.W. Bullinger. *Como entender y explicar los números de la Biblia*, Barcelona, Clie. 1990, 174.

³⁶ Riquer, Martin de, (1983), Op cit., 41.

³⁷ Tuve, R. *Allegorical Imagery: Some medieval books and their posterity*. Princeton, University Press, 1966, 80.

³⁸ These images are the epitome of intellectual refinement, as they also represent seven clean fountains; seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; seven virgins' drinking water from seven cups which represent the seven steps in the prayer of Our Father. This image appears in Lorens, *Somme le Roi* (1279) Apud Santiago Sebastian López, *Iconografía Medieval*, Etor, Arte, 295.

³⁹ Riquer, Martín de, (1983), Op cit., 15.

⁴⁰ Riquer, Martín de, (1983), Op cit., 58.

⁴¹ Riquer, Martín de, (1983), Op cit., 66.

⁴² Riquer, Martín de, I, (1983), Op cit., 142.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHIVALRIC PENINSULAR
NARRATIVE IN *EL VICTORIAL*

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Historical Development of Chivalric Narrative

Like Viña Liste, Juan Bautista Avalle Arce¹ proposes a change in terminology for books of chivalric nature. Viña Liste says that in literary history, the Arthurian cycle refers to books of chivalry and we should only call those "narrative" which go back to the Arthurian *Vulgata*; hence, the narrative of Chrétien de Troyes should be called "books of chivalry". The "newer" novels of chivalry refer to those narratives which go up to *Saintré, Sala*, (1156), *Curiel y Güelfa* (first half of the fifteenth century).

In search of a new term, Viña Liste has proposed a Gallicism: "roman", referring to "novel" but of "chivalric romance", narrative which defined in various languages would be "*roman caballeresco*" in Spanish; "romances of chivalry" in English and "*romance de chevalrie*" in French. In Spanish then, "*roman*" would refer to narratives in both prose and verse developed after the thirteenth century. This would include both *Amadís*, full of fantasy, as well as *Tirant lo Blanch*, more restrained and realistic in nature.²

To further trace the development and variation of Spanish chivalric literature, Menéndez Pidal explains how the fantastic elements so prevalent in the earlier chivalric literature of other countries are missing from the Spanish narrative.

A nada conduciría, ni es propio de la índole de esta obra, investigar aquí los orígenes de la literatura andantesca, que sólo llega a España de reflejo y a última hora. (La cavallería histórica nacional, tal como se retrata en las crónicas) y en los poemas eminentemente realistas que la celebran, ni rendía culto a la galantería, ni se enamoraba de lo maravilloso. Toda su grandeza procede de la vida real. Nada de empresas temerarias, ni de ilícitos devaneos. Los adulterios de Tristán e Isola o de Lanzarote y Ginebra, las proezas de Artús y de la Tabla Redonda, interesaban poco a nuestros castellanos.³

Following this idea, it would hold that Games would reflect the norm of chivalric literature in Spain at the time. Of the three social classes recognised in the Middle Ages, the "*bellatores*" were the warrior class of the Middle Ages, called Knights. Knights were considered the princes of the ruling class in feudal Europe, hence the references to princes in chivalric literature as well as the right to obtain a rank in nobility. Medieval knights considered themselves as princes and emulated the "knights", or famous warriors, described as heroes in historical references from Ancient Greece and Rome. Hero worship was close to the emulation these knights had for their predecessors; they themselves wanted to become heroes and read heroic literature.

Another reflection found in chivalric literature is religious. The Church monopolised culture in the Middle Ages and theologians used Christian ideology to promote the protectorate role of the knights who formed the militia. This religious backing imbued the knights in the militia with divine power, creating the image of a divine institution. From this point on, knights were considered the princes of society. Le Goff reflects upon this process: 'Lo que se ha dado en llamar la cristianización del ideal caballeresco no es más, probablemente, que la victoria del poder sacerdotal sobre la fuerza guerrera'.⁴

The incorporation of monks and warriors into a respective class was required to create an institution of "knights errant". García Gual explains the reciprocity as follows: the knights

depended on the doctrine and ideology the Church conferred upon them in order to glorify them as a class; and the Church needed the knights' protection. The service rendered to the Church by the knights in defence of religion, made both church and knights errant necessary to the governing institutions of the time.⁵

The division of warrior-knights was considered a religious order, separate from the regular classes of monks. In Spain, the Templars were decreed the first knightly order. They were soon to be followed by others, like the orders of Calatrava or Santiago. The increase in the development of chivalric narrative, in Spain, coincides with the historical development of this order formation and the Reconquest. The knights lived these historical moments in the stylised version of their role. What is very clear, however, is, as a protectorate class of the elite, the vision created through chivalric narrative is superimposed on a daily reality. The fusion of real life and literature has been mentioned before in the previous two chapters.

However, it was not until the twelfth century, when Chrétien de Troyes (1135-1190) fused the cycle based on the Arthurian legends with the French courtly chivalric books that the beginning of a differentiation between history and fiction within the chivalric books began to change the definitions of books of chivalry. This historiographical material evolves over the next three centuries and becomes even more clearly defined.

According to Viña Liste, this fusion of Arthurian legends and French courtly books was one of Anglo-Saxon Christian models reformed over a twelfth century French code for knights of the court with a Neoplatonic viewpoint.⁶ One specialist on epic legends, W.P. Ker, describes the result as a revolution, which ended local restrictions on narrative and from which, in one way or another, all forms of chivalric romance or novel derive.⁷

At the time of Chrétien, in Spain, the chivalric manual *De lauder moral militias* by Saint Bernard, 1136, established the guidelines to be followed by knights and was dedicated to the new military order founded by the Templars. This explains how the chivalric activity of knights errant became one of even more marked religious and moral behaviour by incarnating Christian and human virtues. Amador de los Rios explains it as follows: ‘La caballería era una religión y su sacerdocio el ejercicio de todas la virtudes’.⁸ Ker, observing the patterns in epic legends, was aware of the literary fusion effected by Chrétien in the twelfth century as: ‘una revolución de la que se derivan en mayor o menor grado todas las formas y configuraciones del romance y la novela.’⁹

Later, Jauss recognised the essential role that Chrétien played in the evolution of the "roman", (the French word referring to "novels") putting the narrative on a sound didactic and historically believable base. This translates into the definition of two clear channels of text development: a conscientious effort to create a) fiction for entertainment and b) a symbolic representation of reality which is not noticed when reading the narrative.¹⁰

Hence, the first reaction of any modern readers¹¹ is to ignore the subtler message in a moral didactic code that would be more meaningful to a medieval reader and concentrate on the "historically believable" travels and feats of Pero Niño. It seems that the historiographical narrative in Games is that of a mirror image of the revolution of the "roman" as a historically sound narrative intended to entertain. The classification by Jauss is that of fiction.

As a result of this new literary fusion at the beginning of the thirteenth century, verse was partially replaced by prose commonly found in chronicles. This change in fictional narrative reveals, as pointed out by Viña Liste,¹² a concerted effort to provide an air of historical authenticity. Just as the Mester de Clerecía authors regularly used written sources

as models to give their works the "prestige" of remote Antiquity, these authors of fiction adopted classic models to confer a prestigious framework on their narratives. Rhetoricians call this "*historia ficta*".¹³

Benedicta Ward and Stephen Nichols have observed that the chronicles, on one hand, introduce the narrated events as a result of Divine Providence and establish relations between these events and narrative taken from the Old and New Testaments in the Bible, whereas the epic poems, on the other hand, reduce the narrated events to an opposition between good and evil, and use this opposition for propagandistic purposes.¹⁴

Fernando Gómez declared the projection of history in the chivalric doctrine to be the intent of the author. The text cited by Games underlines this inclination behind the text: 'Primeramente diré qué es ofiçio e arte de cavallería, e donde e por qué se levantó, e a qué provecho la fizieron los honbres, e cómo començaron a ser los honbres fidalgos [...]' (2/5-8). The principle, then, is the exaltation of chivalry through examples of doctrine.¹⁵

Francisco Rico (1985) has shown that, as in the *General Estoria* of Alfonso X, history was written to propose a working model of imitation, whereby man is a microcosm and the world is made in man's image. Consequently, "history" was a story of man developed in stages and portrayed as an incarnate imitation of man as conceived by God. The stages in the life of Pero Niño are portrayed as those of the story of man who lives in imitation of the world as God conceived it.

Christina González however, as seen below, has suggested a more important fictive chivalric assessment for the text normally considered a chronicle, *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. Warriors from ancient times were chosen to represent these stages, giving a new dimension to the Christian idea of the crusades themselves. This concept also determined the

ways in which the story is told, in reference to six techniques used to weave the tales of the crusaders involved.¹⁶ These techniques are also used by Montalvo in *El Amadís*.

To list, these techniques are: 1) first oral and *juglaresque* formulae which organise a narrative fragment; 2) specification of the genre used; 3) summary of a unit and facilitation of the general understanding and function of that unit within the text; 4) showing how the author organises the narrative units; 5) beginning a new argumentative line, which had been interrupted¹⁷ and 6) marking the different narrative moments between action and thought.

The time span between the narrative developed by Alfonso X and that in *Amadís* of Montalvo covers three centuries. These six techniques, also found in *Amadís*, are evidence of the influence the *Estoria de España* had on fictional chivalric prose. These authors, among others, drew from the already existing historiographical narrative.

Cristina González has observed that in *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, both types of presentation of chronicles and epic poems appear as reflected in the Prologue and in the first twenty-nine chapters of the narrative. González declares *La Gran Conquista* ‘como una crónica particular de hechos caballerescos de marcado carácter épico y, por lo tanto, propagandístico’.¹⁸ There is a definite internal structure dependent upon the relationships between the narrated events and passages from the Bible, on the one hand, and another series of epic images supporting the narrative of propagandistic nature, on the other.

After having studied the deep structures within *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, González hypothesises that the chronicle, as a narrative, is ‘una obra fundamental en el panorama de la literatura caballeresca de la Península Ibérica’.¹⁹ González summarises: ‘Mi hipótesis es que la conquista que, en consonancia con los valores y los gustos de los siglos XII y XIII, presenta un ideal aristocrático y un final abierto’.²⁰

González continues by relating *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* to other novels of chivalry:

es la crónica alfonsina que mayor influencia ejerció en las novelas de caballerías hispánicas (menos en el Zifar) y en otras novelas de caballerías de los siglos XIV y XV, las cuales presentan un ideal democrático y un final cerrado, que en el Amadís y en las otras novelas de caballerías de los siglos XVI y XVII, las cuales presentan un ideal aristocrático y un final abierto.²¹

A key concept here is one pointed out by Victoria Cirlot. Cirlot maintains that if the "roman" was originally a chronicle (and therefore considered "*res gesta*"), and that if Chrétien de Troyes transformed this genre by situating it on a fictional plane to create the novel, the authors of "dilated" fiction, such as the Lancelot cycle in prose, looked for truth on another dimension by placing historical reality on the plane of "*res ficta*".²² This point is fundamental to the understanding of how some literary critics previously classified some narrations labelled "chronicle" as historiographic and others, like Chrétien de Troyes, used the same fictive techniques to create "*res ficta*", or in this sense, *novels of chivalry*.

It was at this point in the thirteenth century that the historiographic elements, later developed by Alfonso X, and the chivalric narrative shared a "common pool" of narrative techniques in Spain as they developed in parallel and were later perfected up through the sixteenth century. This 'Common Pool of Chivalric Narrative' is gathered in the first half of Fig. 3.2 in this same chapter.

As the centuries passed, the intent of authors gradually led to a differentiation in the choice of elements, which, by the sixteenth century, created a fairly wide difference in the categorisation of narratives which modern literary critics use to discern the genres. Today, peninsular books of chivalry are generally recognised as a solid genre starting with *Amadís*:

‘nuestra literatura caballescica del siglo XVI, como otros géneros, tendió a cristalizar en *modelos fijos* a causa de una rápida posibilidad de reproducción e imitación’.²³

Notwithstanding, Curto Herrero still insists: ‘se podría estudiar esta literatura como si fuera un organismo que fué haciéndose poco a poco, a cuyo desarrollo se asistiría desde su nacimiento (1508) hasta su extinción (1602)’.²⁴ In the second half of Fig. 3.2: “Common Pool of Chivalric Narrative” and Fig 3.1: “Historical Development of Historical Narrative” are the characteristics which seem to evolve in time; an echo of Herrero’s wish.

Herrero's claim reflects how literary critics currently accept the *libros de caballerías* as a genre only in the sixteenth century. The formulas found in chivalric literature as presently discussed followed the same pattern earlier; these previous texts served as examples for later texts, which copied the pattern but were more refined. The genre, however, did in fact exist at an earlier date, and many narratives from the fifteenth century, which follow the chivalric patterns could be included in this genre, among them, that of the count of Buelna.

El Victorial within Chivalric Narrative

Until recently, much literary criticism has been based on the nineteenth century view of the difference between history and fiction. This dichotomy has been questioned in more recent investigation, which looks into elements common to historiographic and fictional narratives from the thirteenth century on.²⁵ However, it was not until very recently that this "common pool" has been acknowledged and the actual difference between "*historia ficta*" and "*res ficta*" re-examined accordingly. It is even more difficult to trace the courtly chivalric elements after they are fused by Chretien with the Neo-Platonic French mentality in the

thirteenth century, up through the creation in Spain of Montalvo's *Esplandián* and Cervantes's *Don Quijote* in the sixteenth century.

For Viña Liste, one cannot speak of a pure genre of chivalric literature in Spain until Montalvo re-elaborates the *Amadís*. Alan Deyermond and most critics claim that *Zifar* is the first "roman", or Spanish book of adventures in prose, rather than the various Alphonsine works such as *General Estoria*.²⁶ However, González investigated the chivalric narrative in *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* and found some surprising similarities with chivalric prose. These findings led González to suggest that a change of classification be contemplated. In texts pre-dating *El libro del cavallero Zifar* and *Amadís*, Viña Liste points out and lists the presence of typical standardised chivalric elements.²⁷

In the past two decades, applications of methodologies such as that of the structuralists have helped to shed some light on the actual arrangement of terms and this has enabled literary critics to trace them better throughout the narrative. The structuralism theories and their subsequent refinement have helped literary critics reconceive the definition of "*relato*" by replacing it with "fable" and accepting synonyms such as "argument" or "plot" and "history" or "*asunto*" when referring to "matter". These words represent basic concepts which can be used to construct the narrative discourse for texts interrelated chronologically by separating the key elements from those texts and reducing basic structures to formulas.

Some of those formulas have been used in this study and have made it possible to compare chivalric texts. This, in turn, made it possible for the identification of certain structures in the chivalric narratives clearer. The essential elements of the fable, such as the treatment of time and space, actions, "actors", and feats, are quite similar to many of the

chivalric narrative elements found in narrative for didactic prose from medieval peninsular literature.

The basic difference between the chivalric narrative which creates a sense of reality and that which does not rests upon precisely *how* the author uses this treatment of time, space, actors and especially feats. Those authors who use these elements in imitation of real time, space, actors and feats are able to create a semblance, or mirror, of reality. Those who chose to remove this vision of reality from behind these elements developed a more fictive narrative. Although the moral-didactic code remained a constant in both types of narratives, in chivalric narrative, the appearance changed. This same difference, which is "*res historica*" versus "*res ficta*", again, also led to a misclassification of some chivalric narratives on the part of many critics.

The removal of real historical names and places from these elements, so common to chivalric narrative, has created an absence of a sense of reality. Here, it seems to me there is another division of romance narrative which should be considered. Limiting this proposed genre to those books which reflect an absence of an eyewitness narrator to give the narrative a sense of reality seems to be contradictory, as another element common to chivalric narrative from the Arthurian cycle through Chrétien de Troyes and up to and beyond *Zifar*, *Amadís*, and *Don Quijote*, is that of a religious, allegorical or theoretical foundation.

To separate those chivalric narratives where the author attempts a semblance of reality from those where the author has removed any semblance of reality, is one possibility, but it is important to not deny some of the corollary elements related to chivalric narrative common and fundamental to both. The Alphonsine chronicles, for example, reflect chivalric ideals. Many other narratives, entitled "*tratados*", "*manuals*", "*libros de*" or "*hechos de*" which share

common chivalric elements, also allude to reality and have been defined by critics as chivalric, some of them chronicles or historiography, as opposed to being categorised as didactic prose.²⁸

After re-considering the narrative forms above in the light of the treatment of the common fictive elements, there appears to be a separate subcategory within chivalric narrative referring to those narratives with magical elements with which the author has chosen to embellish the historiographical material. Therefore, it seems that chivalric narratives which are still prose but didactic, and do not need real place names or personages to reflect an allegorical character, can also belong to the same category. This differentiation would parallel Montalvo's category definition, which separates "*historia fingida*" from the other two categories.

Fernando Gómez divides the Spanish "romance" (and for "romance" we understand chivalric narrative) into four categories:²⁹ 1) romances of historiographical material, 2) romances of chivalric material, 3) romances of literary material, and 4) romances of sentimental material. As pointed out by Gómez, those narratives in groups 1) and 2) share several elements. This is the case particularly as books of chivalry were often either labelled as such, or took the form of chronicles, and some, like the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, as aptly pointed out and studied by González,³⁰ are more fictional than historical. This categorization is in spite of the fact that the Alphonsine chronicles have been previously categorised as historiographical due to the structural system which underlies the narrative.

Even more important here, is the differentiation of other Spanish historiographical narratives which fall between categories (1) and (2). Nineteenth century categorization concepts of "history" as opposed to "fiction" made it difficult to categorize chivalric narrative

where both historical and fictional narrative shared a different, but basic, semblance of reality in form and chivalric narrative in content. If these same historical or fictional works were reclassified according to their chivalric content as a chivalric mirror of the chivalric code, then these narratives could be understood as products elaborated under the same historiographical narrative with which the medieval authors worked. As a consequence, these narratives would be more closely related to the author's original point of view rather than the literary critic's point of view based on a division of history versus fiction. The effect of the previous differentiation between "history" versus "fiction" is one of the goals of this study.

Actually, *El V* possesses all the elements common to Iberian chivalric narrative, however it must be pointed out that a careful selection of words on the part of Games leads to a mirror of reality. The way Fernando Gómez refers to the elaboration process of Games which distinguishes the structure as "fixed" and the character traits of Pero Niño as "adapted" to fit a norm is: '*El Victorial* es perfil de doctrinas y de relaciones sociales creado para proyectar en él al personaje de Don Pero Niño y justificar la relación que se emprende de su vida.'³¹

Rather than using what Beltrán³² refers to what we understand today as the "biography" of Pero Niño to structure the narrative, a chronological structure based on doctrine and chivalric social, moral and civil duties was created, upon which the character portrayal of Pero Niño was projected and which resulted in a "story" about his life. This moral-didactic structure of the chivalric narrative in *El V* employed by Games reflects a use common to peninsular chivalric narrative as has been suggested by Viña Liste.

To further explain *El V*, Fernando Gómez points out that when the necessity for great chivalric feats requires the technical recourse of the "*maravillas*", these remain as the only

justification forming the third group: that of romances of literary material. The fourth group of romance narrative is developed out of the courtly love theme patent within the historical development of chivalric narrative from the poetry in the "*cancionero*" and which is incorporated into the discourse of the knights who become suffering lovers.³³

The scheme is the following:

Figure 3.1: Historical Development of Chivalric Narrative

- poesía epica
- poesía de clerecía > historiografía > Romance
- traducciones > > en prosa

Romance en prosa

Romances
de materia
historiográfica

Romances
de materia
caballeresca

Romances
de materia
literaria

Romances
de materia
sentimental

The initial stages reflect much of the Arthurian cycle and the final stages reflect more of the Hispanic literary narrative. There is a parallelism between the categories of 1) growth of romances of historiographical material and 2) those of chivalric material which contain the kernel structures thereafter used for romances of literary and sentimental material which, indeed, became defined more clearly as a genre later than the others.

Worthy of note is that the "romance" in prose possesses the kernel structures for all four categories. The basic differences between "romances" of historiographical and chivalric material also hint at having been established on a nineteenth century division of history and fiction. However, if one reflects upon the definitions of history and fiction, and the purpose for the creation of this literature, the historical as well as the chivalric divisions of romance would create a third category: that of fictionalised moral-didactic chivalric material. This recuperates, in one category, a series of narratives which, to date, have fallen into question. The following step would be to differentiate between those narratives of chivalric history as fiction, and those narratives with magical elements as fantastic.

This third category, of a fictionalised moral-didactic prose, would include *El V*. As Fernando Gómez admits, the structure of *El V* is one upon which the image of Pero Niño is placed, much as in the definition of chivalric literature, on an allegorically structured figure which represents the life of a "knight errant". Those narratives reflecting this structural element of magic, then, would meet the definition of the other category.

Sentimental and literary prose, including travel and adventure, also appear in chivalric literature before becoming genres recognised as separate entities. The point is to separate real

chronicles, as Games and Montalvo do, from fiction about chivalry, which is what both Games and Montalvo consider they have written with *El V* and *Amadís*, respectively.

What basically differentiates *El V* from *Amadís*, to look at the chivalric structures, is the complete presentation of the moral-didactic framework of *El V* in the Proemio as opposed to a few words by way of introduction to the key ideas within *Amadís* given by Montalvo in a short prologue. Consequently, a separate category for "declared" moral-didactic chivalric narrative from that of "non-declared" moral didactic chivalric narrative would approximate the reality as reflected by both Games, in the moral-didactic structure, of the *Proemio*, and Montalvo, in the introduction of *Amadís* expressing a moral-didactic intention. Based on the structures found in *El V*, an adjustment to include all the elements of *El V* in didactic prose instead of historiography would put *El V* in the category of "Romances de materia caballeresca".

***El Victorial* as Chivalric and Didactic Prose**

Any of the several possible approaches to the study of *El V* requires the establishment of a definite framework and a classification in order to relate its various elements to a whole. The narrative in *El V* is closer to that of didactic prose than chivalric historiography. With the classification of chronicle made up to now, I am not particularly comfortable, unless some chivalric chronicles could be reconsidered in the light of their similarities to didactic prose. Furthermore, I believe that a clear definition of categories is imperative, but keeping in mind that within chivalric narrative, the author of *El V* has classified the same as a 'tratado', which

has not been reflected in any of the figures proposed so far. A review of the elements in *El V* as compared to those common to other narratives, then, is in order.

The following points are necessary for the determination of the chivalric genre of fiction, according to Viña Liste. The discussion of all these points, which do appear in *El V*, would have been quite impossible within the context of this study. Some have already been discussed by literary critics. What is important to point out, however, is that this genre is a hybrid, or pluri-genre narrative. According to Viña Liste, the following elements make up the *whole* of the chivalric narrative: *hagiografía; épica juglaresca; crónica histórica; relatos históricos, romancero, leyendas, cristianos, libros de aventuras y viajes, repertorios moralistas, "carácter ejemplar de tratados doctrinales"*. Every one of these elements exists in *El V*.

There are many elements from the "*épica juglaresca*" which form an interesting oral-folklore substructure of support for the chivalric theme. The word "*crónica histórica*", in relation to *El V*, should be subdivided into two separate categories. For the textual content of *El V*, it is better referred to as just "*crónica*", or "*fictive chronicle*" as there are other types of chronicles which are more like annals and would be more fittingly termed "*crónica histórica*". Specifically, in *El V*, the elements from "*relatos folklóricos*" create a series of references within the text which help Games fill in the chivalric structures of didactic moral structures.

The "*romancero*" and "*leyendas cristianas*", a required theme in Celtic literature, in *El V*, help to fill out the moral-didactic message, as well as those travel themes and elements from "*libros de aventuras y viajes*", also a required theme in Celtic literature, and, in *El V*, a

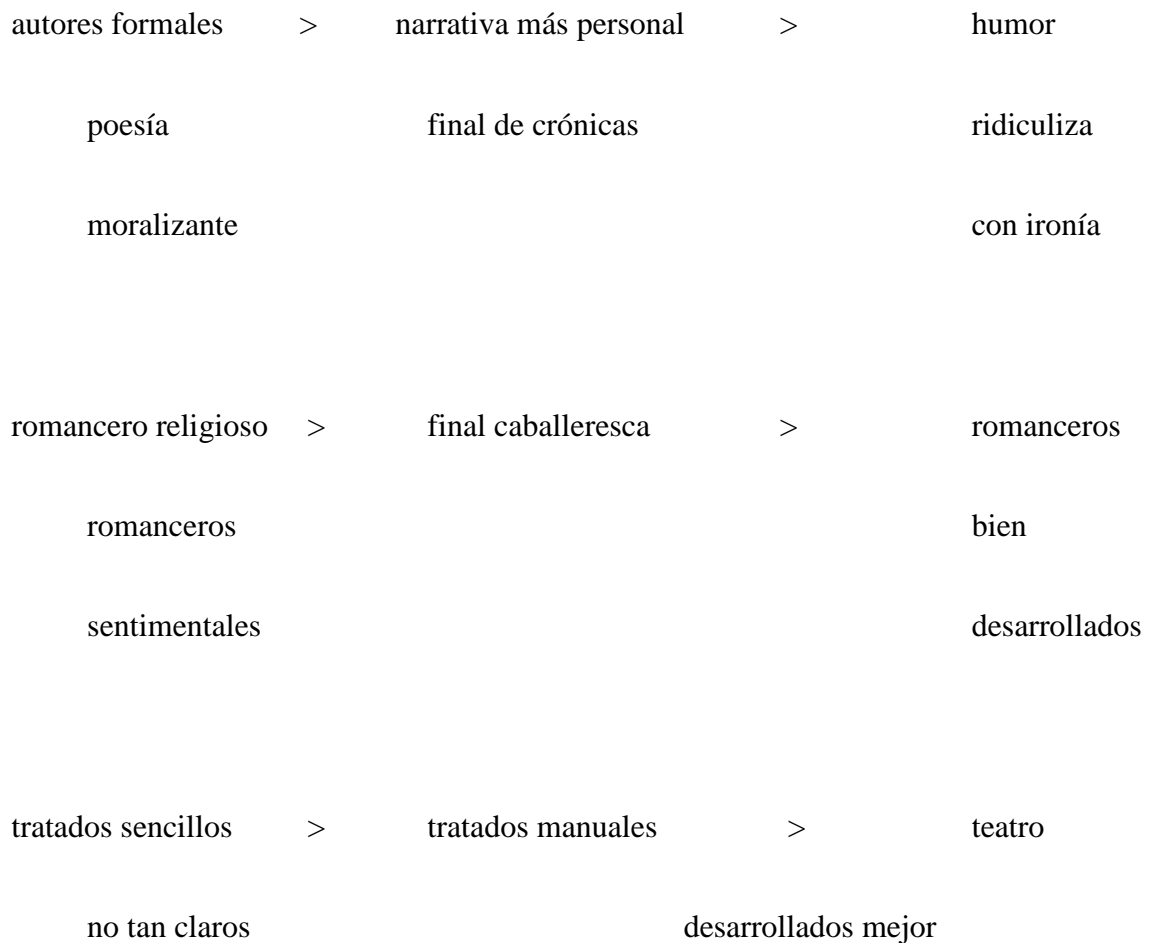
basis for propaganda about the Christian – Moslem campaign. Also, the "*repertorios moralistas*" provide a solid structure for the moral-didactic chivalric theme. Above all, the "*carácter ejemplar de tratados doctrinales*", in *El V*, provides the framework for the *Proemio*, Pero Niño's lessons from the *ayo* and the basis for the allegory used to create a mirror of Christian life for the count of Buelna.

In general terms, the chivalric genre is also defined as a transformation of the "*roman courtois*", the Arthurian narrative and the "romance sentimental". Indeed, in *El V*, these three fictional genres are interwoven in echo of Chrétien de Troyes, in such a way as to make the actual pulling of the different "*roman courtois*", Arthurian and sentimental "threads" in order to unravel the tapestry woven by Games quite difficult. Those "threads", meaning some elements which have not been dealt with earlier by other literary critics, and a classification of the use of some of these elements, are contained in the following chapters.

Figure 3.2: **Common Pool of Chivalric Narrative**

S. XIV	S. XV	S. XVI
Biografía árabe	crónica biografiada	picaresca
Crónicas de Ayala	bizantina	
	pastoril	
crónicas más viejas	crónicas nuevas	sentimental tradicionales
viajes	novelas	aventuras

Figure 3.3: **Common Characteristics**



The chivalric narrative in *El V* includes the participation of the reader with an inherited cultural baggage and that of the reader's knowledge from the contemporary "common pool" of chivalric narrative. In *El V*, there is a definitive flow of sources beginning with the inherited cultural baggage and the narration of Pero Niño's life which evolves through Books Two and Three along with the changes in the "common pool", including some Humanistic elements associated with the basic structure used throughout *El V* by Games as a reflection of the inherited arabic, celtic heroic and moralising narrative.

In the *Proemio*, there is a more formal style and the presentation thereof is a moralising introduction which reads more like a manual for knighthood and a christian treatise describing how a knight should act. The closed stratified style in the *Proemio* is similar to early historiographical narrative with biblical *exempla*. In the First Book, Games draws on epic imagery tracing the steps characteristic of a knight in heroic literature, which includes a Christological cycle as well as sources from earlier royal chronicles. The themes of “arms and love” is initiated but only referred to in name. As Games is on the cusp of a growing humanistic domain in historiography he has chosen to engage in the “pluri-genre” chivalric narrative in *El V*, which included contemporary humanistic features.

The First Book of *El V* begins with what is to be a structured chivalric story line with a knight incarnate, Don Pero Niño, superimposed upon the common-knowledge heroic scheme. The Second Book includes the military campaigns, travelogues and chivalric adventures where more allegory appears in the description on the part of the eyewitness author than in the First Book. The chronicle references help pace the narrative and a short sentimental romance exists, as a complement to the “arms and love” theme, but is not yet fully developed. However, a letter is introduced to flush out the “arms, and love theme”. Also, the use of theatrical asides on the part of the narrator increases in the descriptions of the historiographical narrative to further involve the reader. The narrative in the Third Book is open and more free-flowing than in the previous two books. The “arms, letters and love” theme is fully developed and the importance of family and descendants came into the fore augmenting the simple theme which started as an imitation of didactic prose in the *Proemio*.

In summary, then, the First Book begins what is to be a structured, chivalric story line with a knight incarnate, Don Pero Niño, superimposed on a historiographical hero structure.

The Second Book introduces a freer narrative line which identifies the reader with Don Pero Niño in the military campaigns. The Third Book is followed by a poem and a copy of Don Pero's will which finalizes the development of the "arms and love" theme necessary to the heroic structure in the books of chivalry. In keeping with the "romancero" tradition, all of these elements are common to the parallel evolution of the historiographical narrative over the centuries which slowly incorporates more and more genres and evolves into a rounded out personal narrative on part of both the author and the character description of Don Pero Niño. The Third Book has an open "*romancero*" and historiographical style, not closed as in the *Proemio* which reflects the inherited epic and early historiographical prose from before the fifteenth century. The Second Book borrows further from a more evolved chivalric historiography and the Third Book reflects more of the humanistic historiographical chivalric material of the sixteenth century.

NOTES AND CITATIONS FOR CHAPTER THREE

¹ Avalor-Arce, Juan B. *El Cronista Pedro de Escavias. Una vida del Siglo XV.* (UNCSRLL 127) Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1972, 14-16.

² Avalor-Arce, Juan B.A. *Temas hispánicos medievales: Literatura e Historia.* Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

³ Araluce Cuenca, José R. *El Libro de los Estados Don Juan Manuel y la Sociedad de su tiempo.* Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turransos, 1976, 29. Since this statement was made by Menéndez Pidal, substantial amounts of Arthurian material have been found. See M^a Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Harvey Sharrer, Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías in the "Bibliography of Cited Works".

⁴ Le Goff, Jacques. *History and Memory.* 1992, 353.

⁵ Araluce Cuenca, José R., Op Cit., 1976, 15.

⁶ Viña Liste, José María. *Textos Medievales de Caballerías,* Madrid: Catedra, 1993, 33.

⁷ Ker, W.P. *Epic and Romance.* London: 1931, 349.

⁸ Amador de los Rios, José. *Historia crítica de la literatura española,* Madrid. Imprenta Jose Fernandez Cancela: 1865, VI, 20.

⁹ Ker, W.P., Op cit., 1931, 349.

¹⁰ Jauss, Hans-Robert. "Littérature médiévale et théorie des genres" en *Poétique*, I: 1970, 79-101.

¹¹ Including myself upon a first reading as one wants not to wade through philosophy but get down to the actual story of Pero Niño's life scattered in and among so many digressions. It is easy to read through the supposed "extra" material in expectation of what a modern reader would liken to a "good read" given in novel form.

¹² Viña Liste, José María, 1993, Op cit., 34.

¹³ Cirlot, Victoria. *La novela artúrica: orígenes de la ficción en la cultura europea,* Barcelona: Montesino, 1987, 119.

¹⁴ González, Cristina. *La Tercera Crónica de Alfonso X: "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar".* London: Támesis, Ltd. 1992, 45.

¹⁵ This doctrine is expounded upon in the Preamble, which is the basis of chivalric principles. Alvar, Carlos; Gómez Moreno, Ángel; Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *La prosa y el teatro en la Edad Media,* Taurus; Madrid, 1991. *Historia crítica de la Literatura Hispánica*, II Fernando Gómez Redondo, 76.

¹⁶ Alvar, Carlos; Gómez Moreno, Ángel, Gómez Redondo, Fernando, Op cit., II: 26-27.

¹⁷ This interruption refers to the "entrelacement" technique used in *romances caballeros*, which are also referred to as "estructuras narrativas entrecruzadas". The purpose of both is to augment interest and create an intrigue within the text.

¹⁸ González, Cristina, Op cit., 45.

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- ¹⁹ González, Cristina, *Op cit.*,15.
- ²⁰ González, Cristina, *Ibidem*,15.
- ²¹ González, Cristina, *Ibidem*, 15.
- ²² Cirlot, Victoria. *La novela artúrica: orígenes de la ficción en la cultura europea*. Barcelona: Montesino, 1987, 119.
- ²³ Hugh, Thomas, *Las novelas de caballerías españolas y portuguesas*, Versión al español de E. Pujals, Madrid: CSIC., Añejos de la Revista de Literatura, nº 10, 1952 (ed. Original, Cambridge University Press, 1920), 28.
- ²⁴ Curto Hererro, Fernando. *Estructura de los libros de caballería*. Madrid: Ibérica, 1976, 7.
- ²⁵ See Cristina González (1992), and José María Viña Liste (1993).
- ²⁶ Deyermond, Alan. *Edad Media en Historia y Crítica de la Literatura Española*, I, Francisco. Rico (ed.), Barcelona: Crítica. 1980, 282.
- ²⁷ Those elements are in the following planes: *inventio*, *dispositio* and even the *elocutio*, if one considers the copious presence of numerical and quantitative hyperboles. Viña Liste, *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
- ²⁸ See Figure 3.1: “Historical Development of Historical Narrative”, Fig. 3.2: “Common Pool of Chivalric Narrative” and Fig. 3.3: “Common Chivalric Characteristics”.
- ²⁹ Alvar, Carlos; Gómez Moreno, Ángel, Gómez Redondo, Fernando, *Op cit.*, 115.
- ³⁰ Cristina González, *Op cit.*, 1992.
- ³¹ Gómez Redondo, Fernando, *Op. Cit.*, 76.
- ³² Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *El Victorial*, Madrid. Taurus, 1997.
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CHAPTER FOUR: CHIVALRIC DOCTRINE IN *EL VICTORIAL*

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CHIVALRIC DOCTRINE IN EL VICTORIAL

Chivalric Doctrine

The very complexity of medieval texts in general, and particularly of *El V*, is intriguing. The motives behind the conception of the complete text itself and the weaving together of a myriad of minute details, or "threads", into the finished "tapestry" always appear mysterious at a first glance. Upon closer examination, the apparent enigma becomes more understandable, as in the careful scrutiny of fifteenth century Flemish tapestries. Bit by bit, the story behind the scene of the tapestry unfolds, as the beholder ponders each separate element.

Just as the persistent modern viewer can unlock the secrets behind a huge Flemish tapestry depicting a fifteenth century battle, careful examination of the allegorical elements that support *El V*'s structure can reveal the characteristics it shares with chivalric and fictive narrative. *El V* uses chivalric allegorical patterns, and many of these patterns are fictive, as is the case with those used to elaborate romances of chivalry, a genre co-existing with historiography during the fifteenth century.

In the Middle Ages, the medieval eye saw that every event had some significance. Every case, whether fictitious or historic, tended to crystallise and become a parable, example, or evidence that was applied as a standing instance of general moral truth" ¹ and events were explained through images which harboured a moral truth behind them. This pattern was common to didactic prose, romances of chivalry, historical narrative (such as

annals and royal chronicles) and some chivalric narrative. This chapter outlines the folkloric and moral-didactic elements found in *El V*, many of which are also common to the romances of chivalry.

First of all, many images are inherited from the epic legends, but are still found later in romances of chivalry. While researching the treatment of moral-didactic images and the elements supporting the narrative structures, I have noticed what González has also perceived; in certain cases, literary critics tend to confuse style with what is really structure.²

In this chapter, the structural elements, themes and structural systems in *El V* are compared with narratives of the same type from early peninsular chivalric narrative themes of the thirteenth century up to chivalric literature from the sixteenth century in sufficient detail to justify these conclusions. This analysis will better show how *El V* occupies a historical position within these limits of peninsular chivalric narrative development.

The concept of chivalric doctrine, as opposed to religious doctrine referring to the teaching of religion, as discussed below in this chapter, refers specifically to the teaching of chivalry. It is what every knight should know about chivalry in order to become a successful knight. As seen in Chapter Two in this study, both doctrines, religious and chivalric, were fused by San Bernardo to create a narrative to spur religious knights into battle for both Church and State. The concept of chivalric doctrine in *El V* echoes both of those doctrines for the same purpose as created by San Bernardo to be written in support of the Reconquest.

To date, the allusions to novels or books of chivalry in *El V* made by literary critics³ are limited to allusions to *Amadís* based on the explanation of the "*elba marina*", a monster similar to the "*endriago*" in the *Amadís*, and to the similarity of the name Perión de Gaula with Millor Perio. The references to Alejandro are adapted from a prototype for a medieval

knight. George Cary states that the legend of Alexander (Chap. XCVI) in *El V* comes from the "Pseudo-Calistenes", not from peninsular versions available in Spain at the time. Borrowing from the *Libro de Alexandre*, which is considered by Beltrán as a historiographic technique,⁴ is noted by Viña Liste⁵ as a common element to peninsular romance of chivalry.

Some references to the Arthurian cycle include the Brut Legend from the first pages of *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey de Monmouth. The references to Merlin and King Arthur in *El V* are pointed out by W.J. Entwistle⁶ as being based on the Spanish Lanzarote del Lago. The fact that Games includes the above reference to the Arthurian cycle reinforces the idea that his focus was to re-create a chivalric narrative like that of romance of chivalry. One of the references presented, that of Alexander, which is typical in medieval chivalric narrative and adapted as a prototype for a medieval knight, is referred to in *El V* as one of the four princes used as models for knights. Alexander, whose behaviour and character serve as a required element and model in chivalric narrative, appears neatly woven by Games into the doctrinal fabric of his book on chivalry.

The other elements: the monsters, the Brut legend, and the references to Merlin, must have been considered obligatory by Games, and necessary to weave into the fabric of *El V*. First, the "endriago", or monster character appears somewhere in the middle of Pero Niño's most perilous adventures, as most references to monsters do in books of chivalry. Next, the Brut legend appears in echo of the main theme of arms and love, also necessary to books of chivalry. Both the "endriago" and 'Merlin' episodes as seen in *El V* seem to be gratuitous as they are given a Christian moral-didactic explanation so as not to be out of keeping with the overall moral-didactic tone of *El V* as discussed in the previous chapter. The fact that Games

could not leave them out is very important, and characteristic, to the overall structure of the main chivalric theme.

This chapter and the following chapters are designed to flesh out and group together different chivalric patterns, other elements, and other influences that novels and books of chivalry have had on Games as he chose specific threads to weave into his tapestry: that of *El V*. This chapter, in particular, addresses the underlying moral-didactic structure supported by the four main Cardinal virtues and the three Theological virtues which forms the leitmotif basis of the scenes in *El V*, the battle between the virtues and vices. The ‘*potencias del alma*’: “*memoria*”, “*entendimiento*” and “*voluntad*”, are discussed as the linkage necessary between the moral-didactic leitmotif structure and the personal actions of Pero Niño as portrayed in history, therefore giving rise to the allegorical meaning in the chivalric narrative in *El V*. The theme supporting the moral-didactic leitmotif maintains the basic references in order to cover required leitmotifs and themes.

The moral-didactic narrative in *El V* includes Christian doctrine, which is the basis for all chivalric deeds. The main values are: “*naturaleza*”, “*ciencia*” and “*virtud*”. Literary scholars today commonly hold that the goal of a Christian’s life is to obtain virtue, which in medieval doctrine is more important than nature and science. The word, “*virtue*”, is repeated frequently in *El V* and is the basis for the actions Pero Niño carries out. In the *Proemio*, ‘*Virtue*’ is symbolised as the essential characteristic of a knight in many different ways, and the four moral virtues already mentioned serve as a basis of the chivalric doctrine. Pero Niño incarnates these virtues in the narrative of his actions as a knight errant. The virtues symbolise his actions, but Pero Niño himself represents those virtues incarnated as he lives out the ideal of each.

One of the first images in the *Proemio* is that of the Virgen Armada who is referred to be the personification of Virtue.⁷ After introducing the narrative with the same words used by priests to open a sermon; ‘En el nombre del muy alto todopoderoso, Padre e Fijo e Espiritu Santo tres personas e un solo Dios verdadero’, the image of the Virgin is presented as the protector of the knights: ‘E de la siempre Virgen Gloriosa Nuestra’.⁸ Allegorically, the Virgin is the ‘guerrera luchando contra los vicios’ and a symbol of ‘la batalla interior del hombre’, an idea basic to the allegorical symbolism in *El V* and part of the arms and love theme.⁹

The word "virtue" in the Middle Ages also means "*virtudes exteriores*".¹⁰ These qualities refer to the characteristics of Pero Niño, which are stereotypes common to romance historiography and romances of chivalry.

El que á de aprender e usar arte de cavallería, non conbiene despender luengo tiempo en esuela de letras; cúnplevos lo que ya dellos savedes lo que agora dello vos queda, el tiempo lo dará, usando algo dello. (64/23-24)

Later, in *El V* these qualities are re-described in a few references:

Pero Niño, que sienpre le plugo más del facer que del dezir, pensando que los non podría aber tan a buen trecho por el grand cargo que él tenía de sus (qu)e estava en tiempo de partir a yr fazer su Guerra no curó de la fiesta. (239/5-7).

Before Pero Niño marries Beatriz he is described as:

E Pero Niño en aquel tiempo hera famoso cavallero, así en harmas como en juegos de armas, franco e ardid, e muy arreado, palañano e muy cortés, tal que se fazía amar a las gentes. Todos fablavan bien de'l, en todos las partes él herá conoseido. (300/27-30)

then as:

Más él fué sienpre tan guardado e tan cortés en sus palabras, guardando qué heran las personas que con él las querían aber, diziendo que dexasen las palabras, que son viçio e uso de mugeres, e que biniesen a las manos, que es la bertud e obra de hombres; a lo qual nunca ninguno con él quiso benir. (301/1-6)

The last description is:

E tanto quel donzel contó a Pero Niño aquellas razones que doña Beatriz dixera, en aquella ora fué firmado en su corazón de amar aquella donzella, a fin de su honra; aunque sabía que hera desposada, entendiendo que el casamiento non hera ygual, segúnd la hedad. E Pero Niño en este comedio supo del fecho de doña Beatriz, cómo por el mudamiento que le fizo fazer el ynfante abía propuesto de non tomar marido si non quien ella quisieses. E como Pero Niño se atevían a otros grandes fechos, atreviáse a esté. (303/5-13)

The resulting description of Pero Niño as explained by Games is that of a virtuous ideal possessed by a perfect Knight. This impression led Beltrán to state that the borrowing of stereotypes in chivalric literature has led to the following conclusion:

La persona de Pero Niño se vuelve un personaje sin relieve que cumple mecánicamente el papel que le tiene destinado el "autor" de la novela de su propia vida.¹¹

Indeed, Games treats the count of Buelna as a fictional character as opposed to a historical figure, in the attempt to organise the correct pattern of virtuous actions based on Christian moral and tradition. However, as Pero Niño is an example to the young knight who reads *El V*, the lesson for the young knight is: ‘bien así la nuestra vida vmana deve ser regida por estas quatro vertudes cardenales’ (3/13-14).

Moral Values

The moral values necessary for a knight to attain are explained in the *Proemio*.

E con el estudio de la razón que Dios dió al hombre sobre las otras criaturas para discernir entre el bien y el mal vinieron aquellos en conoçimiento de

las quatro vertudes cardinales, que son éstas: prudencia, e justicia, y tenprança, e fortaleza (3/7-11)

These values, added to the chivalric code by Chrétien, are encoded by the *ayo* in *El V* in the teaching of Pero Niño as a *donzel*. These lessons are the theory for the application of the moral-didactic code taught the young nobles who are to read *El V*, much as they would read the *Tratado de Principes* to prepare to be a perfect knight.

As mentioned above, Pero Niño is portrayed as the living incarnation of these values; and his actions in each episode reflect those values as they are to be lived and applied by the young knights who are to pattern themselves in the image of Pero Niño. One, and sometimes two values, are reflected in each episode, as seen earlier in the episode with Mosén Charles.

The values corresponding to the four main moral virtues as they are presented in the *Proemio* are:

"*Justice*": (Justicia) is given a definition and two separate subcategories:

Justicia es ávito de la miente, proveymiento de razón, dar a cada vno lo que suyo es.

- Yten justicia es dar a cada vno su dignidad e honra, segúnd que le es devida, e señorío al que es devido señorío, e tributo al que es devido tributo.

- Yten justicia es ayuntamiento de humanal compañía, no codiciar enpecer a ninguno, mas de aprovecharle, no tirar a ninguno lo suyo, mas restituyrle la devda; e amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas. (212/-58-64)¹²

"*Wisdom*": (Prudencia)

Prudencia es discreción de bien e de mal, desechando el mal e usando del bien; porque el hombre deve discernir entre el bien y el mal,

teniendo el bien y fuyendo el mal. Prudencia es distinción del bien e del mal, con escogimiento del vno, e deshechamiento del otro. (212/58-64)¹³

"*Fortitude* ": (Fortaleza)

Fortitudo es que se ponga el honbrea las cosas ardeñas como a las muebles, porque no sea apremiado en las adversidades, ni se ensoverbezca en las prosperidades.

- Yten, fortitudo es en las prosperidades e en las adberaldades omildad sin soberbia e sin desesperación. (212/69-73)¹⁴

"*Temperance*": (Tempranza)

Tenperança es firmeza contra los desconvinientes movimientos, sc açío adoñaçio. (212/73-74)¹⁵

Other references referring to the same virtues are paraphrased, thereby underlining the moral code Games has chosen as a basis to choreograph the count's life. This seems to be more than just adding a moral-didactic code borrowed from the common "chivalric narrative pool". It appears to be a major leitmotif.

"*Justice*": (Justicia)

E en la justiçia, que es dar a cada uno lo que suyo es, fallaron la misiricordia e la piedad, porque de justiçia non pasasen crueldad; e que non fiziese uno a otro lo que non querría que fiziesen a él (4/6-11)

"*Wisdom*": (Prudencia)

En la prudencia fallaron los comienços de las cosas, de qué fin avían, o qué deven venir; e fallaron la çircuçión e las sietes artes liberales, que son muy necesarias a la vibienda de los hombres en este mundo. Llamáronlas liberales, porque en aquel tiempo no las enseñavan sinó a los hijos libres; no las mostravan a los hijos bastardos, ni a los siervos. Por otra manera las dixerón liberales, porque delibrán a los hombres en las cosas que les son necesarias, e los guardan de las enpeçibles. (3/33-4/6)

“*Fortitude*”: (Fortaleza)

La fortaleza les mostró ser fuertes e costantes en el propósito comenzado, en comenzar e acometer los grandes fechos, estar firmes en ellos hasta traerlos al fin que ellos espera; e a fablar berdad e fazer e tenerla, e no ser resbalados ni mobibles en sus fechos. (4/20-24)

“*Temperance*”: (Tempranza)

En la temperança fallaron la continençia e la avertencia, que es avstenerse hombre de las cosas que demanda su boluntad, disçernerlas en el seso, ponerlas en las balanças de la miseria, e la que mucho alçare cargarla más, e la que mucho avaxare alibiarla, hasta que benga en la ygualança que cunple. E tomar tanto de las cosas lo que no puede escusar e le es neçesario, dexar las que le traerán daño; porque la voluntad ama, e la neçesidad obliga. (4/12-20)

According to a description of Pero Niño's actions, treatment of others and decisions provided by the author, Pero Niño lives his life in such a way that these values are seen as a part of his character, episode after episode. Some typical references to these virtues in the text, as described by Games ‘En las virtudes ynteriores que Díos dió a los hombres, partió con él asaz largamente’ seen in Pero Niño, are as follows:

Justice: (Justicia)

A description by the author as narrator:

Hera hombre muy cortés e de graçiosa palabra. Hera fuerte a los fuertes e omillde a los flacos. Hera muy abiniente a las gentes; hera muy *prudente* en preguntar e en responder. En la justicia hera *justo*, e aun *perdonava* de buena mente. Tomava cargo en fablar por los pobres e en defender los que se le encomendavan; faciales algo de lo suyo [...] (88/16-22)

Nunca fué avaro ni escaso donde debió dar. (89/3-4)

Then an example of how Pero Niño affected justice:

E acaeció que Pero Niño andava mirando e hordenando las gentes; e como estava en un cavallo, çerca de las hazes del condestable, acaeció que cinco o seys hombres de caballo de la parte de los reyes, que andavan escaramuzando, e matavan un peón de Castilla. E Pero Niño les rogó a

grandes voces que lo dexasen. Ellos non quisieron. El demandó una lanza, e ovo quien ge la dar. E fué a ellos, e firió el primero que falló e fízoles ser corteses. (330/14-23).

Wisdom: (Prudencia)

This is defined as "Prudence". Pero Niño's virtuous wisdom is described by Beatriz:

"Ella respondió e dixo que en las palabras de los hombres avía grandes dubdas; mas que ella abría su consejo con algunas personas que le debían aconsejar lealmente y que respondería. (304/34; 305/1-3)

E que non avía en el reyno otro caballero a quien esta empresa perteneçiese tomar si non a él. De lo qual Pero Niño ovo gran plazer, quando esta respuesta oyó, que ya con grand sabiduría se mirar en el espejo de la prudencçia, en el qual se vio ser obligado a todos estas cosas, e muchas más que venirle podían. (305/27-32)

Fortitude: (Fortaleza)

This virtue is also presented as "Fortaleza", meaning physical strength:

Este cavallero hera fermoso e largo de querpo, no muy alto ni otrosí pequeño, de buen talle. Las espaldas anchas, los pechos altos, las ancas subidas, los lomos grandes e largos e los braços luengos e bien fechos, los nutres muy gruesos, las presas duras, las piernas muy bien talladas, los muslos muy gruesos e duros e bien fechos, en la çinta delgada aquello que bien estará. Aría graçiosa boz e alta. Hera muy donoso en sus dezires. (86/22-25; 87/1-2)

Another meaning, often referred to by literary critics is "valor" meaning courage:

E Pero Niño, que hera ya usado de tales trabajos, tomó en su mano el fierro caliente, blanco, e metiólo él mesmo todo por ls pierna fasta la otra parte. E diénrole luego otro tal, e así lo puso dos vezes, que nunca hombre le sintió hazer ni mostrat quejo ninguno. (138/22-26)

Temperance: (Tempranza)

The author, as narrator, describes Pero Niño as:

Nunca enclinó su voluntad a vivir vida folgada, ni vagó el tiempo que auer pudo para buscar su provecho honrosamente. E fué muy atemprado en su vivienda; nunca en su moçedad mançebía le supieron, ni comer no beber fuera del tiempo que da la razón. (89/4-8)

Games, in an aside, combines all of these values in a description of the count (Pero Niño) as an introduction to Don Pero Niño's son, Juan. This serves as a link between Pero Niño's virtuous life and the virtues inherited (passed on) and learned from the count.

Dize aquí el autor que el conde hera hombre de gran seso, e muy fazañero, e que lo fizo por dara entender que el cavallero dere ser piradoso contra el flaco, e esforçado contra lo fuerte. (338/29-33)

E porque hera donzella hera de honrar y otrosí porque fue sienpre su costumbre de honrar las duerías e donzellas de alto estado y a las otras defnederlas, e fazerles algo de lo suyo. (339/1-2)

Just before Games contrasts the count's temperance with the envy of Sancho de Roja, he reminds the reader of Pero Niño's values:

Aqui dize el autor e trata de Fortaleza y Constanzia: de cómo este cavallero ya començara la batalla con muy grand esfuerço e seso, no reçelando los golpes presentes e avenireros mas posporiendo todo el temor a fin de alcançar el triunfo e la horíra deste tan grand fecho. (308/7-26)

In addition, Games relates the four Cardinal virtues to the three Theological virtues, stressing the importance of the three Theological virtues: "*Charity*" (Caridad), "*Faith*" (Fe) and "*Hope*" (Esperanza):

E así entendían que toda la gloria hera en este mundo. Estos andavan e non sabían dónde buscavan la luz en las tinieblas; que aunqueavían las quatro vertudes para bien bivar en este mundo, no avían conoçimiento de otras tres vertudes que estavan ençerradas en sus almas: feé, esperança e caridad, sin las quales el hombre no se puede salvar ni conoçer a Dios, que es verdadera vida. E porque no savían ni entendían que otra gloria oviese, sino la de este

mundo, por eso punaban que quedase grand fama dellos después de sus días.
(31/33-34; 32/1-7)

The emphasis on "*luz en las tinieblas*" underlines the importance of the knowledge and practice of the virtues for each individual in order to find the truth, "*luz*", as reflected in the word of God. Some examples of the application of these three Theological virtues in *El V* are:

Charity: (Caridad)

El conde era hombre de grand seso e muy fazareño, e aquello lo fizo por dar a entender que el cavallero debe ser piadoso contra lo flaco e esforzado contra lo fuerte; e porque hera donzella hera de honrar, e otrosí porque fué siempre su costumbre de honrar las dueñas e doncellas. (338/29-33)

Nunca hombre ni mujer que le demandó algo, que del se pastiese manbaçio.
(88/22-23)

Faith: (Fe)

Dize aquí el autor que asaz abastaría al hombre feé e raçón para se salbar e vibir en este mundo mas que de amas usa mal. (248/8-12)

Hope: (Esperanza)

Mas de que beyan ser acordado por las partes prinçipales, bien pensavan que se acavarían en bien, e que hera voluntad de Dios, segúnd que adelante se fizo. (306/6-9)

Frequent reference is made to the knight's principle virtues throughout the episodes of *El V*. These episodes form a series of patterns in support of the theme "arms and love" and configure the majority of the leitmotifs. There are signature episodes for each virtue, sometimes covering more than one chapter. Each signature episode reflects a social grace,

action, or "don" as possessed by Pero Niño, who represents the consecration of those virtues and conquers the opposing vices, one by one.

One such example contrasts the notorious envy of Sancho de Roja with the temperance of Pero Niño:

Esta razón ya hera notoria al ynfante, e a los que heran çerca dél, los quales desamavan a Pero Niño, por el enbidia, e le enbargavan este fecho, e todas las otras cosas, quantas ellos podían; pero que no heran aun bien çiertos dello. (308 /23-31)

The application of virtue to the protagonist is noticed in other narratives from the Middle Ages. Robert Tate has noticed, from a historiographic point of view, that there seems to be a pattern set up for books on nobility whereby: the actions of the protagonist in the narrative about Alvaro de Luna and Lucas de Iranzo (condestables) are seen ‘como triunfo de la fortaleza sobre la visicitudes de la vida.’¹⁶ This is one example of the clear observation of fictional elements in chivalric narrative as referred to by Viña Liste as a genre to be reconsidered: those narratives are presented in imitation of the Alphonsine chronicles, but about nobles.

Charity: (Caridad)

Included in a description of how charity formed part of Pero Niño’s character is: ‘Nunca hombre ni mujer le demando algo, que dél se pastiese monbaçio’ (88/22-23).

One reason why the genre of *El V* should be reconsidered is that, when scrutinised historiographically, the whole meaning as intended by the author might not always be fully understood and, in fact, appears to be the contrary, due to the moral-didactic encoding that is so carefully woven into the text. In reference to the character of Pero Niño in terms of a true biography, Beltrán states Pero Niño as “nunca es una ‘persona’ de una mínima consistencia

moral". This contention does not appear to take into account the doctrinal patterns underlying the moral description so common to chivalric narrative about lesser personages in the fifteenth century. To continue, the affirmation that 'el intento de dotar el personaje de una cierta entidad moral siquiera fuese yuxta poniendo reflexiones de índole estoica queda en el fracaso' ¹⁷ only points to the fact that a historiographic interpretation of a true biography falls short of sounding out the original focus of the supposed author, Games.

Many other examples of how these virtues are interwoven into the text of *El V* are included in this study. The association of these virtues and the opposing vices as represented symbolically and imposed on the maritime and land battles fought by Pero Niño, is the challenge Games took on while writing *El V*. The task of making these didactic patterns invisible to the reader demonstrated the genius of the author in teaching Christian virtue. Surprisingly, the result, however, is one of the most realistic historical accounts in didactic chivalric narrative due to the detailed descriptions of the characters, the dramatism used in the battle scenes and the refined lifestyle carefully described in palatial encounters.

"las potencias del alma"

The substructure of virtues which create some of the leitmotifs supporting the main theme of "arms and love", is accompanied by another substructure of acts known as the "*potencias del alma*" which echo the development of good government/bad government; good knight/bad knight and order/disorder as seen in various sections of this dissertation. This concept is also related to Fame, Gloria and "*Bienandanza*". These concepts, in turn, are related to many other narratives with the same motifs: Fame, Fortune and "*Bienandanza*".

The importance of these leitmotifs is that they support the moral-didactic doctrine necessary to create the image of a perfect knight, Pero Niño, the incarnation of Christ.

Emphasis is placed on the actions of the knight. These are described by the author thusly: ‘Los primero avtos son en las potencias del alma. Potencias del alma son: memoria, e entendimiento, e voluntad’ (234/10-11). The emphasis placed upon the learning process stressed by the *ayo*, that of listening, understanding, and remembering, is described as fundamental:

‘La gloria, bienandanza, o la cuita por los trabaxos, o qualquier cosa que el hombre aya de fazer, primeramente viene en la memoria, que es acordarse hombre a las cosas. La memoria dalo al entendimiento, que es la obra’ (234/11-17)

The importance of the leitmotif *orden/desorden* is explained in the following manner:

El quерpo es casa e estrumento del alma, sin el qual ella non puede obrar. Bien que el alma virtualmente está en todos los mienbros del quерpo, mas la su propia morada es el corazón. E quando al señor de la casa va mal, toda su casa anda desordenada. E si le ba bien, todos son alegres quantos ella son (234/18-22)

A quote from Plato is used to drive the point home and repeated many times in the battle scenes with Pero Niño: ‘Onde dize Platón: Las quitas desatan el corazón; e si muchas fueren, entrarán a las partes de dentro, e desatarán el tu buen hordenamiento’ (234/25-27).

This same concept of order is applied to the battlefield: ‘El condestable los uviera dado batalla, sinó que non avía lugar donde pudiesen llevar las vatallas hordenadas’ (97/8-9) and also applied to how Pero Niño kept his ranks:

E mandó el capitán armar toda la gente, e deçedieron en tierra él e ellos, e hordenóles. E mandó en qué horden e manera fuesen; cómo enbiasen dos

hombres delante, e que entrasen en el lugar, e supiesen todo el ardid dél, e catasen todas las entradas e las salidas (122/10-14)

E mandó el capitán que los banderas e la gente de armas quedasen todos puestos en hordeniança fuera del lugar, porque si más gente de yngleses viniesen que los no tomasen deshordenados (194/11-14)

E mandó el capitán armar toda la gente; e pusieron las planchas e salió toda la gente en tierra con el capitán (194/4-6)

and to distinguish Pero Niño from the rest:

E él hordenó bien toda la gente, e puso pabesada, e los ballesteros en pos dellos. E ayuntáronse el capitán e mosén Charles, e hordenaron sus gentes de consuno (194/7-9)

As narrator, the author, reminds the reader of the purpose of being *ordenado*:

dize aquí el autor que estas desordenanzas bienen por non ser esquchados los buenos caballeros, e sabidores; demás, donde el rey escucha e faze voluntad de algunos que son çerca dél non sabidores de guerra (196/22-25)

Then two different meanings of “*horden/hordenado*” are introduced to further explain the concept:

Que a los mercados cada uno va con su dicha; todos van por ganar, pero después fazeseles segund su dicha y ventura. Así es en las guerras: cada uno cuyda vençer, mas después fázese como Dios tiene ordenado (195/13-17)

As if he were writing a manual, Games shows how God orders life: if knights are part of God’s good order, they will achieve all virtue. ‘Nosotros non sabemos el su secreto, mas con la su ayuda, e con buena horenança, los hombres deven acometer sus fechos; ca el que todas las cosas á de recelar, major le fuera non salir de su casa’ (195/17-19).

The opposite context of orden/desorden is used by Games, “*mal hordenados*”, as a contrast to the wise “*horden*” of the count. The author places an explanation of disorder to be

found among the foes of the count just before they fall in battle and Pero Niño is given another victory:

Aquellas que delante vinieron venían muy mal hordenados, e con grand argullo firieron en las paresadas my de rezio. Los castellanos recibieronles muy bien con muchas piedras e dardos e lanças, e saetas e frechas, ansí que de aquella primera llegada cayeron de los yngleses muchos feridos e muertos. (268/17-22)

Esa tarde mandó el capitán juntar los cavalleros e la otra gente, e maltrázolos de palabra, e dixó les que por las tales deshordenanças que entre ellos aría heran ellos venicods muchas veces, e maltrechos de sus henemigos. (265/9-12).

An application of the concept, also a leitmotif, *Bienandanza* is:

E como dixe que al rey Carlos creçió el corazón con la buena andanza, ayudó su hueste para pasar en Ynglaterra, e armó la mayor frota de navíos e galeras (234/28-29)

Later, the leitmotif of *bienandanza* is applied to Pero Niño after successful battles. The same usage of *bienandanza/bienaventurado* is seen in another “chronicle”, also about a noble, leading one to believe the leitmotif was a commonplace technique at the time. The leitmotif of *bienaventurado*, as discussed in relation to the concept of Fame, is also associated with that of *bienandanza* in the medieval narrative *La Cronica de don Alvaro* where Don Alvaro is compared with Christ, coinciding with the use of the word *bienaventurado*.

To accompany the previous leitmotifs, in *El V*, the concept of "*buena bentura*" frequently accompanies the idea of honour in chivalry in order to be conquerors:

Nosotros vos rendimos muchas graçias por vos tomar tal enpresa, a la qual nosotros vos ayudaremos, e seremos con vos muy de boluntad, e mandados e obedeçientes como a nuestro señor natural, ansí en esto como en otra parte donde vos quiesierdes; ca entendemos que con el vuestro esfuerço e buena bentura seremos bençedores, e ganaremos prez e onor donde quier que con bos fuéremos (264/9-15)

"The Christian Vision of a Knight's Life"

As noted earlier in Chapter Two, passages from the Old or New Testaments serve as the foundation for serious literary arguments in the Middle Ages. Medieval narratives, and especially those which are about important individuals (such as Don Pero Niño in *El V*), are categorised as "individual" narratives;¹⁸ and these narratives have a propagandistic nature. These narratives present an argument which is to be accepted as factual truth and give textual references as proof in the event of any possible refutation of the principle foundation. Examples include, 'if it is desired to make someone pardon an offense, all the Biblical cases of pardon are enumerated to him' and, 'In order to free himself from blame for the murder of the duke of Orléans, Jean Sans Peur compared himself to Joab and his victim to Absalom'.¹⁹

For the author of *El V* it was not only common literary practice to base any proof of principle on a biblical quote, but it was also expected by the lectors. However, this "fictitious" structure, if we may consider quotes from the Bible of a "fictive" nature, was neither sporadic nor capricious. There were definite reasons for choosing certain quotations from the Bible. First, these passages not only crystallised or prefigured the argument presented in a particular episode, but they also represented a progression of Christian images in direct reference to the protagonist. Moreover, in psychological terms, this would be considered a subliminal representation as the excerpts taken from the Bible, (mostly from the Old Testament), also serve to prefigure the life of Christ.

Certain stages in the life of Christ, the Christological cycle, have been seen by James Burke as germane to many of the chivalric novels of the Arthurian cycle.²⁰ Although the peninsular romances of chivalry are notably more religious in character than the Arthurian,

they should not be considered to be lacking this underlying structure. *El V* uses the Christian vision of a knight's life in that the life of Pero Niño emulates that of a perfect Christian, as shown by Christ himself.

Thus, the historical vision of mankind in *El V* is necessarily a religious one. The chivalric code is modelled on Christian values and the ideal knight leads the life of a good Christian, through practice. The author of the chivalric novel, in imitation of the Arthurian cycle, which is Christian, carefully places religious references in the form of allegorical symbols throughout the books and always in relation to the protagonist. This relation underlines the Christian character of the "Quest" theme in chivalric narrative and the sincerity of the Christian attitude of the protagonist. This Arthurian "Quest" theme of the thirteenth century conveniently became part of the "Re-conquest" chivalric narrative of the fifteenth century, from *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* up through *El V*.

The same portrayal of Christian character lies behind certain digressions and Biblical citations used specifically by the author. Not only do the references echo the sincerity of the Christian attitude of Pero Niño as reflected in the chronicle, but they also create an underlying relationship between the protagonist of the account enacting the lesson taught by the *ayo* and the biblical pre-figuration of the life of Christ. Moreover, in the narrative of the count of Buelna, this relationship creates a very subtle parallel between the life of Christ and Pero Niño.

Biblical References

Using references from the *Old Testament*, a few from the *New Testament* and the *Apocrypha*, Games very cleverly underlines a parallel of Christ and Pero Niño. Incidentally,

this may be seen as another example of copying or borrowing a model as part of telling a story.²¹ In the figure below, there is a list of biblical references mentioned in *El V* as identified by Rueda Laorga,²² however, re-arranged in the order in which they appear in the Old and New Testament. Next to each biblical reference is the corresponding reference by Games in the narrative of the *El V*. The intentional order of Games reveals an allegorical substructure, including the story of the life of Christ: the stages of Christ's life which shapes the adventures in the stages of Pero Niño's life.²³

As a result, the order of the quotes, as they appear in *El V*, reflects the original focus of Games and should be seen as such. The study of the resulting structure is surprisingly meaningful given the addition of the allegorical symbols and second meaning behind the biblical references. The second meaning behind the narrative comes alive because it is the story of Everyman presented through allegorical symbols. The story of mankind is also presented in the *Proemio* and first book in *El V* as a pre-figuration to the life of Christ, paralleled with Pero Niño, to unfold in the second and third books.²⁴

These excerpts were chosen by the author as a selection covering a wide gamut of moral situations, all relative to the chivalric code and its underlying Christian ethic. As a medieval narrative, *El V* is the narrative of a man, a Christ figure, as seen in specific situations to reflect a microcosmic vision of the history of mankind and the consequential Christological cycle of Everyman projected onto the character of Don Pero Niño.

Figure 4.1: Appearance of Biblical References in *El Victorial*

BIBLICAL SOURCE

EL VICTORIAL

Torre Babel		<i>Proemio</i>
Génesis		origen caballería (v, 2)
Génesis 1	(v, 12, 16, 21)	
Génesis 2	(v, 5)	<i>Proemio</i>
Salamón-principes		v, 10
Salamón-sabiduría		v, 11
Judith, Nebuechadnezzar		v, 19
	(heroína - salvar pueblo)	
Exodo 14	(v, 21-22)	v, 34
	(furia antisemita)	
Exodo 15	(v, 25) 16 (v, 4, 5)	v, 34
Evangelios		
Evangelio San Juan 1	(v, 5-11)	v, 34
	(luz, tinieblas)	
Evangelio San Mateo 27	(v, 51-54)	v, 34
Evangelio pseudo-Mateo		v, 37-38
	(palma victoria)	
Evangelio Mateo 22	(v, 14)	v, 42
Creación del mundo		
Génesis I	(v.12, 16, 21, 27)	v, 65
Génesis 2	(v.15)	v, 65
	(pecado original)	
Evangelio		
Juan 13	(v, 14-16)	
	(ejemplo)	v, 133
Job 14	(v, 5)	
	(prototipo hombre paciente, sufrido demuestra Dios ha fijado tiempo Carpe Diem de duración de la vida)	v, 222
Proverbios de Salamón		
Eclesiástico 31	(v, 36)	v, 250
	(aspectos positivos vino)	
Eclesiásticos 31	(v, 37)	v, 250
	(condena a la embriaguez)	

The selections by Games from the Old Testament refer to the creation of the world, the original sin, the origin of chivalry, the escape over the Red Sea, and the miracle of bread made from rocks. Solomon is seen as a prince from Antiquity and the figure of a wise man. Other references mentioned in *El V* are about the

great prince Nebuchadnezzar. The story of Judith, the allegorical symbol for "Chastity" and "Humility", and Holofernes, "Pride", is included here highlighting Judith as a heroine and emphasising her courage and ingenuity. Equally important, her faith in God is shown as the force which saved a whole people. Reference is made to Job's patience to remind the reader or listener that God has designed the time every one is to live and nothing can be done to change this - a "carpe diem" motif common to medieval narratives.

Further motives are recounted, such as the positive and negative aspects of wine, followed by references distinguishing which individuals are able to perceive the light of God and which individuals cannot. Those which cannot, as they are non-Christian, are likened to clouds shielding wisdom from others. Finally, the symbol of Victory, the palm leaf, is introduced before the story of Pero Niño begins.

All these quotes are used by Games to exemplify a certain ethical behaviour befitting a knight. They also echo the didactic structural focus behind most works of the fifteenth century. However, for Games, each quote also has a specific function because it supports a very clear, ordered, allegorical message behind the text, which underlines the story of mankind and supports the Christological cycle, which in turn, unfolds as Pero Niño wins one battle after another. Yet, there is a possible third layer of interpretation. There are indications that,

Yet, the Christian authors also referred to Jewish materials elsewhere, namely in the world chronicles of the thirteenth century²⁵

Possibly, although the references in *El V* appear to be standard, there is another way of interpreting the Biblical references as ordered within the heroic framework from antiquity and the suggestion of a separate Jewish interpretation opens up an entirely different way of looking at the “common pool” of what we have traditionally considered chivalric historiographical narrative. Graus states the

beginnings of a historical traditions about Jews’ on the Christian side might have been one-sided echoes of Jewish narratives in Christian sources.²⁶

So, upon revising the list, Heil observes the echo of Jewish narrative in Christian passages,

In its Jewish form, it would have appeared in a totally different light and seemed realistic in a quite particular way: read thus, it expressed Jewish resistance to the mounting tide of Christian recrimination and consequent violence. The image of armed Jews served to help them overcome their sense of impotence.²⁷

Christology in *El Victorial*

Intentionally in *El V*, some digressions, other images and descriptions of Pero Niño’s adventures constitute a well thought-out representation of the main scenes from Christ’s life: the twenty-one stages as pre-figured in the Old Testament or described in the New Testament. These digressions, images and descriptions add support to the deliberate allegorical structure representing the heroic image of Christ.

These twenty-one stages are spread out over the second and third books of *El V*. In general, each stage is presented in three chapters, or in four co-relating moments. Typically, the first chapter is usually a pre-figuration, or digression, which introduces the stage itself. Then, the stage is presented through a set of

either real historical or figurative fictional situations. The circumstances, about which Pero Niño fights or "preaches", echo the actions and teachings of Christ. The symbolism of any given stage regarding Christian value is seen through Pero Niño's chivalric actions. Finally, the end of each stage represents an activity in Pero Niño's life, which is similar to that of Christ.

In the biblical narrative, when Christ is still an infant, Maria is told by a complete stranger that her son is special and will excel among men. In *El V*, Games has an unnamed stranger happen by:

Acaesció una vez, seyendo Pero Niño aún poder de un su ayo, como suso dixie [que] vino de aventura un hombre, ytaliano de naçión, que venía a Santiago. Vino a casa de su padre de Pero Niño, e de su madre doña Ynés Lasa (84/20-23)

and tell Ynes Lasa, Pero Niño's mother of the fame her son will receive:

- Señora, sabed que este vuestro fijo, que por armas á de subir a grande estado; e usando por armas e cavallería á de ser muy famoso e muy honrado cavallero; e por ellas á de ser el mayor hombre e más honrado que ovo jamás en su linaje. (84/26-30)

As an example of one of the most representative stages in the life of Christ prefigured in the text and related to Pero Niño are, specifically, excerpts found in *El V* which mark the fourth stage from the life of Christ: that of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. This stage in the life of Christ as incarnated by Pero Niño in *El V* includes a clear sequence of secondary references to the parallel created by the author between Pero Niño and Christ. In the New Testament account, the precocious development of the Christ child leads his parents to take him to the temple at an earlier age than usual. The first excerpt, in *El V*, the king sends Pero

Niño, at a younger age than usual, to learn the chivalric code from an elderly wise man, the *ayo*:

Cómo por mandado del Rey fué dado Pero Niño a un ayo que lo doctrinase e enseñase todas las buenas maneras e costumbres que en buen fidalgo deve aver; porque después anduviese sienpre çerca del príncipe su hijo, como lo fizo fasta que murió (64/1-6)

Christ demonstrates a capacity for reflection and understanding vastly superior to that of other boys his age. Thusly, the heading for Chapter XX portrays Pero Niño as similarly precocious. ‘Cómo el rey don Enrique fué sobre Gijón, e cercó al conde, que estava dentro; donde este donzel començó a fazer en armas’ (73/12-14). The importance of the word "*donzel*" here is the author’s choice to highlight Pero Niño's youth.

In the *ayo's* lessons, Games makes the leitmotif of good versus evil one of the bases of chivalric doctrine. Both Christ and Pero Niño pass through many similar trials during their lifetimes. They both continually fight against vices, the evil contrasted to the virtues they possess.

Another incident from the presentation in the temple is also echoed in *El V*. The young Christ, after learning his lessons, questions the elders and requests the privilege of speaking out. Similarly, Pero Niño does not wait to receive his arms as a gift, when he becomes of age, which would be the usual procedure, but asks the King for arms outright because he wants to fight. This is announced in the heading for Chapter XXIII: ‘Cómo el donzel Pero Niño demandó al rey que le diese armas para pelear, que aun él no avía ningunas suyas’ (74/12-14).

This demand for arms is interpreted as a result of Pero Niño's "vocation" to fight for his King and for Christianity;

El donzel Pero Niño supo este ardid, e fué al rey, e pidióle merçed que le mandase dar armas, pues estava en guerra e en tal lugar que le fazían meneser, que aun él no las avía ningunas suyas. El rey mandóle dar las sus armas mesmas. Podía ser este donzel a la sazón de hedad de quince años (74/17-22)

Ideally, the last part of this stage would be a scene of sacrifice, as the allegorical symbol for the presentation in the temple is the sacrifice of the lamb or dove. This is the Christianised version of the "first blood" rites in pagan cultures. As seen in the section on pre-Christian symbolism, the "first blood" episode in *El V* is the fight with the "*puerco javali*".

This same desire to fight and display loyalty to the King, which leads Pero Niño into his chivalric life, recurs in the book's final episode. As a clever technique, Games begins and ends his account of Pero Niño's chivalric experience with the same theme. This representation of perfection is a continuation of the close New Testament parallels which the author incorporates into *El V*.

Some stages in *El V* are more obvious to a modern reader than others. The previous scene did not have the most obvious overtones, but Games does make other steps easier to recognise. The Last Supper scene was traditionally an episode in the Middle Ages where the theme of treason and Judas is presented. This canon is followed by Games. At the famous banquet where Pero Niño partakes with the dukes of Orleans, Borgoña and de Berri, Pero Niño cites Judas,²⁸ equating

Aquella paz de entre los duques fué enfenitosa, segúnd que adelante apareció; e aún el que aquel día quiso e supo mirar, bien pudo entender que aquella paz avía de ser tal como la quel traydor apóstol dió a nuestro señor Jesucristo (246/3-7)²⁹

Beyond the stages of the life of Christ there are many parallels between Christ and Pero Niño presented by the author throughout the narrative. When Jesus became enraged with his apostles because they disobeyed him is similar to the episode where Pero Niño becomes outraged with his crewmembers for disobeying his demands for order.

Açerca de la grand ysla de Jarrasui está otra pequeña ysla, en que está una hermita de Santa María; e mandó el capitán que toda la gente de la flora desçendiesen en aquella ysla, aderezados de batalla (265/20-22).

To make sure the reader understands the parallel between Christ and Pero Niño, at times, Games has Pero Niño echo the words of Christ: ‘Bien le dixo el nuestro Salvador Jesuscristo: ‘Enxemplo lo vos doy yo a vosotros: que así como yo fago, fagades rós,’ (133/24-29);

Fue el acuerdo entre el capitán e sus marineros que heian en grand peligro en aquella ysla des a bitada, e que diesen a la gente el pan por peso, e el agua e el vino por medida, tan solamente con que pudiesen pasar e non pereseiesen de anbre e sed. En esta regla entraron todos, del mayor fasta el menor, e aún el capitán entró en esta misma regla. (133/28-29)

This situation is similar to another in the *Libro de Alexandre*.³⁰ ‘Ansí quel capitán non bevía sinó un gobelete bien pequeño, uno de vino e otro de agua, al yantar, e ál tanto a la cena’ (134/3-4).

Again, later in the text, and lest the reader of *El V* forgets, the author himself underlines the similarity of Pero Niño’s story and passages from biblical narrative:

El rey de Castilla avía consigo doze cavalleros muy aparejados, en nombre de los doze apóstoles, e trabajó él por su persona, e fizo de buenas cosas en aquel juego, él e sus compañeros, contra más de çien cavalleros. E ovieron con ellos tanto trabajo, que a todos davan asaz que fazer, e fazían con ellos quantas carreras querían (329/7-13).

As another example of the "osmosis" between fact and fiction, as referred to by de Riquer, the knights in the joust take on biblical personages to portray.

Porque la verdad non se debe negar, pues se escribe e queda en memoria, Pero Niño fué uno de los doze cavalleros que heran fechos en memoria de los doze apóstoles, e avía nonbre Sant Pablo; e él quebró más varas, e fizo más encuentros, que otro ninguno. E si alguna cosa señalada se fizo aquel día, él la fizo, aunque hera a la sazón de hedad de çerca de çinquenta años, e avía días que non avía querido fazer aquel juego (329/7-19).

The Allegorical Patterns in *El Victorial*

The term allegory comes from Greek meaning "another thing", to speak, which today is "metaphor". In the fifteenth century it was used as:

la personificación (representación simbólica en una persona) de ideas abstractas (religiosas, morales, filisóficas, naturales o de cualquier fruto de pensamiento); representación pues, por medio de figuras humanas con atributos que las definen.³¹

Of the many levels of interpretation used in medieval narrative, the allegorical level is often where scenes from the Bible are symbolically represented and the vices and virtues are at odds. The protagonist is representative of virtues, and executes battles against the vices. Sebastian Lopez notes similar battles to that of the mirrors in *Don Quijote* where the knights represent the fight between vices and virtues:

Part and parcel of chivalric literature is the image of man as he goes through life as well as the clues given in the text as to the deeper meaning. Thusly, as each "libro de caballería" traces the adventures of the knight, the hero fights battles, a symbolic battle of a virtue which conquers a vice, one after another. The virtues usually follow a similar order, explaining the appearance of dragons in the middle of the book. There is usually a lake along the way, or a mirror image where the knight has to pause for some introspection. Certain battles have to be fought in the presence of a woman, a piece of clothing to be worn, amulet sent; faithfulness to swear; a trial to overcome as a separation between the two lovers.³²

The patterns which correspond to the allegorical meaning assigned to the Christian element in *El V* are then, similar to those in other books of chivalry. Typically, all of the elements in the above quote appear in *El V* in basically that order finalizing with the separation of Pero Niño and Beatriz towards the end being resolved. For example, each battle fought by Pero Niño symbolises a virtue that conquers a vice as in this dissertation explained in the example dealing with the desertion of Mosén Charles's or that of the cave in Africa.

As the battles of virtues against vices in the books of chivalry usually follow the same order, this explains the appearance *not* of a dragon in the middle of *El V*, but the corresponding reference to a monster, el “*endriago*”, another clever echo of *Amadís*.³³ The reference to the “*endriago*” is gratuitous on Games' part as there is no confrontation, no battle between a “*monster*” and Pero Niño. There is only the reference to the “*endriago*” in the fable of the king. Some kind of “*monster*” is a necessary element for Games to introduce, however, because he conceives his commendation as being part of the common “pool” of chivalric narrative.

In the novels of chivalry, which are declared “chronicles”, their authors often give the impression of veracity by offering a scientific explanation. In *El V*, this technique was used so that the narrative would not be confused with “*patrañas*”, meaning false descriptions, or books of chivalry which do not bear real names or places. *Patrañas* were criticised by historians and moralists who were contemporaries of Games as being false, fantastic and lacking a scientific basis.

Consequently, in keeping with the contemporary use of descriptions, Games includes logical explanations for the apparitions of animals which are scientifically inexplicable, or as he says, “*contra natura*”, or unnatural. In this way, Games himself does not present the

fantastic elements as part of the narrative, he explains that an Englishman told the story. This avoids confusion on the reader's or listener's part, and does not interfere with the moral - didactic lesson which Games presents in any one of his three roles as author: as the alferéz, an “eye-witness”; as “self-acknowledged author”; or as “omniscient narrator”, which are discussed in the next chapter.

These stories of strange animals, such as the “*endriago*”, much like the digressions, create a pattern which allows Games to introduce allegorical images, as well as didactic and moral lessons to fit the chivalric theme he is developing. The references to other apparent miracles or “*contra natura*” circumstances are explained scientifically, but always with the vision of being within God’s order.

Another example of an apparent “miracle” in *El V* is the eclipse which, historically, did actually occur when Pero Niño was on the high seas. The eclipse is presented by Games through dialogue showing the captain’s superior knowledge as opposed to that of his crew. The author also takes advantage of the situation to underline the moral-didactic tone of the narrative:

E partiero las galeras de Roán, podía ser a la ora de prima: començo a remar, escureció el sol e fueron muy espantados todas las gentes de las galeras e de la tierra (247/5-7)

As this eclipse is similar to one also found in the *Libro de Alexandre*,³⁴ it seems to be more proof that the author is following a canon preset for medieval chivalric narrative.³⁵ An example of the frightened reaction of the crew to what they perceived as danger is:

E los marineros acordaran todos que non debían partir en toda aquella luna! Unos dezían que el sol hera ferido, e que mostrava grand mortandad de gentes; otros, que abían de ser grandes tormentas en la mar, e otros muchas cosas, cada unos segúnd su seso (247/11-13).

Pero Niño gives a religious explanation of the danger, to quell the fears of the crew:

Amigos, non vos espantedes, non ayades temor; ca no ya de que nosotros cristianos somos, en Dios creemos, e a él adoramos (247/15).

To underline that everything is arranged by God, Pero Niño reminds the crew not to “look for signs or warnings or believe in what is unnatural, “*contra natura*”: ‘Non debemos creer en señales. Aved grand fee en Dios, que él fizo todas las cosas. Él sabe lo que hace’ (247/17-18) and in echo of the leitmotif order/desorden: to remind them that the storm is within God’s plan, Pero Niño assures the frightened crew: ‘Pasarse á el uno siguiendo su curso, yrse á el otro su bía hordenada, e apareçerá claro’ (248/6).

Pero Niño then proceeded to explain the eclipse: ‘E si agora faze escuro, a poco de ora fará claro. Pero dezirvos he cómo se faze el eclipse’ (247/26-28). The religious explanation, given as an "aside" by Games, is proffered as another reason why not to credit any *contra natura* is:

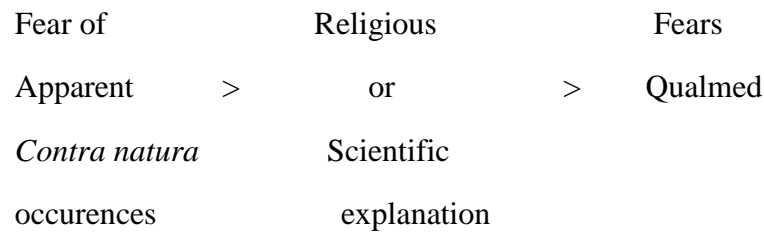
Dize aquí el autor que asaz abastaría al hombre feé e raçón para se salvar e vibir en este mundo; mas que de amas usa mal, porque dexa el hombre de traer e aber fee en Dios, e pone su fuzia en signos de las abes, e en los estornudos, e en las adebinanzas, e en los sueños. Quitado de hombre, ¿tú non sabes que en las abes non ay raçón? Pues lo que Dios ascondió al hombre razonable, al cual Dios dotó e cunplió de virtud poco menos que a los ángeles, ¿cómo lo dió a la animalía bruta? Dióles Dios algúnd estinto e seso natural para buscar su bida, e guardarse de los enpezimientos; mas non les dió saber las cosas que son por venir. Así que estas cosas la ley las defiende, e la razón non las sufre (248/8-19).

The effect of the calming words by the *capitán*, whom the reader understands to be Pero Niño is:

Con esta razón que el capitán dixo, plogo mucho a todos, e perdieron temor. E esclareció el sol e el mundo; e mandó remar adelante, que fiçiesen su biaje en el nombre de Dios (248/20-22).³⁶

The following pattern, then, (Fig. 4.2) has been devised to explain the formula Games used for the discourse of Pero Niño in the battle scenes.

Figure 4.2: Pero Niño’s Discourse



The overall image given of Pero Niño is one of a religious individual who prays in thanksgiving to God. This fits the pattern pointed out by Willian Little for two well-kown books of chivalry:

Of all the famous medieval Spanish knights of literature, *Tirant lo Blanc* and *Zifar* seem the most prone to prayer.³⁷

Another pattern for battles involving thanksgiving to God is observed by González for the battles in *Zifar* as: a) decision to intervene; b) preparation; c) action; d) thanksgiving to God and e) mention of items won.³⁸ The use of prayer by Games is used (borrowed) much like in *Tirant lo Blanc* and in *Zifar*: Thanksgiving to God is given in battle scenes and for other circumstances, where a sermon is necessary. The full discussion of the various

functions of Pero Niño's discourse is included in Chapter Six: "Author Types/Reader Response in *El Victorial*."

Allegorical Character Portrayal in *El Victorial*

The *Libro de Alexandre*, heavily borrowed from by Games, uses premonitions in the form of allegorical symbols to foresee the victories Alexandre will have as part of a widespread Pre-Christian symbolism linked to heroic actions. This pattern can also be seen in *El Cid* and *El V* through the use of animals to symbolise Pero Niño as well as the men representing vices. One example of animal symbolism linked to Pero Niño is the lion. The text for Pero Niño is:

El buen cavallero, veyéndose en tan grand priesa, e tan afincado, llamó a Santa María que le ayudase, e fizo allí boto solene; e fué a ellos tan bravo como ba el león a la presa, firiendo e matando en ellos, llevándolos por la galera adelante xorada ya toda fasta la proa (116/35; 117/5).

The figure of the lion is associated with Saint Mark, one of the four survivors of the *Apocalipsis*.³⁹ The *Apocalipsis* is the text used in moral-didactic medieval narrative is considered 'un texto fundamental para la formación del espíritu y consecuentemente del arte del pueblo cristiano de Occidente'.⁴⁰ It is no wonder that the lion, taken from *Apocalipsis* (Chapter Five), and from *Génesis*, (Chapter Forty-Nine), is the symbol for Christ. Also, of the four representatives of the *Apocalipsis*, Saint Mark, represented by the allegorical symbol, the lion, defends the church.

In parallel, Pero Niño, as a knight-errant fighting under the Reconquest, also defends the church. Saint Mark symbolises a prince like Pero Niño because the knights are considered the princes of peace, as stated in the *Proemio*. Also, like Christ, the lion is the King of men; a

leader, with whom Games associates Pero Niño. For a medieval reader, this is just one more example of the many subliminal associations at work in *El V*. The text written by Fray Luis de León which glosses *Génesis*, Chapter Five, could very well serve as a frontspiece for *El V* as it describes Pero Niño's mission as created by Games:

Porque llamase Christo, y es León por lo que a nuestro bien y defensa toca,
por lo que haze con los demonios enemigos nuestros, y por la manera como
defiende a los suyos. ⁴¹

Other characters in *El V* are also associated with animals and their corresponding allegorical symbolism. Not just virtues are represented allegorically, but vices as well. In the dinner scene with three dukes, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans and the duke of Berry, uncle to the other two, Games includes the porcupine and the bear associated with these men. The duke of Burgundy: 'el duque de Orleans dió al duque de Brogoña el camal de toro con el puerco espín, que era su devisa' (245/13-14). However, for:

El duque Berri, tio de amos a dos, traya una figura de oso sentado que se lamía las manos, pero que hera animalía tan braba, que si mal le facen se defendía, e aun mata. E que él estava quedo comiendo de lo suyo, e non façía mal a nadie; pero que si algúnd mal le quisiesen fazer, que él tornaría por sí: aunque hera tan poderoso, que non reçelaba a ninguno (245/27-33)

Allegorically the dukes are echoed as the following: 'E el Puerco espi, que hera animalia mansa mas quando le fazen mal ensañase, lança sus púas o espinas rézias, e fiere con ellas' (245/20-23).

The virtues which the count of Buelna incarnates are the four Cardinal and three Theological virtues listed in the *Proemio*. Beltrán relates these seven virtues to those presented in *Las Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X, 'el código caballeresco por excelencia':

los caballeros deben haber en si quatro virtudes principales [...] que los hombres han naturalmente en sí a que llaman en latín virtudes, et entre todas son quatro las mayores, así como cordura, et fortaleza, et mesura, et justicia' (Part. II, tít. XXI, ley IV).⁴²

Pero Niño, unlike other historical figures in fifteenth century historiographic narrative, possesses all the cardinal virtues as opposed to mere character traits.⁴³ Other historiographic figures represent character traits: e.g., Diego López de Estúñiga in *Guzmán y Pulgar* is portrayed as a "hombre de buen seso", "amigo de sus amigos", "allegado a los reyes", "mujeriego"; Suárez de Quiñones is "esforzado y sabio de las guerras, discreto y diligente en los negocios, franco"; and Gutierre de Toledo is "letrado de gran corazón", "osado y atrevido", "suelto y desenvuelto", "ni franco ni liberal", "bien intencionado, pero de maneras bruscas".⁴⁴

As the "etopeyas",⁴⁵ or moral traits, in the portrait descriptions of the above men from *Guzmán y Pulgar* do not reflect virtues but are described in the terminology used for character portrayal, it seems even more evident to me that *El V* differs not only from other historiographical narratives in its structural concept of characters, but also its constant moralistic slant which borrows some developmental elements from previous authors. Contrary to historical reporting, *El V* narrates heroic model behavior in Christian tradition. This, in turn, is another argument which distances *El V* from historiographical patterns and, for me, places it in the domain of didactic prose, closer to fiction than an historical chronicle.

Moreover, another argument supporting this contention is that Games used *Las Siete Partidas*, 'el código caballeresco por excelencia',⁴⁶ with the express intent of writing about the code. The *Proemio* in *El V*, like an exemplum in normal didactic prose,⁴⁷ is also allegorically significant, in a microcosmic vision of all the battles to be later fought by Pero

Niño. These battles, as described throughout the remaining narrative, are also exempla, the developed vision of Pero Niño as Christ as presented in the microcosmic vision in the *Proemio*. The protagonist, unlike the previously mentioned individuals in *Guzmán and Pulgar*, would have to be defined in terms of virtues, not of specific character traits. The fact that those virtues reflect the chivalric code, whereas the characteristic of Gutierre de Toledo does not, adds to the structural consideration of *El V*, not in a historical way, but in keeping with a traditional moral-didactic pattern system which cannot be ignored.

What cannot be ignored, either, are other name coincidences: such as, the name of Pero Niño's wife, Beatriz, which coincides, historically, with that of the woman to be fought for in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. In the thirteenth century, this "*relato folklórico*" about the Duquesa Beatriz and El Caballero del Cisne, as pointed out by González, is a particular narration about 'la salvación de Beatriz [...] posee las principales características de los relatos folklóricos de héroes salvadores'.⁴⁸

An interesting comment by González concerning peninsular chivalric novels is that 'se caracterizan por tener como base la estructura de los relatos folklóricos de "héroes salvadores" or of "pruebas matrimoniales"'.⁴⁹ *El V* has both hero images and marriage trials. The theme of "héroes salvadores" of the thirteenth century has slowly changed names, but not lost its original intention. In the fifteenth century, Pero Niño is the "buen caballero" who fights the "mal caballero", leitmotif which structures the feats based on the moral-didactic chivalric code. As another structural support, the trials of marriage and separation of Pero Niño and Beatriz form the other half of the main theme, arms and love. A term used by Fernando Gómez, for *El V*,⁵⁰ "arms and love", is virtually the same as the "héroes salvadores and pruebas matrimoniales" pointed out by Gonzalez as a pattern system of "relatos

folklores". The two patterns go hand in hand to form the main theme within these narratives as they are seen to always appear together.

At this point, I would like to underline the folkloric structure of "héroes salvadores" which the author has used as part of the traditional chivalric narrative concerning the oral component in the author-reader relationship within the *nexo externo*, referring to the substructure so carefully laid out by Games upon writing. As well, I would also like to point out, once more, just as in the *Caballero del Cisne*, that the description of Pero Niño as a "héroe salvador" and the elements supporting that system⁵¹ accompany the choice of Beatriz as the name for the woman Pero Niño has to fight for in order to reach his compensation. Beatriz, coinciding with the chronological "gap" about Pero Niño left in the royal chronicles after Ayala, was the third woman, second wife, but not last, wife of the count of Buelna. By choosing to gloss over a possible attraction for a French woman before meeting Beatriz, and ignoring the fourth wife and the illegitimate children, Games has the right name, position and characteristics to fit the required pattern for his contemporary, common "pool" of chivalric narrative.⁵²

Another allegorical symbol presented as a name is not a name in common with any other in romances of chivalry but an echo of an element found in epic legends carried over from epic chivalric narrative: the naming of animals or objects belonging to the epic heroes. Oddly enough, the Arthurian cycle gave names to swords, like *El Cid* does. Then horses became famous, starting with El Cid's "Babieca" on through to Don Quijote's "Rocinante". Pero Niño's horses are killed and he is usually at sea, but as he is the best "ballestero" his ballesta is referred to as "*La Niña*", a play on words of Pero Niño's last name. The names given to objects, especially swords, are feminine, like "*La Niña*". Why Games does not

choose a name for a sword, we don't know, but neither does he choose a name for a horse. In any case, Games could have left this detail out, but the chivalric convention calls for some name, so, the ballesta is given a name, and this one is even logical.

In this chapter we have seen the basic allegorical patterns which form the makeup of the chivalric doctrine of the prose in *El V*. In the next chapter, the basic chivalric patterns which echo fifteenth century social life of a knight as presented in prose by Games and which support the basic allegorical patterns presented.

NOTES AND CITATIONS FOR CHAPTER FOUR

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² González, Cristina. *La Tercera Crónica de Alfonso X: "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar"*. London: Támesis, Ltd. 1992, 21.

³ Rueda Laorga, Flora. *Estudio de los elementos literarios en la crónica de don Pero Niño de G. Díez de Gamez*, Director de la memoria: Dr. D. Juan Fco. López Estrada, catedrático de de Literatura de la Universidad Complutense. Memoria de Licenciatura. Facultad de Filología, Sección de Hispánicas, Subsección de Literatura Hispánica. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1980.

⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, (ed). Gutierre Díaz de Games, *El Victorial*, Colección Clásicos Taurus, 25, Madrid: Taurus, 1997, 116-118.

⁵ Viña Liste, José María, (1993), 47-58.

⁶ Rueda Laorga, Flora. *Estudio de los elementos literarios en la crónica de don Pero Niño de G. Díez de Gamez*. (1980), 172n; and, Entwistle, William J. *The Arthurian Legend*, 1925, 62.

⁷ This image first appears in the book by Pastor de Hermas and in Tertuliano, Sebastián López, Santiago, *Iconografía Medieval*. Donostía: Etor, Arte, 1988, 293-309.

⁸ Mata Carriazo, Juan de. *El Victorial*. Crónica de Don Pero Niño. Conde de Buelna. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A. (1940) 1.

⁹ Mata Carriazo, Juan de, Op cit., 1.

¹⁰ These virtues are discussed in chapters XXXI and XXXII in Mata Carriazo, Juan de, 1940.

¹¹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la Realidad Histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de El Victorial*. (Tesis doctoral dirigida por D. Juan Blecua). Valencia: 1986, 1047.

¹² Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *El Victorial*, 1997.

¹³ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *El Victorial*, Op. cit.

¹⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *El Victorial*, Op. cit.

¹⁵ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *El Victorial*, Op. Cit.

¹⁶ Tate, Robert. "Una biografía humanista de Juan II de Aragón", *Ensayos*, 247.

¹⁷ Beltrán, Llavador, Rafael. *El Victorial*, Op. cit, 1455.

¹⁸ Rubio Tovar, Joaquín. *La prosa medieval*. Lectura Crítica de la literatura española 3. Madrid: Playor, 1982, refers to this concept as "particular".

¹⁹ Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 227.

²⁰ In *History and Vision. The Figural Structure of the Libro del Cavallero Zifar*. London: Tamesis, 1972, James Burke shows an underlying scheme of references to Christ existing within the structure of the text about *Zifar*.

²¹ What makes *El Victorial* unique is that these references are not first copies of models or sporadic in their use. The biblical references follow a deliberate pattern, supported by philosophical quotes, digressions or "asides" on the part of the author and are arranged in such a way that they create an almost invisible substructure to the story of Pero Niño.

²² The excerpts taken from the Bible are in Spanish in order to match the text in *El Victorial* better. The edition used is the *Sagrada Biblia* by Mons. Dr. Juan Strabinger; Chicago, the Catholic Press, 1964 as it seemed to follow the original text the best.

²³ Flora Rueda Laorga in her precis for the Bachelor's degree listed the quotes mentioned, but according to the order in which they appear in the Bible. In an attempt to understand why Games chose specific quotes, I believe it is better to scrutinise the order in which Games places the quotes in El V and observe in what way Games uses them.

²⁴ As both Rafael Beltrán and Flora Rueda clearly discuss the meaning of the specific Biblical references made in *El Victorial* as the presentation of the history of mankind in their thesis' about Pero Niño, I will only gloss over the images in order to add the allegorical meaning behind them.

²⁵ See Rudolf of Ems (~1250) und Jan of Vienna (~1272-1284); cf. Martin Przybiliski, 'di juden jehent'. Die Aufnahme jüdischer Erzählstoffe in der 'Weltchronik' des Jan von Wien, in: *Aschkenas* 14 (2004), 83-99; for an example of reception in the opposite direction, see Samuel Armistead *et al.*, "Una tradición épico-carolingia en el Itinerario de Benjamin de Tudela", in *Sefarad* 47 (1987), 3-7.

²⁶ *Graus, historische Traditionen*, 23fn. Heil, Johannes, "Beyond 'History and Memory' Traces of Jewish Historiography in the Middle Ages", *MJS-online* 1 (2007/08) Heidelberg, 29-71.

²⁷ Heil, Johannes. "Beyond 'History and Memory' Traces of Jewish Historiography in the Middle Ages", *MJS-online* 1 (2007/08) Ibidem, 29-71.

²⁸ Esteban Lorente, Juan Francisco, *Op. cit.*, 237.

²⁹ Games also took advantage of the scene to represent the Dukes allegorically by overtly explaining the allegorical meaning of the shield of each commensal, thus underlining the theme of vices for treason and deceit.

³⁰ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *El Estudio*, *Op. cit.*, 1074.

³¹ Esteban Lorente, Juan Francisco. *Tratado de Iconografía*, Madrid: Colección Fundamentos 110, Istmo, 1990, 375.

³² Sebastian Lopez, Santiago. *Iconografía medieval*, *Op. cit.*, 294.

³³ Sebastián Lopez, Santiago. *Iconografía medieval*, *Op. cit.*

³⁴ This is shown by Rafael Beltrán in his thesis. Evidently the mention of an eclipse does not coincide historically, *Un Estudio* 1986, 347- 350.

³⁵ See Fig. 3.1: Development of Chivalric Narrative in *El Victorial*.

³⁶ Beltrán Llavador, *Un Estudio*, *Op. Cit.*, 349.

³⁷ Little, William, tr. Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *The Labors of the Very Brave Knight Esplandían* Binghamton: *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 1992, 9.

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- ³⁸ Little, William. *The Labors of the Very Brave Knight Esplandían*, Ibidem, 9.
- ³⁹ *Apocalipsis* in Greek means 'revelation'.
- ⁴⁰ Esteban Llorente, Juan Francisco, Op. cit, 255.
- ⁴¹ López, Ricardo. *Symbolos*, 43.
- ⁴² Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un Estudio*, 1019.
- ⁴³ Rafael Beltrán refers to the other individuals as possessing one, two, or three virtues, but as those phrases listed do not seem to be virtues but "character traits" I have opted for the second term. Rafael Beltrán, op. cit, 1018.
- ⁴⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Un Estudio*, Op cit., 109.
- ⁴⁵ The term "etopeya" refers to the description of the custom and moral traits of an individual.
- ⁴⁶ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Un Estudio*, Op. cit, 1019.
- ⁴⁷ Alvar, Carlos; Gomez Moreno, Angel; Gomez Redondo, Fernando. *Prosa y el Teatro en la Edad Media*, Taurus: Madrid, 1991.
- ⁴⁸ González, Cristina, *La Tercera Crónica*, 1992, Op. cit, 58.
- ⁴⁹ González, Cristina, *La Tercera Crónica*, 1992, Op. cit, 59.
- ⁵⁰ Alvar, Carlos; Gomez Moreno, Ángel; Gómez Redondo, Fernando, *Prosa y el Teatro*, Op. cit, 76.
- ⁵¹ These elements are: the killing of the boar, the cutting of the rope, first arms and others, as discussed in Chapter One in this study.
- ⁵² See Appendix D: Niño Family Tree.



CHAPTER FIVE: MODELS, RITES AND SYMBOLISM

CHAPTER FIVE

MODELS, RITES AND SYMBOLISM

In this chapter we will look more closely at some other patterns Games employed to complete the story of a perfect knight which are: the origins of the leitmotif of "*buen caballero/mal caballero*"; the doctrinal model set by Pero Niño; the rites that each knight has to follow as seen in *El V* and the symbolism behind the weapons used by the author to underscore the doctrine in Chapter Four: "Chivalric Doctrine in *El Victorial*".

***El Victorial* as a manual of good chivalry**

The model of a perfect knight as an ideal is first presented in the *Proemio*:

Tres hórdenes de cavalleros tiene nuestro Señor Dios. La primera es la horden de los ángeles que pelearon con Luzifer (38/18-19)

E nuestro Señor tiene otra horden de cavalleros que son los mártires que murieron por la Santa Fe Cathólica, benziendo las ponpas e falagos del mundo, e del diablo, e de la carne (38/30-34)

Otros cavalleros tiene nuestro Señor Dios, que son los buenos reyes de la tierra, derechureros e temientes de Dios. E los buenos cavalleros que punan por defender e manparar la madre Santa Yglesia, e la feé cathólica (38/38-39)

The "*hórdenes*" or "orders" of knights first refer to those orders, meaning categories found in the Bible, but the word "order" echoes the "orders" to which the knights, priests and soldiers belong. Next, a historical vision of knighthood is given. Then, the biblical reference to the tower of Babel is included to explain the religious origin of Knighthood. After that, in the first

few chapters, Games names several princes¹ from the legends of Antiquity as examples of good knights: Solomon, Alexandre of Macedonia, "Nebuchadnezzar", Julio Cesar.

The word "*horden*" also refers to the military orders of priests, such as the Templars. In fact, they were called "orders" to parallel the Biblical ideal in which the angels of the first order fought Lucifer, while the martyrs, and knights such as Pero Niño, of a lower order, battled against the vices. Those vices mentioned here are 'las ponpas e falagos del mundo, el diablo' (38/31-32) and this reference presents the idea that a knight fights using his faith in order to win.

Dos maneras son de vencer sobre sus enemigos; la una es muy contraria a la otra. La una es quando los batalladores, en este siglo benzen. Llamam al muerto vençido, e al matador vençedor. En este batalla ay lanças e espaldas, e otras armas muchas. E pore so le llaman vençido, porque queda muerto. (39/7-10)

Es otra batalla la que se haze por Jesucristo. El que a esta vatalla entra no trae armas visibles ni corporales, mas trae la cruz de Jesucristo por perdón, e la fee católica por escudo, e la santa ley de Jesuscristo, que es el su evangelio, en el coraçón e en la boca (39/11-15)

Then, with these arms, Games explains how perfect knights obtain victory:

E con estas armas fiere e quebranta sus henemigos. E este que así está firme en la fee fasta la muerte no dexándose vencer del buen propósito, antes por no consentir falsas declaraciones e erronías opiniones de yncrédulos e ereges sufre tormentas fasta la muerte a este tal llaman vençedor, porque no quedó vençido para la perpetua muerte del ynfierno. Destos cavalleros es caudillo nuestro Señor Jesucristo (39-/17-23)

The words which give the medieval reader a clue to the virtues that should be looked for in echo of the "arms" which Pero Niño will use in each battle are 'El que a esta vatalla No trae armas besibles [visibles] ni corporals mas trae la cruz de Jesucristo por pendón, e la feé católica por escudo e la santa ley de Jesucristo, que es el su abangelio, en el coraçón e en la boca. E con estsas armas fiere [hiere] e quebranta sus henemigos' (39/11-16). In the section

on arms of this study, allegorical meanings of the arms are given to complement the reading of *El V*. 'Esta es buena caballería, la mejor que ningún caballero puede hazer: pelear por su ley e feé, quanto más teniendo la verdad' (66/19-21).

The meaning of "*horden*" is also contrasted with "*dishorden*", creating the leitmotif *orden/desorden* supporting the system of vices and virtues as presented in *El V*. This leitmotif in the Middle Ages is associated with the equilibrium of the body:

El cuerpo es casa e instrumento del alma, sin el qual ella non puede obrar bien que el alma virtualmente está en todos los miembros del cuerpo, mas la su propia morada es el corazón. E quando al señor de la casa va mal, toda su casa anda desordenada. E si le va bien, todos son alegres quantos en ella son. E como el corazón sea morada del alma, quando las potencias son turbadas, los espíritus vitales enflaqueçen. Entonze el corazón es desatado e enflaqueído. Onde dize Platón: "Las quitas desatan el corazón; e si muchas fueren, entrarán a las partes de dentro, e desatarán el tu buen hordenamiento. (234/18-27)

"Good chivalry" vs. "bad chivalry" is another dichotomy which ties together the episodes of *El V*: that of the "good knight / bad knight" or "*buen caballero*" versus the "*mal caballero*". This dichotomy is also referred to in earlier chivalric narrative, i.e. the Alphonsine chronicles, as "*buen gobierno versus mal gobierno*". As chivalric narrative developed over the centuries, the focus shifted from kings as a reading receptor to the nobles and knights involved in the Christian-Moslem conflict. Hence, the emphasis in dichotomies from *buen/mal gobierno* to *buen/mal caballero* is necessary, and specifically in *El V* as "*horden versus deshorden*". In the epic poems, this same vision of "*orden versus desorden*" is first only a simple comparison between good and evil, as pointed out by Benedicta Ward and Stephen G. Nichols, Jr.² This comparison developed into corollary dichotomies supporting the leitmotif or *orden/desorden* as the face of chivalric narrative changed which I have represented in the following two figures: Fig. 5.1: Corollary dichotomies supporting the

orden/desorden Leitmotif and Fig. 5.2.: Corollary dichotomies supporting the *good/bad* Leitmotif:

Figure 5.1: Corollary dichotomies supporting the *orden/desorden* leitmotif

good/evil	>	good/bad chivalry
buen/mal gobierno	>	buen/mal caballero

The ideal knights in *El V* who represent the opposition between a "good" knight and a "bad" are the following:

Figure 5.2: Corollary dichotomies supporting the good/bad leitmotif

- Good/bad
- Good/evil
- Good chivalry/bad chivalry
- Buen gobierno/mal gobierno
- Buen caballero / mal caballero

It is made clear that in reference to Good/Bad knights, "Bad" knights lose battles:

E sobre tomar tierra allí, ovo entre ellos grand porfía quién la tomaría primero. Fue en ellos dehordenança, e la gente de los yngleses hera mucha. E fueron luego vençidos; comoquier que mosén Guillen peleó mucho bien, fasta que lo firieron mal (196/15-19)

Dice aquí el avtor que estas deshordenanças vienen por non ser i esquchados los buenos cavalleros e sabidores; (196/22-23)

a "good knight" will always be a conqueror:

Si te conveniere de pelear por tu solo cuerpo contra cualquier que dixele la santa feé cathólica no ser ansí, obligado heres a ello. E si por bentura cayeles entre henemigos de la santa feé cathólica, e te la quisieren hazer denegar, tú déveste aparejar a zofrir todos los tormentos, quantos te venir pudiesen; e temiendo e confesando la santa feé de Jesucristo hasta la

muerte, en esta vatalla tan santa, como suso dixen, al muerto llaman bencedor e al matador llaman benzido (66/17-26).

God also protects the "Good" knights, those who are "hordenados", from danger:

Ved milagro fecho grande que fiço Dios, que ascondió allí el lugar a los ojos de sus cristianos porque no se perdiesen (126/7-8)

and a "Good" knight" knows: ³

Ansí es e las guerras: cada uno quida benzer; mas después, f zese como Dios tiene hordenado. Nosotros non sabemo el su secreto, mas con la su ayuda, e con buena ordenanza los hombres deben acometer sus fechos; ca el que todas las cosas á de reçelar, mejor le f era non salir de su casa. (195/15-19)

Elsewhere, Games cites the example of a knight who reached glory; first through suffering:

Toma enxemplo de Santiago el caballero, que fue tajado todo por miembros, desde los dedos de los manos a los pies, todos uno a uno, fasta los otros miembros, e coyunturas quanta's en él ovo: nunca le podieron fazer negar a Jesucristo, ante estuvo firme como buen cavallero. (66/27-31)

Immediately, Games declares the knight successful; 'Esta es buena cavallería triunfante. Allí se gana la corona aureola que Dios promete a los vençedores.' (66/31-33). Finally, the way good knights can be victorious is clearly explained by contrasting their attributes with the "henemigos", or vices, incarnated in those knights who profess their faith in God. This is also a key for the medieval reader to follow because Pero Niño professes his own faith just before each of his victories.⁴ This formula is repeated until the confrontations are solved and the vices are conquered.

Figure 5.3: Virtue Conquers Vices

Historical/Geographical circumstance	>	Appearance of the Vice
Pero Niño professes his faith in God	>	Pero Niño conquers the Vice

First, the imaginary situation, geographically or historically situated, is explained; second, these circumstances are complicated by some offender in the defence of justice or by a situation representative of a vice; third, Pero Niño, as narrated by a third person or in his own words, representing a Virtue, or a symbol thereof, evokes the image of God and the power of God; lastly, Pero Niño triumphs either alone, or as leader of his troops over the symbolic vice. This formula is not used for all the situations, only for battles fought against symbolic vices or injustice.

The *Proemio* is *El V* in a nutshell. To a modern reader, the nuances and symbolism can be very difficult to understand. However, erudite medieval readers, upon reading or hearing the *Proemio*, would have the necessary key to the understanding of the complete text which would then unfold before them, formula after formula. The *Proemio* is the key to the multi-levelled patterns that support the story behind the fictional, not the "real" Don Pero Niño.⁵

The Necessity for Vices and Virtues

One might ask why the battle between the vices and the virtues would be so important within a chivalric narrative. The reason is linked to the leitmotif "*order/disorder*" and closely related to chivalric life. First, to maintain order is very important:

Del lado de los hombres, el peligro provenía de la violencia abierta, armada, dispuesta a brotar con la mayor naturalidad entre aquellas gentes de guerra y torneo.⁶

Next, one must perceive a way to organise this violence:

Era preciso, por tanto, evacuar constantemente la codicia y los rencores avivar sin descanso la "amistad". Empresa difícil en razón de la rivalidad permanente localizada en la corte, de la simulación de los jóvenes ante los adultos.⁷

Consequently, in order to keep youth from rebelling and natural rivalry under control: ‘En primer lugar, la expulsión de los más inquietos; tal fué sin duda una de las funciones de la cruzada’⁸. Another way to control excess ardour of the young nobles: ‘En mi opinión los ritos del amor cortés son un segundo medio de amansar a la juventud’⁹

These two reasons, rivalry and ardour, give us the main theme of much chivalric narrative, and of *El V* in particular: arms and love. Again, the main theme of “arms and love” is announced in the *Proemio*,

E fize dél este libro, que fabla de los sus fechos, e grandes aventuras a que él se puso, así en armas, como en amores: bien así como por armas fué hombre de grand bentura, así en amores fué muy baliente e bien notado (45/4-7)

This concept coincides with the sermons on love in the oral tradition from the pulpit¹⁰ and referring to the two virtues "*fortaleza*" and "*costanza*" as requisites:

Aquí dize el autor e trata de la fortaleza e constanzia, de cómo este caballero ya comenzava la batalla con muy grand esfuerzo e seso, non reçelando los golpes presentes e abenideros, mas posponiendo todo el temor, a fin de alcanzar el triunfo e la honra desde tal fecho. (308/7-16)

The actual description of love is that of a conquest, a battle, which has to be won in order to gain Honour. In *El V*, Games describes the conquest for the love of Beatriz by using the word "*empresa*" associated with a battle won by Pero Niño to echo this idea:

E todo esto recontado a Pero Niño, e los travajos e afanes que dello se siguían, e los peligros; que si él se quería de todo punto afrezer a ellos, que ella hera acordada, segúnd el consejo a ella dado por su hermano e por otros que lealmente la consejaban, segúnd el caballero que era Pero Niño, ca tal que sacaría todos estos fechos a salvo. E que non avía en el reyno otro cavallero a quien esta empresa perteneçiese tomar si non a él. (305/22-29)

Other references to this idea in *El V* are the tourneys and endeavours undertaken by the knights to draw the attention of their intended loved ones and are described thusly:

E otrosí porque saben que por amor son ellos mejores, y se traen más guarnidos, e hazen por su amor grandes prezas e cavallerías, así en armas como en juegos, e se ponen a grandes abenturas, e búscanlas por su amor, e van en otros reynos con sus enpresas dellas, buscando canpos e lides, loando y ensalçando cada uno su amada e señor (90/28-91/4)

and poetry is written:

E aún hazen dellas e por su amor graciosas cantigas e savorosos dezires, e notables motes, e valadas, e chaças, e reondelas, e lays, e virolays, e complayncas, e sonjes, e sonbays, e figuras, en que cada uno aclara por palabras e loa su yntençión e propósito (91/4-11)

and ingenuity is also contemplated:

E otors ençelan e loan por figura, non osando declarar más muestran que en alto lugar aman o son amados; así cada uno siguiendo su manera e guisa. (91/4-11)

The allegorical symbol for the moral virtue "Prudence", the mirror, is reiterated by Games just after this reference to "*empresa*" to underline the virtue, Prudence, possessed by Pero Niño. The episode is a reminder to the young nobles who read this passage that with Prudence they will win their *empresa*.

De lo cual Pero Niño ovo grand plazer, quando esta respuesta oyó; que ya con grand saviduría se miraba en el espexo de la prudencia, en el qual se vió ser obligado a todas estas cosas, e muchas más que benirle podrían. (305/22-32)

Finally, when Pero Niño does conquer Beatriz, there is a secret marriage - another element found in *El V* in common with other books of chivalry:

E aquí se conçertó el casamiento, por su hermano e por otras personas de autoridad (305/33-34)

Mas de que beyan ser acordado por las partes prinçipales, bien pensavan que se acabarian en bien, e que era voluntad de Dios, segúnd que adelante se fiz (305/33).

As part of the chivalric canon, the secret marriage is challenged by the family or in the case of royalty, by the ambassadors to the king, which is the case for Pero Niño.

e dixesen que él [Pero Niño] avía herrado, e quisiese[n] tomar aquella requesta, que él les combatería antel rey su Señor, e delante la reyna, e el ynfante; que doña Beatriz su esposa mirase (311/22-25)

In order to defend his love for Beatriz, Pero Niño, who understands the negative acceptance of his secret marriage as an *agravio* or insult, challenges anyone to a joust. In chivalric law, any *agravio* is met with a *desafío*, a challenge. As a result, in order to defend his love, Pero Niño is either challenged:

E que se escogiesen dos dellos, quales el ynfante quisiese o ellos quisiesen, que él les faría conosér, segúnd manda ley de cavalleros en tal caso, que es de sol a sol, que él los bençería uno a uno, que qual del uno se partiese, que tal tomase la vatalla con el otro (311/25-29)

or threatened, as the case is here:

E que él mataría, e los lanzaría del canpo, e los faría confesar que él non avía fecho yerro alguno en se desposar con su esposa doña Beatriz, nin que ella avía herrado tanpoco (311/25-34)

Knowing he has not infringed a law, Pero Niño demands a condition on the outcome of the joust:

E la condición fuese, que el término acavado de la batalla a qué se ofrecía, que el rey le dises a su esposa libre e desenbargadamente, allí ante todos (311/31-34).

As an additional gest of knighthood, Pero Niño proffered: ‘E más puso a fin de la razón: que él se ofrecía de dar a las cavalleros que la empresa tomasen, cada dos, mill doblas para sendós cavallos (311/34; 312/1-3).

What is interesting in *El V* is that Games takes advantage of the chivalric code to insist that the count is truly in love, suggesting that he is not trying to improve his social position.

E bien así como siempre dió buena fin a todos los fechos que él en armas començó, e nunca fué bençido, así en los lugares donde él amó fué amado e nunca reprochado. (90/11-18)

Another aspect of the “arms and love” theme which is also patent in chivalric narrative, and particularly in books of chivalry¹¹ is that of the best knight deserving to marry a princess or "*en altos lugares*". Referring to this right, an earlier reference to the “arms and love” theme is:

Mas por quanto el casamiento de Pero Niño e doña Constanza fué sobre trato de amores; e porque este cavallero, así como fué valiente e esmerado en armas e cavallería entre los otros cavalleros de su tiempo, otrosí fué esmerado en amar en altos lugares.

Here, instead of referring to rights or social means, Games draws a parallel between the count of Buelna, recognized not only for his brilliant career as an unconquered knight, but also for his irreproachable conduct in love, true to the chivalric tradition. As a result, Games, by creating the image of a perfect knight in the name of Pero Niño, is maintaining a status quo in the present canon accepted for books and novels of chivalry. The ideology of love in books of chivalry also parallels that of real life in the fifteenth century. The knight should try to marry above his status. Knighthood extends privileges, and the best knight also deserves a high society post and/or wife in marriage.

This idea is particularly reflected in certain French novels of chivalry: *Curiel e Güelfa*, and *Le petit Jehan de Seintre*, and in the Catalán *Tirant lo Blanc*. It is logical, then, in

El V, that Pero Niño believes he deserves marriage to Beatriz. Beltrán refers to this as a "*perfection amorosa*" whereas Games very clearly relates this love to good chivalry and the attainment of the best of both: 'saben que por su amor son ellos mejores' (90/28). As seen by Cirlot, the romances of chivalry created these models to be desired in real life:

La novela poseyó esa función mediatizadora tan característica del género permitiendo que los jóvenes caballeros alcanzaran el objeto codiciado (esposa y tierras) al menos en la ilusión, al identificarse con personajes como Erec o Yvain.¹²

The idea of equilibrium is also linked to the virtues, in the sense that the maintenance of these virtues (hence the constant winning over temptations, the vices) is the way for every Christian to maintain equilibrium. Here, in *El V* the message is for those who wish to become good knights. The entire responsibility of the house, and for order, in fifteenth century society was that of the male:

eran cosas que mantenían viva en el señor responsable del *orden* doméstico y de la gloria familiar una preocupación primordial, que era del honor.¹³

One of the major preoccupations in *El V* is the obsession of how to achieve honour and is a direct reflection of this belief. This "honour" of course, is linked to maintaining "order" in life, and to achieve the perfect "order" of arms and love required to be a good knight. *El V*, in this light then, is a manual for knights on how to become a good knight and deserve this honour as seen through examples of the leitmotif *orden/desorden*.

Established Chivalric Rites

In *El V*, Games has Pero Niño comply with the established rites found in the substructure of chivalric narrative for both books and novels of chivalry in reflection of the

procedures existing in fifteenth century Spain. These elements in *El V* constitute another fictive level within the text. The first rite is the "Taking of Arms"; or investment of arms.

Homenaje a las vestiduras

Games describes how Pero Niño, as a young man, a *donzel*, goes through several skirmishes, in which he has to ask the King for permission to use arms, as he is underage.

[...] armáronse vna parte de la gente del rey para yr quemarlas [bareas]. El donzel Pero Niño supo este ardid e fue al rey, e pidióle merced que le mandase dar armas, pués estava en guerra e en tal lugar que le fazían menester, que avn él no las avía ningunas suyas. (74/17-21)

As Pero Niño already has proven his worth, the king acquiesces and fully confides in him.

'El rey mandó le dar las sus armas mesmas'. (74/21) Games, in compliance with one of the requisites for hero worship, draws attention to the fact that Pero Niño is younger than the normal age: 'Podía ser este donzel a la sazón de hedad de quinze años' (74/21-22). This scene is considered his first use of arms:

Allí peleó tanto este donzel, que se esmeró de los otros allende dellos tantas vezes, que non fué ninguno aquél día que tanto fiçiese por sus manos. E dió allí muchos golpes señalados, en los quales sacó sangre de los deservidores de su señor rey, e él fué ferido por dos feridas (74/26-30)

E en quanto duró aquello çerca, él se esmeró tantas vezes, e fizo tantos buenos fechos por sus manos en armas que quantos ende heran fabla van bien, e dezíon que él començava bien e mostrava que grand honra avía de alañar por arte de armas e oficio de cavallería (74/30; 75/1-4)

The fact that the King gave Pero Niño arms at such an early age is not only a "topoi" for books of chivalry, but it also underlines the premonition of Pero Niño as a victorious knight, another "topoi", in words of a stranger, which immediately follows in the text:

- Señora, sabed que este vuestro hijo que por armas á de subir a grande estado, e vsando por armas e cauallería á de ser muy famoso e muy honrado cauallero; e por ellas á de ser el mayor hombre e más honrrado que ovo jamás en su linaje (84/26-30)

When Pero Niño has finally earned a good name for himself, Games explains that it was destiny:

E non se deve maravillar ninguno porque yo diga tanto deste cavallero en tan poco tiempo, e seyendo él de tan pocos días; porque Dios tiene a todos proveydos de la su graçia, e dada medida de la su graçia a cada vno, e don segúnd la la largueza de la su misericordia. A vnos dá graçia de ser letrados, e a otros de ser buenos mercaderes, e a otros de buenos mecánicos, de ser labradores, e a otros de ser cavalleros e buenos defensores. (83/32; 84/1-5)

Games also makes it very clear that Pero Niño feels the vocation of a knight before he is invested with arms.

E ansí deste cavallero, que nunca en ál fue sue studio e su travajo serio por armas en arte e ofisio de cavallería. E avnque él fué tan amado del rey, e fué tan cerca dél que él pudiera por muchas veçes, si él quisiera, ser su priuado e muy çerca dél mas por quanto en los priuados ay algunas maneras apartadas e cosas que no son de ofiçio de cauallería, nunca a ellos se quiso nclinar (84/14-19)

This point is important because Pero Niño's vocation is repeated later on, at the end of the third book, in the episode where he "saves" the ill-advised King from the malevolent Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. These two episodes open and close the theme of arms in *El V*, creating a closed theme within the plot.

Vestidura (inmixtiu manuum) primeras armas

The king arranged the ceremony for Pero Niño to enter knighthood by bestowing upon Pero Niño his first arms: 'E el rey, queriéndolo honrrar e galardonar por los serviçios

que le auía fechos, díxole: - Pero Niño, yo quiero que vos seades caballero luego agora.’ (289/1-4). In response, Pero Niño swears to be forever loyal to the king which is echoed in his actions up through the last chapter:

Más señor, siempre fué mi voluntad de rescebir esta horden de caballería de vuestra mano, en la vuestra casa, por quanto yo soy fechura vuestra e crianza de la vuestra [...] E si non porque yo agora estoy armado, yo non quisiera ser cavallero agora, fasta que vos, señor, fuérades con vuestra hueste en alguna conquista de aquellas quel vuestro corazón desea mas sea fecho como la vuestra merced manda. (289/9-15)

Thus, the first chapter opens with the doctrine of arms a good knight should follow, upon receiving arms is Pero Niño’s promise, and, in the last chapter, the count of Buelna has fulfilled that promise, which is also the requisite moral-didactic ending for a book of chivalry

Juramento fidelidad (sacramentium)

Several concepts of swearing loyalty are presented in *El V* when Pero Niño is invested in arms. As seen above, one is fulfilled when Pero Niño swears loyalty to the king: ‘Mas sea fecho como la vuestra merçed manda’ (289/15-16).

As *El V* is structured around the complementary theme of “arms and love”,¹⁴ another concept of swearing loyalty is the oath sworn to the lady love in the form of the "votos". At times, the "bodo" was a monetary gift to the church.

De lo qual toda la compañía fueron muy alegres e pagados, e aun muy maravillados los que algo dellos entendían. Los "vodos" no los escrivo, porque sería luenga cosa de contar; mas yo vos digo que el capitán entró en tales lugares donde bien pudo cada uno probar a cunplir su "bodo" como quier que la mayor parte los cumplió (101/5-10)

In Xerifontaine, the knights were asked to take “*votos*” as well. The two types of “*votos*” of arms and love, which accompany the main theme in *El V*, are spoken in the form of a promise, as in courtly love, and the monetary deposit in the Church as a knightly duty.

Relación personal protección (auxilium consilium)

Another part of the “*voto*” of arms is to help the unfortunate or those in urgent need. In *El V*, Games has Pero Niño protect many unfortunate souls, but to augment Pero Niño’s worth, he first saves none other than the King. The two main scenes explained in great detail come at the very beginning of his service to the king, and, the other, at the end of the count’s service. The careful placement of these moments is akin to the opening and closing of the life of a victorious knight; like those in other chivalric narratives. Firstly, Pero Niño, in his youth, and just after receiving arms saves the king when a thick rope is about to overturn the boat both men are in:

E luego muy ayna saltó Pero Niño a la proa, e sacó la espada e dió tal golpe que cortó la maroma, que hera tan gruesa como la pierna de un hombre, de lo qual fueron todos muy maravillados. (76/5-17)

Throughout Pero Niño’s service to the king, he comes to the rescue of many an unfortunate soul as proof of his promise to protect individuals. One such incident is:

E acaeció que Pero Niño andava mirando e hordenando las gentes; e como estava en un cavallo, çerca de las hazes del condestable, acaeció que cinco o seys hombres de caballo de la parte de los reyes, que andavan escaramuzando, e matavan un peón de Castilla. E Pero Niño les rogó a grandes voxes que lo dexasen. Ellos non quisieron. El demandó una lanza, e ovo quien ge la dar. E fué a ellos, e firió el primero que falló e fízoles ser corteses (330/14-23)

As a perfect ending of a chivalric narrative of a victorious knight’s service to his king, Pero Niño was chosen to protect the king when the latter has been unaware of the threat

posed by a malicious counsellor; Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. The count's acceptance speech reflects his dedication and fulfilment of his vow:

E tanto le rogavan que por serviçio del rey, que él tomase este cargo, que a él convenía. E Pero Niño repondió que, pues por el ynfante e por los señores que ende estavan hera ansí acordado, e por quanto hera ansí serviçio del rey e pro del reyno, que le plazía de lo fazer e ser con ellos en esta razón; mas que le jurasen que cunplía ansí a serviçio del rey (322/8-34)

Relación personal entre señores y vasallos:

The next promise which a knight takes is the courteous treatment of individuals from all walks of life. In *El V*, this is seen in each episode. Pero Niño's treatment of the Moors, the Pope, the simple people, irate knights and even members of the Corsairs is always correct. The purpose of this treatment, for Games,¹⁵ is to present Pero Niño not only as an exponent of hero worship, but also as the perfect knight¹⁶. One such scene is:

E espidió las gentes que auían andando con él; e fuése a Valladolid, donde él tenía su casa. E aunque benía de guerra, fizo allí extraña librea, e muy debisada, e dióla a quantos auía en su casa, mayores e menores (288/27-34)

The following lesson in knightly manners imparted by the *ayo* is carried out again and again in the relationships Pero Niño has with the people he encounters:

Non tengas vasallos tan solamente por lo que as de aver dellos, más ténlos todos por amigos, e sírvante con lo que as de aber de derecho. Con la palabra blanda dura el amor en los corazones; la dulce palabra multiplica los amigos e mitiga los henemigos (72/1-5)

The lessons from the *ayo*, placed after the *Proemio* and in the form of a manual for chivalry also create a substructure in *El V*. For each instruction from the *ayo*, there is a corresponding episode to demonstrate how Pero Niño effects that lesson.¹⁷ An exemplary

episode of this lesson is echoed in a battle situation where Pero Niño shows he is lenient with the weak. First, the captain from a small town pleads with Pero Niño, himself a captain:

E el capitán de la villa, que estava por el rey de Aragón vino a las galeas e rogó mucho al capitán que dexase aquellos corsarios diciendo que ellos non tenían otra bida sinó e ellos, que les guardavan los puertos e les trayen mantenimientos (113/12-15)

Wisely, Pero Niño, cedes to the captain's pleas:

El capitán ovo su consejo [...]. E aunque al capitán todos aquellos temores non le podían bençer, bencióse por la razón (113/18, 23-24)

Finally, the lesson from the *ayo*, when fulfilled, gains honour for Pero Niño:

Quando el pleyto fué abenido, entendieron los cosarios que les avía Dios mucha merced e salió el capitán en tierra, e fué resçibido con mucha honra (113/25-27)

This pattern repeats itself in *El V* and I have represented this in a formula:

Figure 5.4: *Ayo* Lessons Put to Practice

<i>Ayo</i>	>	Pero Niño Applies the Lessons of The Master	>	Fame Honour Earned
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When the lessons from the *ayo* are applied by Pero Niño, the circumstance results in either Fame, Honour or Justice rendered.

To summarise, Games used the order of the established rites of chivalry, as well as the lessons of the *ayo*, as substructures: another underpinning to the overall chivalric didactic-moral narrative framework. The different substructures cannot but complement one another as they all dovetail into the "arms and love" leitmotif.

The Meaning behind each Weapon

The doctrine supporting the chivalric movement in existence at the time Games elaborated *El V* was the subject of many books and manuals. Of those belonging to chivalric narrative, the symbolism used to make common chivalric elements more religiously meaningful is echoed in *El V*. The following section shows how *El V* contains patterns similar to those texts.¹⁸

At the time *El V* was written,¹⁹ the *Libro de la Orden de Caballería* by Ramón Llull (ca. 1235-ca. 1315), originally in Catalan, had already been translated into French and would be translated into English during the second half of the fifteenth century by William Caxton. Its popularity shows the appeal of and demand for the book at that time, in precisely these countries mentioned so often in *El V*. It also demonstrates the wide acceptance of the manual and the doctrine it contained at the time, when Pero Niño was fighting valiantly in the Crusades under the three different Trastámara Kings.

The chivalric dependency on structure is another aspect of *El V* which combines historical and fictional elements: historical, because these elements reflect a social life common to the chivalric narrative of several countries in the Middle Ages; and fictional, because they reflect scenes commonly described in both novels and books of chivalry. The following examples of chivalric doctrine are taken from the "*Libro de la Orden de Caballería*"²⁰ and compared to similar passages from *El V*²¹.

El *Libro de la Orden de Caballería* is largely composed of instructions on how to be a perfect knight, just as the lessons from the *ayo* in *El V*.²² This book was used to instruct young nobles in the practice of good knighthood. The chapter entitled "*Del significado que tienen las armas del caballero*" deals with the symbolism of the arms used by the knight in

"service" to God and in defence of Christianity and the King. Arms in general are perceived as follows:²³

Llull I

Todo lo que viste el sacerdote para cantar la misa tiene algún significado que conviene con su oficio. Y como oficio de clérigo y oficio de caballero convienen entre sí, por eso la orden de caballería requiere que todo lo que necesita el caballero para cumplir con su oficio tenga algún significado que signifique la nobleza de la orden de caballería

In the following section, each example begins with a passage from Ramón Llull on the allegorical meaning (in several cases) of the weapon in question. Martín de Riquer's comments on the weapons described by Games in *El V* from his article on arms follow the passages from Llull.²⁴ Comments upon the symbolism of the arms in use are added to imitate the images a medieval reader would understand upon reading the text. Finally, an episode from *El V* where several different types of arms appear is analysed so that the modern reader can capture the full meaning of arms use as the author intended.

The first example is the sword:

Llull II (La Espada) The Sword

Al caballero se le da *espada*, que está hecha a semejanza de cruz, para significar que así como Nuestro Señor Jesucristo venció en la cruz a la muerte en la que habíamos caído por el pecado de nuestro padre Adán, así el caballero debe vencer y destruir a los enemigos de la cruz con la espada.

According to De Riquer, the sword is of great importance in *El Victorial* :

cortava mucho de una espada e façía piques muy señalados e fuertes. Nunca falló hombre que con él cortase de una espada en su tiempo, ni que tales golpes hiziese. (87/ 24-26)

Pero Niño had to be the best, for as a model knight he is the representation of Christ. Others nobles have to follow his example; when, as a donzel, Pero Niño saves the king's life:

E luego e muy ayna saltó Pero Niño a la proa, e sacó la espada, e dio tal golpe que cortó la maroma, que hera tan gruesa como pierna de un hombre, de lo qual fueron todos muy maravillados (76/15-18)

The sword here is used to redress a wrong; the wrong being a sudden trap where the boat is endangered. The simile of "maroma" (rope), with the image of "tan gruesa como pierna"²⁵, evokes a battle scene in the mind of the reader. The word "maravillados" appears here as it does in other places in *El V* where Games wants to underline the fact that it is a situation in which a normal man could not have affected such a feat. The exaggeration about the width of the *maroma* is typical in *El V*. Exaggerations usually accompany scenes where the word "maravillado" appears, such as this lovely description of the sword:

e quando Pero Niño salió de la pelea la su buena adarga hera ya cortada y fecha piezas, e la espiga del espada torada, a ora de quebrar e descabeçar, e toda mellada, fecha sierra, tinta en sangre (83/20-23)

The first sword rendered useless, Pero Niño pulls out another one, which, eventually, is covered with blood. This other sword represents the "Cross", and this scene evokes the Crucifixion again. This image of blood is repeated at the peak moments of tension within the plot, representing the hardest trials. As seen below in a fierce confrontation:

e non benía menos golpeado el caballero que el caballo, sino que le balfán las buenas armas; mas trayalas bien pezadas y abolladas en muchos lugares, e la su espada toda mellada e sacados grandes pedazos d'ella, e la espiga torzida de los grandes golpes que avía fecho con ella, e toda bañada en sangre. Esta espada envió él después a Franzia, con otras joyas, por un donzel, a madama el Almiralla (292/27-33)

The fact that Don Pero Niño sends his sword to "*madama el Almiralla*" is symbolic of the cross that he has borne in battles. Related to the central theme of "arms and love", the figure of the Virgin Caudillo is of great importance to the chivalric "empresa". Knights make "votos" or promises to the Virgin to comply with the didactic part of the chivalric code, and to their lady, "*madama el Almiralla*", in the case of Pero Niño, to comply with the moral part of the Chivalric Code. This symbolic fulfilment of a ritual (the sending of arms to the lady the knight honours) is an element "*de rigueur*" for chivalric narrative.

A different use of the sword is for running the bulls, whether on foot, or horseback. The young men, as if in a game, would wait for the bulls: 'esperándolos, poniéndose a grand peligro con ellos, haziendo golpes de espada tales que todos heran maravillados'. (77/5-8)

Another element "*de rigueur*" as Ramón Llull also distinguishes, is *Justice*, one of the virtues to be upheld by a good knight: 'Y como la espada tiene doble filo, y la caballería está para mantener la justicia, y la justicia es dar a cada uno su derecho, por eso la espada del caballero significa que el caballero debe mantener con la espada la caballería y la justicia'.

There are different types of swords and de Riquer distinguishes between the dagger: 'lleváronle la bayna del espada e la daga'; (292/11) double-edged sword:

'Acaesçio un dia día que andando jugando, el rey con sus donzeles con espadas de dos manos fuese para uno d'ellos que non traya sinon cota, e diole por meitad del cuerpo un estocada que le pasó el espada a la otra parte, e cayó muerto en tierra' (235/21-25)

As the double-edged sword means the Knight is defending both *Justice* and Knighthood, this scene is repeated on many occasions, in the narrative about the count of Buelna. The superior strength of Pero Niño is seen when he uses the weapons of Faith to show that faith in God makes one stronger than one's enemies. The *ayo* has said this in his

first lessons, and Pero Niño follows each instruction from the *ayo* faithfully throughout the whole book, as Christ followed instructions from the wise men in the Temple.

Llull III: (La Lanza) The Lance

La *lanza* se le da al caballero para significar la verdad, pues verdad es cosa recta y no se tuerce, y verdad va delante de falsedad. Y el hierro de la lanza significaa la fuerza que tiene la verdad sobre la falsedad, y el pendón significa que la verdad se muestra a todos y no tiene miedo de la falsedad ni del engaño. Y la verdad es el apoyo de la esperanza, y así con las demás cosas relativas a la verdad que significa la lanza del caballero'

As pointed out by de Riquer, the lance was used in battles on horseback: 'Alli perdió la lança, e puso mano a la espada, e allí fue ferido de muchos golpes de lanzas e fchas e espadas' (78/25-27). In this case, Pero Niño is wounded because he has lost his lance in the fray, thus momentarily loses sight of the battle. However, Pero Niño has the cross, his sword, to protect him from Death;

E el capitán movió su batalla a ellos [los ingleses]. Allí se dieron muy fuertes golpes de las lanzas, de que fueron feridos muchos de ambas partes, y aun d'ellos caydos. Dexadas las lanzas, pusieron mano a las hachas e las espadas, e volbióse un torneo muy grande' (268/30-34)

One of the leitmotifs within *El V* is truth/ non-truth, referring to those who believe in God and can see the light and those who cannot. The lance here reflects those who see the truth and who conquer:

Quando él ovo quebrado su lanza en ellos (los moros), puso mano a su espada e fizo asaz golpes señalados, de guisa que al qu'el alcanzava, armado o desarmado, a su guisa, nunca a otro daría lanzada (655/920-923)

This image refers to the double insistence on brute force; the "fortaleza" that the iron represents.

Allusión to the *ristre* as part of the outfit with the lance:

E don Juan puso las espuelas al cavallo, e una fuerte lança en el ristre, e fuelos ferir. E encontró un cavallero, buen hombre d *armas*, que venía armado con las harmas del adelantado, e dio con él en tierra del cavallo, e fue luego preso (343/16-19)

Each successive thrust, causing the adversary to fall to the ground, symbolises another force of the triumph of truth.

The constant triumphs accumulated through the descriptions of arms used on land and at sea by Games are so famous that *El V* has been used as an example of medieval daily life in many books on the Middle Ages.²⁶

The lance in distance throwing as a *sport* is described:

Un día acordaron algunos cavalleros mançebos de los más esmerados del real, en los cuales yban Juan de Estúñiga e Rui Die de Mendoçae Pero López de Ayala e otros, de yr lanzar lanzas a la puerta del palenque (78/ 12-15)

For throwing both lances and darts Pero Niño was described as being at as advantage:

‘En las otras ligerezas que fazen los hombres e valentías, e lançar lança e dardo, esto fazía él muy de bantaja’ (87/27-28).

The *length* of the lance was also noteworthy:

en Yrlanda los cavalleros pelean todos a cavallos. Non traen sillas sino pocos d'ellos. Son grandes cabalgadores; cabalgan en unos acyruelos muy bien adovados e guarnidos, con sus estriveras. E otros que non son tan armados cabalgan en cerro. An muy buenas lanças d'armas; traénlas muy largas, más un grand cobdo que las más luengas lanzas de esta partida (230/13-19).

For *hunting*: strength of Pero Niño is such that ‘firió el puerco e mátolo en el agua, e trájole metido en la lanza por el agua hasta la tierra’ (75/25-26).

This episode is a build-up towards eventually placing Pero Niño in the limelight as being a better lance-bearer than other knights. The boar is an enemy and the lance here is the proof of virility: a common scene in pagan hero literature the superior force of Pero Niño over the boar.²⁷

The lance is also used in *bullfighting*:

E algunos días, corrían toros de los quales ninguno non fue tanto se esmerase comellos, así a pie como a cavallero, adonde él lançó muchas fermosas lanzas, así a pie como a cavallo (77/3-6)

The same domination of brute force represented by the iron in the lance underlines the superiority of the knight over the bull. Bullfighters, religion and the use of swords are still very much an echo of this ritual of proving man's strength over animals. The author compares the French tournaments of the time with the Castilian tradition:

Lances in *tournaments*:

los franzeses justan por otra guisa que non façen en España. Justan sin tela, a manera de guerra, por el topar (237/3-4).

The description of the different lances is clearly outlined:

Es muy peligrosa justa; non la fazían todos hombres, mas hombres diestros e muy cavalgadores. Las varas son todas medidas; non las faze sino un maestro o dos en toda la corte: éste con liçençia de los gobernadores, e aquél es el fiel (237/ 3-13)

The sporting image of arms is the representation of the hope these knights have in defeating their foes. The rumours of Pero Niño's fame meant many knights challenged the count to increase their own fame.

Los que trayan voluntad de justar con él, a unos llevaba los yelmos, a los otros arrancava los escudos, a otros desguarneçía, a otros enbiava colgados de los cavallos. Quebrad van en él muchas varas (239/19-22)

Games however, always leaves the last lance in the hands of the count to show the superiority of Pero Niño with the lance, his superior virility over the other knights in each tournament.

Tanto durava Pero Niño en la justa, e tanto fazía en ella, que la fama yva por toda la çivdad fablando de un español, que andava en la justa tan maravilloso cavallero, e tantas valentías fazía (239/21-25)

fiçieron él e Pero Niño muy fermosas carreras, con fuertes varas, e Juan de One vio que Pero Niño hera tan fuerte caballero e tan discreto que non podía en él mellar...Arredró un poco el cavallo e queriendo ygualar con él, puso las espuelas al cavallo e encontrele en meytad del esqudo; e tan ayna como quebró en él la vara, tan ayna se encontraron de los querpos de los caballos, e derrocole a él e al cavallo en tierra. E acorriéronle e levantáronlo ca de tal manera cayó que estava en peligro de morir él e el cavallo. De aquella cayda se le desencasó el brazo, e anduvo lisiado muchos días (239/31, 240/1- 11).

These examples have been illustrated in full to give the reader an example of how minute details were a necessary focus on the part of the author to build up to the important fights of good against evil in each large battle.

E Pero Niño, otrosí, continuava mucho la justa, e las más vezes que yba a justar llevaba consigo quatro o çinco caballeros de los de su casa, harmados de justa; e las bezes yba sólo e justava con muy fuertes baras, e fazía de cada día tantos enqüentros, en que derrocó asaz caballeros, e aun de algunos que abían derrocado otros caballeros (301/18-24).

Part of the chivalric doctrine is that the knight has to suffer to win Honor and Heaven as Christ suffered. In *El V*, the suffering is seen in the battles on land and at sea. ‘Allí perdió la lança e puso mano a la espada, e allí fue ferido de muchos golpes de lanzas e fchas e espadas’ (78/ 25-27).

Llull IV: (El yelmo) The Helmet

El *yelmo* se le da al caballero para significar la vergüenza, pues caballero sin vergüenza no puede ser obediente a la orden de caballería. De donde, así como vergüenza hace que el hombre sea

vergonzoso y dirija sus ojos al suelo, así yelmo defiende al hombre de las cosas altas, y mira al suelo, y es punto medio entre las cosas bajas y las cosas altas. [...]Y así como el yelmo defiende la cabeza, que es el más alto y principal miembro que hay en el hombre, así la vergüenza defiende al caballero (que es, luego del oficio de clérigo, el más alto oficio que hay) para que no se incline a viles acciones y la nobleza de su corazón no se rebaje a maldad ni a engaño ni a ninguna mala costumbre.

Riquer describes the helmet in *El V* as a "casco cortés" worn for jousts and tournaments, but not in war:

Fizo adereçar dos cavallos muy buenos e balientes, que avían seydone Castilla, el uno tenía el duque de Berrí e el otro el Grand Condestable, e demandógelos; e un gentil yelmo que le envió una grand señora que non hera en la fiesta (239/8-12).

Given the importance of the helmet being worn, in *El V*, there is many a detailed battle scene where Games is careful to track whether the helmets were on, off or hanging from the knights' bodies, lances or horses:

los que trayan voluntad de justar con él, a unos llevava los yelmos, a los otros arrancava los esquados, a otros desguarneçía, a otros enbiava colgados de los cavallos, quebradas las varas (239/ 19-22).

Not pulling off one's helmet in battle indicates a good warrior, for to remove a helmet in public would be to lose humility, a virtue in the chivalric code. Games style creates lively scenes and, here, to subtly build up the hero image, he has admiring throngs pass by to see Pero Niño after returning to his quarters and removing his helmet. It is understood the helmet heightens interest.

E Pero Niño nunca tiró el yelmo de la cabeça desde que primeramente lo puso fasta que entró en su cámara. La priesa hera tanta quando ovo quitado

el yelmo, que duró yr e benir gente a mirarle fasta la media noche o más (241/18-22).

Sending one's helmet to his lady was the humble service a knight offered her. This imposed ritual heightens the value of the service the knight gives to God and his lady; his lady, who also represents the Virgin. Conversely, the pretended lady in the court would send a helmet, or even a horse, as a gift, to her knight in shining armour. After Pero Niño is invited to join the order of the *Escudo de la Dama Blanca*, Madame de Bellengues sends Pero Niño these things for his next battle.²⁸ 'Entonze le envió madame Xirafontayna un cavallo e un yelmo' (244/28-31).

Llull V: (La Loriga) Suit of Armour

"*Loriga* significa castillo y muralla contra vicios y faltas, pues así como castillo y muralla están cerrados alrededor para que nadie pueda entrar en ellos, así *loriga* está por todas partes cerrada y ajustada para que signifique el noble corazón del caballero, en el que no puede entrar traición, ni orgullo, ni deslealtad ni ningún otro vicio."

According to Riquer, one is sometimes tempted to identify the *arnés* (the knight's suit of armour) with the *loriga*, a term which does not appear at all in *El V* as a result of the centuries passed from when Llull wrote this work until Games included this reference:

"yban los yngleses lanzando los bazinetes e los arneses e los jaques por fuir mejor; e los castellanos e los franzeses heran tan cansados e feridos, que non los podían seguir" (269/30-33)

The English have fled in cowardice. The image created here is that they discarded the virtues they needed to fight, and accumulated vices as they fled. Once the body protection, symbolic of virtues, no longer protects the knight, treason, pride and disloyalty, the vices chosen by Games to be illustrated in this passage, can overcome the knights.

There is another scene where the heroic image of Pero Niño is built up by the author. Pero Niño gives Gómez de Domao such a blow that it splits open his head. This is also a sign of the superior strength and faith of Pero Niño. The knocking down of Gomez de Domao's shield also attests to the superiority of Pero Niño as a knight.²⁹

Llull XI: (El Escudo) The Shield

Escudo se le da al caballero para significar oficio de caballero, pues así como el escudo lo pone el caballero entre sí y su enemigo, así el caballero está en medio entre el rey y su pueblo. Y así como el golpe hiere antes el escudo que el cuerpo del caballero, así el caballero debe situar su cuerpo delante de su señor, si algún hombre quiere prender o herir a su señor.

The shield is considered essential in warfare and Games has Pero Niño rip apart the shields of his foes:

Allí façía (Pero Niño) golpes muy señalados, en que levaba e cortava grandes pedaços de los escudos (82/7-8).

After building up the image of Gómez de Domao, a foot soldier known for his superior strength and shield, the author shows once again the superiority of Pero Niño. The rhythm of this description would have reminded medieval readers of David against Goliath, and in books of chivalry, the fight against the beast is one of the characteristics of hero historiography. In this case, both the Christological cycle and the fulfilment of the necessary foes to be overcome victoriously occur in one scene. First, the recognized superiority of Gómez de Domao as a foe is outlined:

E Pero Niño avía muy grand covdiia de llegar a él, e no ferir, mas el Gómez se le escudava de un esqudo que traya muy de bentaja, en manera que non le podía ferir (82/16-18).

and then, the immediate superior action by Pero Niño over his foe is described thusly:

E Pero Niño dió al Gómez tal golpe por ençima del escudo, que le fendió bien vn palmo e la cabeça hasta los ojos. E allí quedó Gómez Domaó. (82/7-24)

The shield is also used in jousts and tournaments in practice of real battle. Pero Niño wins again and again.

Arredró (Pero Niño) un poco el cavallo, e queriendo ygualar con él, puso las espuelas al cavallo, e encontrele en meytad del esqudo; e tan ayna como quebró en él la vara, tan ayna se encontraron los querpos de los caballos, e derrocolo a él al cavallo en tierra (240/4-8)

Not all the arms mentioned by Ramón Llull can be found in *El V* because two centuries have passed and technology changes. New arms take on old meanings but as pointed out by Curto Herrero, *certain* elements and arms are left behind as the peninsular narrative progresses.³⁰

Llull XII: (La Silla) The Saddle

La *silla* en que cabalga el caballero significa seguridad de corazón y carga de caballería, pues así como por la silla está seguro el caballero sobre su caballo, así la seguridad de corazón hace estar de frente al caballero en la batalla, por cuya seguridad la ventura se hace amiga de la caballería. Y por seguridad son despreciadas muchas cobardes jactancias y muchas vanas apariencias, y son frenados muchos hombres que no se atreven a pasar delante en el lugar en que un corazón noble hace que esté seguro el cuerpo del caballero; y es tan grande la carga de la caballería.

In the description of all of the trappings of a knight, Games is very thorough and mentions every part possible, as if he were following a prescribed manual. In this episode, by adding the reference to the saddle Games underlines that even the security of Pero Niño is better than others.

En las sillas de cavalgar non supo ninguno en su tienpo tanto; él las fazía dolar e añadir e menguar en los fustes, e en las guarniçiones, e en los atacares. En su casa se asacó primeramente la çincha partida que agora se usa. De las guarniçiones del justar, tenía más que ninguno en Castilla. (87/14-19)

The expression "más que ninguno" creates the subliminal image of completeness; being better prepared; the most honored for Pero Niño as a hero.

Llull XIX : (El Estandarte) The Standard – Flag or Banner

El *estandarte* se le da al rey y al príncipe y al señor de caballeros para significar que los caballeros deben mantener el honor del señor y de sus estados; pues en el honor del reino o del principado, y en el honor de su señor, son honrados y alabados por las gentes; y en el deshonor de la tierra en que están, y del señor de quien son, los caballeros son más vituperados que otros hombres. Pues así como por el honor deben ser más alabados, porque el honor está más en ellos que en otros hombres, así en el deshonor deben ser más vituperados que otros hombres, porque por su flaqueza o traición son más desposeídos reyes, príncipes y altos barones y se pierden más reinos y condados y otras tierras, que por la flaqueza y traición de cualesquiera otros hombres que no sean caballeros.

The standard is of great importance in *El V*. ‘Ca la bandera es como la facha en la sala, que alunbra a todos; es se amata por alguna ocasión, todos quedan lóbreegos e sin vista, [s.c] vençicos’ (209/18-20). This one flag or banner is the symbol which refers to the honour of Pero Niño as well as the acts of warfare done in the name of upholding that honor. This is clearly seen in the battle in Portland: ‘Mandó el capitán Pero Niño algunos de los suyos con su bandera a rovar aquel lugar e traer los ganados de la ysla; e otrosí fizo mosén charles’ (203/19). Here the banner, which is held high by the victors, represents superiority as the soldiers move in to claim the spoils they are entitled to after the skirmish. At times, Pero Niño himself in mid march uses the standard to organise and spurn his men on into battle: ‘e llegó el capitán con su bandera. Allí fué una recia pelea en muy breve espacio’ (205/12).

Although Games does not refer to himself here as belonging to one or the other group, the importance of the banner as inciting is double in this passage as it also refers to the declared author himself. ‘E los que benían con la bandera del capitán asomaron en lo alto de la ysla, e vieron cómo peleavan, e como venían otros a ellos’ (204/27). Moreover, Pero Niño himself uses the standard to delegate, and out of “disorder” créate “horden” ‘El capitán tomo su bandera, que venía de la ysla, e ayuntó su gente, e hordenó pavesada, e la ballestería, e delegó abe sí a su primo Fernando Niño e a sus hombres darmas.’ (205 /4-6).

This description of Pero Niño echoes an image commonly used for knights to imitate: that of Santiago leading soldiers into battle. In *El V*, this same episode appears again just before a scene where Pero Niño’s men, upon seeing him, begin to cry in chorus ‘Santiago, Santiago’ (210/4). Each knight honors his king and each knight has honor, and more so than other men. This honour places Pero Niño above other men and gives him the responsibility of maintaining that honour. In *El V*, the fight of Pero Niño is exactly the fight under his banner against vices to maintain his honour. Those whose banner reflected their defeat is paralleled by the author in this manner:

La bandera e el que la tenía hera tan lleno de frechas, e tenía tantas al derredor de sí, como un toro quando anda en el corro corrido; sinó que le manparavan las buenas armas que tenía, aunque en algunos lugares ya heran falsadas. E los yngleses son muy sabidores de guerra. (208/17-21)

On every occasion posible, Games makes a great effort to highlight the standard and the standard bearer: ‘Llegó a su bandera, que estava solo el que la tenía, en grand peligro, entre los castellanos e los yngleses; ca en berdad, los castellanos se avían retraydo fasta tres pasos, e avíanlos cobrado los yngleses’ (208/33-209/2).

The Meaning of the Standard-Bearer: El Alferez (Standard-Bearer)

There is also another meaning attached to the standard: that of the standard bearer. The author, in the title of *El V*, is declared to be the standard bearer for Don Pero Niño. This “title” could be true, but no one with the name of Gutierre Díez de Games has been found to be declared the standard bearer to the count of Buelna in any of the outstanding annals. What does exist is a false "declaration", like this one by the author, whoever he may be, is not only a common fictive technique used in the Middle Ages, but also a commonplace used in books of chivalry to give anonymity to the author.

The symbolism attached to the standard bearer is even more interesting as the latter is in charge of holding up the flag: he allegorically maintains the honour of Don Pero Niño. As an author, that is exactly what Games does: he holds up the honour of Pero Niño. Games could not have chosen any other title. By writing about the Niño family lineage, and the battles of Pero Niño against the "bad knights", or about symbolic allegorical battles against vices, Games supports the honour of Pero Niño and his family.

The importance of the position of the standard bearer, or *alferez*, is major in chivalric narrative. The name *alferez*, also referred to as *falconero mayor*, is a position which gives support to the knight. Another similar support figure, the *Escudero*, is so important that it be given a whole chapter of importance in Ramon Llull's work. Either position, *falconero* or *escudero* is used indifferently in chivalric narratives as a companion to the knight protagonist. The fully developed escudero, a century later than *El V*, to be finally epitomized is Sancho Panza. However, the role of “Lazarillo” serves as the same companion character for the old, blind noble in the narrative of the same name *Lazarillo de Tormes*. The "yo", witness, role of the author and protagonist of these narratives belong to the same chivalric canon as that

chosen by Games for himself as the eyewitness standard bearer. In my opinion, this coincidence is just one more proof that Games intended to use established chivalric patterns in the structure of *El V*.

NOTES AND CITATIONS FOR CHAPTER FIVE

¹ References to *Alejandro* as a historical example of a knight and references having some echo to the *Amadís* have been pointed out by both Rafael Beltrán and Flora Rueda, consequently, I am limiting my comments to references to the structural formula for winning battles only.

² González, Cristina. *La Tercera Crónica de Alfonso X: "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. London: Támesis, Ltd. 1992, 45.

³ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un Estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la Realidad Histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de El Victorial*. Valencia, 1986, 307.

⁴ Vid: Chapter III in this project for a discussion of comparative formulae with other romance narratives.

⁵ "Fictional" has a double meaning. There are very few sources which mention Pero Niño. Most of the studies are based on *El Victorial*. The image created by Games then, is that upon which historians have used to refer to Pero Niño in later historical descriptions of the fifteenth century.

⁶ Aries, Philippe y Georges Duby. *Historia de la Vida Privada: Tomo 2; De la Europa feudal al Renacimiento*, Círculo de Lectores, Altea: Taurus, 1988. 86-87.

⁷ Aries, Philippe y Georges Duby, Op cit., 87.

⁸ Aries, Philippe y Duby, Georges, Ibidem, 87.

⁹ Ibidem, 87.

¹⁰ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op. cit, 1454.

¹¹ This characteristic corresponds to characteristic number 12: "He marries a princess or the daughter of the predecessor" on Lord Raglan's list of 22 characteristics of a Hero; Raglan, Lord. *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama*, New York, 1956. 73.

¹² Cirlot, Victoria. *La novela artúrica: orígenes de la ficción en la cultura europea*, Barcelona: Montesino, 1987, 65.

¹³ Cirlot, Victoria, Op cit., 92-93.

¹⁴ Alvar Carlos; Gomez Moreno, Angel, Gomez Redondo, Fernando. *La Prosa y el teatro en la Edad Media, (Historia crítica de la Literatura Hispánica, 3)*; Madrid: Altea, 1991, 76.

¹⁵ There are many examples. Not included in this project is my detailed study on the social interrelations in *El Victorial*. Although there have not been many socio-anthropological studies done on the chivalric narrative from this time period, there is material.

¹⁶ This concept in Rueda Laorga, *Estudio de los elementos literarios en la Crónica de Don Pero Niño de G. Díez de Gamez*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1980, is sometimes considered "mesura".

¹⁷ A complete study demonstrating the correlation between the lessons from the *ayo* and the following episodes in the narrative is in progress.

¹⁸ These historical documents are letters, diaries and annals found corresponding to the time period between the maritime campaigns in the *Crónica de Juan II* and *El Victorial*. Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Chap. IV, "Las Fuentes de Composición de las Crónicas" Op cit., 1092-1270.

¹⁹ According to Menéndez Pidal. *Crestomatía del Español Medieval*, II. Madrid: Gredos 1976, 619-622, the composition dates are 1435-1448.

²⁰ Lull, Ramon. "Del significado que tienen las armas del caballero" *Libro de la orden de Caballería*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1986; Barcelona, Enciclopedia Catalana, 1986. The sources for the names of the arms is Martín de Riquer in his article "The arms in *El Victorial*", *Serta Philológica*. Homenaje a Lázaro Carreter, Tomo I. Madrid: 159-177.

²¹ *El Victorial, Crónica de don Pero Niño, conde de Buena*, por su alférez Gutierre Díez de Games, edición y estudio por Juan de Mata Carriazo, "Colección de crónicas españolas", Madrid, 1940.

²² This fact underlines the didactic and not historical nature of the prose by Games.

²³ All of the citations in Spanish are from the chapter on "arms" from Lull, Ramón, *Libro de la orden de caballero*, Barcelona, Alianza, 1986.

²⁴ Riquer, Martín, de "Arms in *El Victorial*", Op cit., 159-177.

²⁵ Many similes like these appear in *El Victorial*. If taken literally they can create hilarity. Cervantes, aware of the use of the simile to create images in books of chivalry, took the images to an extreme in imitation of scenes like this one. In *Don Quijote*, the cloud of dust from a herd of sheep believed by Don Quijote to be a whole legion is a common example.

²⁶ Vid. Isabel, Becerro Pita, Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *Parentesco, Poder y Mentalidad. La Nobleza Castellana, Siglos XII-XV*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990; and Menéndez Pidal, Gonzálo, *España en sus caminos*. Madrid: Editorial Debate, 1992.

²⁷ The Victory over the boar is also characteristic of a hero and listed as characteristic number eleven on Lord Raglan's list of 22 characteristics. Lord Raglan, 1956, Op cit.

²⁸ We presume that the reference to "grand señora" is Madame de Bellenguer. The anonymity of the reference was suggested by Rafael Beltrán: as her husband was not yet dead, Games did not mention her name.

²⁹ Curto Herrero, Federico Francisco. *Estructura de los libros españoles de caballerías en el siglo XVI*, Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1976.

³⁰ Curto Herrero, 1976, Op. cit.

CHAPTER SIX: AUTHOR TYPE / READER RESPONSE IN *EL VICTORIAL*

AUTHOR TYPE / READER RESPONSE FLOWCHART

TYPE OF AUTHOR/ NARRATOR	TYPE OF READER	TYPE OF INTERVENTION	TYPE OF READER/AUDIENCE RESPONSE	TYPE OF INTER- PRETATION
<p>1. Gutierre Díez de Games</p> <p>“Real author”</p> <p>Omniscient Narrator (3rd person)</p>	<p>Historical Reader</p> <p>Contemporary to events</p>	<p>“The author says”</p> <p>Re-write history</p>	<p>Reads the “white legend”</p>	<p>Critics believe the author is the Narrator</p>
<p>2. Gutierre Díez de Games</p> <p>Standard Bearer</p> <p>“Declared author”</p> <p>Eyewitness Narrator (1st person)</p>	<p>Occasional Lector</p> <p>Literary Critics</p>	<p>“I saw”</p> <p>Creates an eyewitness hero action</p>	<p>Readers become the eyewitnesses</p> <p>Readers live and re-live a hero’s actions</p> <p>Believe in the “white legend”</p>	<p>Critics believe the author is the Standard Bearer</p>
<p>3. Unknown “voice in off”</p> <p>“Theatrical author”</p> <p>Oral Narrator (2nd person)</p>	<p>Audience</p> <p>Listeners/ Lectors</p> <p>Historical Readers</p>	<p>Asides added to text</p> <p>“as you know”</p> <p>Creates a “white legend”</p>	<p>1. Believe the legend</p> <p>2. Entertains</p> <p>1. Entertains</p> <p>2. Believes the legend</p>	<p>The audience sees a Hero</p> <p>Entertaining</p> <p>Critics are divided</p>

CHAPTER SIX

AUTHOR TYPE / READER RESPONSE IN *EL VICTORIAL*

The Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart Introduction

One objective of this study is to delve into the relationship between the different types of author and of the reader in *El V*. The “author type / reader response” refers to, on the part of the author, the different “voices” used in the narration, and on the part of the reader, the possible reactions in the reader to each “voice”, or type of narrator employed by the author .

There have been many theories developed in the field of Reader-Response as well as that of Narratology. Given that most of these positions were developed with modern novels in mind and based on recent methodologies used in literary criticism, the various opinions held by some literary critics do not reflect the different layers of meaning I felt each time I re-read *El V*. Consequently, to explain these layers of meaning, I have developed the Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart in an attempt to explain how I, as a reader, reacted to the text the author so carefully intertwined.

The divisions in the Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart, hereinafter referred to as the “Flowchart”, not only helped me to interpret the differences of Author Type and Reader Response I felt upon perusing *El V*, but also aided in explaining the differences of opinion as seen by early and recent historians and literary critics alike. The separate columns of the Flowchart correspond to the different stages developed to carry out the study. Each column has corollary figures responding to the research process followed in the study of author types and reader responses.

The first column, dedicated to the “Type of Author/Narrator”, is reflected in Fig. 6.1: “Types of Narrator”. The research on the different types of Author/Narrator necessitated the background study represented in Fig. 6.2: “Narrative Discourse Function in *El Victorial*”. As part of the Author/Narrator project, a separate enquiry into the specific speech patterns attributed to Pero Niño, is produced in Figure 6.3: “The Function of Pero Niño’s Discourse”.

The next column, the second, “Type of Reader”, is represented in Fig 6.4: “Types of Reader” and associates the Narrator with the type of Author and the probable Reader. The third column, “Type of Intervention” is glossed in Fig. 6.5: “Reader Responses” and collates the information gleaned from the research done for column one, “Type of Author/Narrator” associated with the type of narrator technique used by the author, and then, correlates Figures 6.1: “Types of Narrator”, 6.2: “Narrator Discourse Function in *El Victorial*” and 6.3: “The Function of Pero Niño’s Discourse”.

The fourth column, “Type of Reader/Audience Response” discusses the ways in which the readers down through history could possibly have “reacted” to the different authors and narrators. The comparisons are shown in Fig 6.6: “Relationship between the Author Types and Reader Interpretation”. The fifth column, “Type of Interpretation” compares the narrator, the reader and the possible “interpretations” of the readers as a result of their differing reactions. The compilation of data is in Fig. 6.7: “Possible Responses to Narrator Type” which are seen to be historical, literary or for diversion. Upon revising the data researched and comparing the varying angles represented in the previous figures, it became clear that in each study there was a clear line of ‘Occasional’ readers and another clear

interest of the 'Historical' readers. Each reader seemed to reflect a narrator and an opinion. This relationship is compiled in Fig 6.8: "Response of the Occasional/Historical Readers".

After scrutinizing the results of the Flowchart and the Figure studies, it was necessary to see *how* the historians and literary critics have reacted over time so, in order to see exactly which individuals were interested in *El V* and compare the types of reactions, it was necessary to organize the research published on *El V* chronologically. The chronological study of the major historians and literary critics from 1577 up to today are presented in Fig. 6.9: "A Chronology of Literary Criticism". The results of the observations gathered from this chronological comparison are represented in Fig. 6.10: "Historical / Occasional Reader Response to Literary Criticism".

As can be seen in the Flowchart, the tale of the count of Buelna has three main narrators, the first person, and a second person and a third person to advance the reader through time. Each narrator is related to a specific technique in Narratology. Each reader has a possible response or understanding of the text in accordance with the technique employed by the narrator. The column of the possible "Type of Interpretation" is based on how literary critics have perceived the different narrators over time, and, as a result of the narrator technique. This information was accrued from the observation of the chronological listing of literary criticism in Fig. 6.9: "A Chronology of Literary Criticism".

The "Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart" is a graph of the three main types of narrators: each one a different type of author in *El V* and the possible types of reader response to each narrator. The "Narrator Discourse Function" chart, also divided into the three

different author approaches, gives examples of speech from *El V* and labels them according to the functions these various types of discourse have. The “Chronological list of Literary Criticism”, as opposed to an alphabetical one, reveals the response to the historiographical chivalric narrative in *El V* according to contemporary methods of criticism across the years.

Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart Explanation

In the following sections, the chart will be explained, column - by - column and row – by - row. First, the type of author or narrator is discussed; next, the possible type of reader; after that, the intervention of either discourse or description used by the author to address the reader for each type of narrator; then the possible response by the reader is discussed and, finally, the possible interpretation of the complete tale by the different readers down through the centuries. This analysis allows us, the twenty first century readers, to better understand how the author organized the narration.

Types of authors

Each author type narrates to the reader in a different way. The author representing the first person narrative hooks the reader into the tale with eyewitness accounts. A narration in second person brings the author into a personal relationship with the reader. These intimate “asides” provide a more entertaining, often humorous but always “special”, privileged angle to the chivalric historiographical narrative¹. By narrating in third person, the author advances valuable information from undeclared or tagged sources to prepare the reader for coming events.

Real Author – Gutierre Díez de Games – Omniscient Author

A royal scrivener by the same name, Gutierre Díez de Games, proposed by Beltrán² seems to be the genuine author of this historiographical narrative. Whoever he is, from now on, we shall refer to the genuine author as “the Possible Author”. However, when mentioning the collection of data, and the quoting of sources, we shall refer to the “Original Author”. In the chivalric narrative description of Pero Niño, this author writes in third person, thereby, the “Omniscient Narrator”. The “Omniscient author narrates the text in which the scrivener has used or copied data from legal sources, or in which he has made a reference to the fictive elaboration of the text proper.

Declared Author – Gutierre Díez de Games – Standard Bearer

There is the possibility that two authors contributed to the elaboration of the narration. There could be one author, a royal scrivener who had access to the royal chronicles and elaborated the material which reflects these events and, another, who elaborated the legend, which has not been proven, around the borrowed official material.

As one reads through *El V*, the mere narration of the events allows us to refer to the real author as the “Omniscient Narrator”. This might not be the same original author of the borrowed material whom we shall name the “Original Author”, the one who has written the borrowed narrative and assembled the text, and not the author who borrows the texts from other sources, both the cited and those which have not been cited, but those narrations lifted from the apparent eyewitness accounts of the declared author, the Standard Bearer. As one reads *El V*, it seems this same Standard Bearer – narrator is the true author. The sharing of adventures allows us to think the same chronicler employs the well-known technique of

declaring himself as the Standard Bearer to make the reader believe he, the author, had truly witnessed the events penned about Pero Niño in the narrative.

Much the same, it is necessary to assign a name to the fictional author as declared on the title page of the Chronicle about the count of Buelna as the Standard Bearer. Therefore, the Standard Bearer author is, from now on, referred to as the “Eyewitness Author” when we refer to the moments when the author interrupts the narration with personal declarations such as “I saw” in reference to the witness character of his role.

Oral Author – Gutierre Díez de Games – Actor

In *El V*, there is another type of author: The “Theatrical”, or “Oral Narrator”. The “Oral Narrator” is created by the same author as another way in which to communicate with the reader through extra information slipped in as “asides”. The “Theatrical” or “Oral Narrator” is the one who introduces new, extra or background information. These asides are made in second person throughout the length of the text, and the narrative reads as if the author were speaking to a ready audience.

It is important to remember an author speaking in second person is a typical element inherited from the troubadour tradition and linked to the narration of the prowess of a national hero as sung by a minstrel. The asides in second person allow the narrator, to manage the response of the listening audience at will. As these asides are also found in the prose version, they are associated with both the author and the reader.

The function of these asides included in second person, similar to the commentaries attributed to the Standard Bearer, the “Eyewitness Narrator” who gives veracity to the

testimony of the actions perpetrated by Pero Niño. Secondly, another function of the asides is to attract the attention of the awaiting audience to a specific occurrence. Also the “Eyewitness” Standard Bearer thusly maintains the attention of the lectors during a particularly long and difficult episode to grasp. The asides disseminated throughout the text, have a specific function of highlighting the deeds of Pero Niño as a perfect knight which coincide with the most conflictive moments in the historically verifiable life of Pero Niño.

Types of Narrator

Each author assumes the role of a narrator with a series of formulaic citations which indicate the presentation of a change in the chivalric narrative to be introduced in the coming episode in the story of the count of Buelna. In summary, the types of narrators, then, are:

Figure 6.1: Types of Narrator

1. Gutierre Díez de Games, the chronicler, the “Real author”, *Omniscient Narrator*:

“Dice el autor que...” (the author says that...)

2. Gutierre Díez de Games, the Standard Bearer, “Declared author”, *Eyewitness Narrator*:

“Yo ví” (I saw....)

3. The voice behind the asides in second person, “Theatrical author”, *Oral Narrator*:

“Sabedes que” (Did you know that...)

Bearing in mind there are three types of authors: the “real author”, the Standard Bearer, and the minstrel, the theatrical author, three corresponding types of Narrators also exist: the Omniscient, the Eyewitness and the Oral, respectively.

Omniscient Narrator:

This first author is the Omniscient Narrator, the real blood and bones Gutierre Díez de Games, the chronicler.³ Games, commissioned by Pero Niño to record his deeds, so this narrator compiles the legal information available in benefit of the count of Buelna and reports in the ways discussed in the first chapter about the transformation of history in this study.

Eyewitness Narrator

The second author, the Eyewitness Narrator, is the declared author on the title page as the Standard Bearer to the count of Buelna, Gutierre Díez de Games. Be it the same author and an invented ruse, or even the true position held – that of Standard Bearer, for the sake of differentiating the techniques used within the narrative, this author who uses the first person singular “*yo vi*”, to validate Pero Niño’s feats, will be considered as another author. This second level represents the reality behind the figure of Don Pero Niño, that of the legend created by the Eyewitness author who is narrating the feats of a national hero. The corresponding Reader, then, is the “Ideal Reader”, one who believes everything as told by Pero Niño’s Standard Bearer as an eyewitness.

Oral Narrator

The third type of author is the “Oral Narrator” who would have read out, or, perhaps even, acted out, the narration in front of an audience; be it palatial, in a monastery or acted

out in a public plaza. The relationship between the actor and the audience depends upon which parts of the narration about the count of Buelna are being acted out; how long the representation lasts. Equally important is the choice of text the actor has decided would be represented as well as the chronological time in which the text is acted out.

In addition, if the original text were conceived as a refutation of any one of Pero Niño's actions in battle, or privately, the oral narration of the chivalric actions of Pero Niño could serve as a legal response to any allegations waged by neighbours, enemies or family members, during his lifetime. That with Rui Díez de Mendoza in Chapter One, is one of many examples. Too, even legal charges brought up by the court procedures held over the inheritance left by Pero Niño to his daughters, who have been discussed in the other chapters, could have been boosted by evidence from *El V*. Moreover, there were other court cases, which ensued upon the death of the count of Buelna and continued to create problems for many years afterward.

The Function of Narrator Discourse

Games places quotes within the text to serve specific functions. The following section gives examples of the discourse of the different narrators and the functions of which annotated alongside. Each narrator has a purpose and specific formulae within the historiographical prose of the author. The third person narrator signals the addition of information, the first "*Vi*" ("I saw") renders the account credible and the second person, "*sabedes*" ("you know") entertains, instructs, and includes the reader in the hero legend.

Figure 6.2: Narrator Discourse Function in *El Victorial*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Function and Quote</i>
First person - Direct Speech (I say that)		<i>(As if a lesson were being taught)</i>
Proemio / p. 2	l. 5	“Primeramente, diré que es oficio e arte de cavallería...”
Proemio / p. 2	l. 12	“Fallamos en las escrituras antiguas.”
Proemio / p. 2	l. 16	“Dixeron: Fagamos ladrillos de ...”
Chapter I / p. 9	l. 15	“Quiero hazer mençión de algunos de los grandes príncipes que fueron”
Chapter I / p. 9	l. 18	“tocaré de la manera susodicha de algunos de los otros,”
Chapter II / p. 15	l. 18-20	“Estos enseñamientos puse aqui por quanto son de arte de caballería. Fablé en ellos remiçe, porque vienen más a la boluntad que no faza prefaize.”
Chapter V / p. 32	l. 8-9	“Fallamos escrito de algunos romanos que non tan solamente fazían grandes...”
Chapter V / p. 32	l. 24-25	“Leemos de los godos que fueron de las mayores linaxes de parte de Oriente.”
Chapter V / p. 33	l. 7	“Y aún fallamos sus ymágenes fechas a grand costa, entalladas on gran femença”
Chapter V / p. 33	l. 14	“Ante la benida de nuestro salvador Jesucristo bibían las gentes....”
Chapter VIII / p. 43	l. 26 - 30	“E yo... arriendo leydas... Alexandre.”
Chapter VIII /	l. 6	“Hallé un buen caballero, natural del”

p. 44		
Chapter VIII / p. 44	1. 25	“Vi todas las cosas que aquí son escritas.”
Chapter LXXIII / p. 206	1. 21	(Pola) “e yo le vi.”
Chapter LXXXIX / p. 269	1. 23-24	“Llamávanle el Reçebour, y yo le bí yazer entre mis pies.”
Chapter LXXXIX / p. 280.	1. 17	“Yo oya muchas bezes esta razón y dudbdaba e ella, .”
First Person	<i>(Personal Opinion)</i>	<i>(As if the narrator were speaking to a theatrical audience in an aside)</i>
Chapter V / p. 31	1. 1	“Más yo non lo quiero creer.” (From the legend of the caves of Toledo)
Chapter XVII / p. 60	1. 34	“E si el rey ge la tovo o non, no es mío de escrevir.”
Second Person	<i>(“You’ll see”)</i>	<i>(This style is an echo of the epic legends)</i>
Chapter V / p. 31	1. 1	“Esto creedlo vos si quisiéredes, más yo non lo quiero creer.”
Chapter VI / p. 35	1. 16-17	“E que así bien tomedes enxemplo de los cavalleros fieles que pelearon por la feé de nuestro señor Dios.”
Omnisciente Narrator	<i>(“He, She”)</i>	<i>(Third person – not declared)</i>
Chapter LXXIII / p. 209	1. 33	“Pero Niño dixo a Gutierre Díez, su alférez.”
Chapter LXXXIX / p. 270	1. 11	“Mandó el capitán a Gutierre Díez de Games, su alférez”
Third Person	<i>(“They”)</i>	<i>(As if this were an aside to the audience)</i>
Chapter II / p. 15	1. 33	“Usaban los reyes antes de aquel tiempo traer sus mujeres...”

Third Person	<i>("Some say")</i>	<i>(Oral Sources)</i>
Chapter V / p. 31	1. 10-11	"Otrosí, dizen algunos que la tierra fue perdida por pecado que hizo el rey don Rodrigo."
Chapter V / p. 34	1. 27	"Dize aqui el autor."
Third person	<i>(Historical Data)</i>	<i>(Expressions used to further a tale)</i>
Chapter IV / p. 21	1. 5	"Estos rigen a Roma e a todo su señorío"
Chapter II / p. 18	1. 7-8	"Llánanla agora Alexandría, por honrra dél."
Chapter III / p. 21	1. 10-11	"E por abrebriar más ayna los fechos acordaron que escogiesen dos hombres,"
Chapter IV / p. 21	1. 17-18	"Hera entonze en Roma, Jullio Çesar, de lo los mayores linajes que en Roma avia."
Chapter IV / p. 21	1. 33	"Hera entonces hordenança en Roma"
Third Person	<i>(Quote Someone)</i>	<i>(Sources declared in the text)</i>
Chapter II / p. 17	1. 12	"Dice aquí el autor... Alexandre."
Chapter LVII / p. 158	1. 31-32	"Lo dice aquí el autor que Bruto mostró crueldad grande contra Dorotea."
Chapter LXVI / p. 188	1. 29-30	"E dice aquí el autor que las mas"
Chapter LXXXVI / p. 248	1. 8-10	"Dice aquí el autor que asaz abastaría"
Chapter XCVII / p. 324	1. 23	"Dice aquí el autor que mas estorva"
Chapter LXXIII / p. 209	1. 3-32	<i>(Games lauds his own profession)</i> "E bien saben los guerreros que todos"

Chapter I / p. 2	l. 29-33	“Dice aquí el autor que este combino”
Chapter II / p. 16	l. 12	“Dize su ystoria que hizo Alexandre unir dos grifos.”
Chater II / p. 16	l. 24	“E dize que desfanés hiço arca de bidrio,”
Chapter V / p. 29	l. 26-27	“Dize aquí el autor que el rey don Rodrigo que fue rey de España”
Chapter V / p. 10		“Otrosi, dizen algunos que la tierra fue perdido por pecado que hizo el rey” (<i>Oral funtion of belying the legend.</i>)
Omniscient Narrator	(<i>Overview</i>)	<i>Third Person (sources in the text)</i>
Chapter V/ p. 31	l. 20-22	“Mas esta corónica fue lebantada en aquel tiempo, e los que abían voluntad de saltar al...”

The repetition of the formulaic speech as presented in three ‘voices’, the three narrators created by the author throughout *El V* creates a type of cyclical rhythm. The “Eye-witness narrator” reappears to heighten the crucial moments with descriptions of Pero Niño in action. The “Omniscient narrator” is threaded throughout the borrowings from royal chronicles, historical data and legends, which are interspersed among the deeds of the count of Buelna. The second person asides are used for the *ayo*, to instruct Pero Niño as a ‘donzel’; later in life, by Pero Niño himself, to address his crew or opponents; in the more descriptive romantic situations; or in separate paragraphs to precede Pero Niño’s deeds and to highlight, or to demonstrate his virtuous character. The following section provides some introspection on the discourse used specifically by Pero Niño.

The Function of Pero Niño's Discourse

The discourse as uttered directly by Pero Niño, within *El V*, is a reflection of the theme laid out in the *Proemio*. Pero Niño, brings the words of Faith and God, and quells fears in the face of Danger into the key scenes with specific functions. Beltrán describes these episodes as having "a 'protagonists' dialogue" or discourse, but "no hay diálogo, hay acotación reflexiva del autor", "casi siempre monólogo".⁴ Indeed the discourse is scanty, direct and concentrated.

The "modelización narrativa" as opposed to the "mimesis narrativa" is presented by Beltrán in the following scheme: "sujeto ---- Pero Niño --- objeto ---- oponentes". This is a *topoi* in narrative where Pero Niño is the subject, a model, showing: "*razón, victoria*" as opposed to the "*razón, derrota*"⁵ as described in the count's opponents and the qualitative appreciation, "*valentía/cobardía*" of the actions taken by opponents or the timorous subjects surrounding Pero Niño.

The basic premise of any confrontation or problem is certainly an opposition. In my opinion, the opposition *victoria/derrota* is a consideration on a literal plane only, not a leitmotif for each individual battle if the allegorical scheme of virtues and vices is taken into account. On an allegorical plane, however, the interpretation would have to include a vision of the complete interchange, beyond the qualitative appreciation of just "razó/derrota". The virtue displayed by Pero Niño in each situation of conflict also has different characteristics, depending upon the vice represented in that particular situation. The schema of the confrontations, which I believe to be allegorical,⁶ is, *grosso modo*, as follows:

Figure 6.3: The Function of Pero Niño’s Discourse

1. a menacing situation	>	opposition or a warning from opponent	>	speech by don Pero Niño evoking God showing Faith
2. further opposition	>	action or Victory	>	successful ending or conquest
3. confrontation with a menacing situation or marvel	>	lesson by wise man put into practice	>	“ordenado”

One example out of many relevant episodes is that of the "*cuevas de Alcocevar*": (Chap. XXXVIII)⁷. The menacing situation is presented in this way: ‘E los comitres pidiéronle por merçed que non saliese en tierra él ni gente suya, diziendo que aquellos moros son muy vsados en guerra’.⁸ Here, the "*comitres*" have heard talk about this particular bay being very dangerous for Christians. This is idle talk, without proof. The *ayo* warns Pero Niño not to believe idle talk:

Fijo, non creades aquellos que vos dirán que vos farán cver e saber fvuestra ventura, que dezirvos an que avedes a ser my grande, e que avedes de alcan(c)ar esto e aquello, (qu)e de quanto vos diexeren non será ninguna cosa. E si los cretéredes, perder'tsa el sumo bien, e usando de fuizias vanas, vagaríaades el tiempo en la cosas que vos farían menester a vuestra honra e fazienda⁹

Pero Niño, in proof that he has learned the lesson from his *ayo*, confronts the apparent danger, "*desmintiendo*" the idle talk with logic: 'E dixo el capitán: no nos conbiene dexar el agua, que tanto auemos menester. O sobir a ellos, que si en otra mente lo tomamos, grand daño resçibiremos, e avn fazémoslas an dexar a mal de nuestro grado'.¹⁰

The crew still fears what might befall them and 'tomó la gente que entendió que abastaua, e suvió a ellos a grand fuerça e grand peligro'.¹¹ Pero Niño knows 'que tenían celada, más que la tenían lexos, e que hacían aquellas maneras por los arredar de la mar' (104/27-28).

An important word which appears in conjunction with most action is "*ordenada*", meaning "organised". The battle is organised, and so those who are organised win. Pero Niño is always organised 'e ordenó hasta veinte pabesados, e los vallesteros en pos dellos, que non fazían sino lançar toda vía'. Later, he reorganised: 'el capitán fabló con los suyos e mandó los que todos juntamente a una voluntad fuesen a ferir en ellos, que no era tiempo de lo tardar' (105/3-5); and there is a successful Christian ending: 'e tornó con su gente a salvo a las galeas e falló que avían tomado los suyos cuanta agua ovieron menester' (105/10-11).

This situation is not only regarding the water, but the doctrine as well: 'e los moros que fueron bencidos fueron maravillados de ver aquel día tan fuerte gente, e algunos dellos se lançaron a nado e se vinieron a las galeas diziendo que querían ser cristianos, e ansí lo fueron' (105/11-15).

The word "*amaravillado*" is not always used, but when it is, it is not in the sense of "miracle" as in books of chivalry, but in the Biblical sense of "awe". Here, "*amaravillado*" is part of the process of conversion. Awe, or amazement, is the first step in convincing someone

of a truth. Here, the Moors were so "awed" that they wanted to become Christians. The order, meaning "organisation", of the Christians had convinced them.

A quick analysis points to a simple cause and effect situation in this episode. Beltrán refers to the character traits of "*arrojo*", daring, on one hand and "*cobardia*", cowardice, on the other. On the scale of theological virtues, however, the opposite of cowardice¹² is "*fortaleza*", which corresponds to 'los que tienen hambre y sed de justicia'¹³.

As "*fortaleza*" is the virtue counterpart of cowardice and fear, the successful mission in search of water contrasts not only with fear, "*temeridad*", on the part of the *comitres* afraid of going ashore for water, but also with "cowardice", on the part of the Moors who flee the battle. What the whole episode underscores is the orderliness of Pero Niño; his faith in God. Even though Pero Niño possesses *all* the theological virtues, the one opposing cowardice and fear is "*fortaleza*", and so this episode in particular highlights once more the "*fortaleza*" which is part of the hero's constitution.

It would have been no surprise to a medieval reader, well accustomed to allegorical symbolism, that this scene involves a scarcity of water, for it simply echoes the opposing vices and virtues at play in this certain episode. Medieval readers/listeners took special delight in looking for and identifying these combinations. The delight and challenge for the author is to choose and organise episodes in such a way that vices and virtues confront each other. For the episodes structured around such confrontations Beltrán perceives the deeper episodic narrative as an opposition of *prudencia/arrojo*. Indeed, being prudent, meaning wise, but the underlying theme corresponds to that of a wider concept which shows those who are disorganized would be imprudent subordinate to *order/disorder*; "*orden/desordenado*".

Pero Niño has been taught the *graces* pertaining to all seven of the theological virtues by the *ayo* and has taken the *voto*. Now he must prove that he has interiorised their meaning and can put the virtues and *graces* into practice through his "*empresa*" as a knight-errant. In his lessons, the *ayo* continually reiterates the importance of maintaining order before God: 'Sed atenprado en vuestro comer, e en beber, e en dormir. Non sigades vuestra voluntad en las cosas que vos pueden traer daño'.¹⁴ Later, the *ayo* says, 'Dize que así es el alma con el cuerpo como el juglar con su estrumete, que quando es desacordado non puede en é fazer son acordante, e si mucho desacordante fuere, avrá a dexarlo; e que si bien tenprado lo tuviere, que enton(c)e en su órgano lo finche de hermoura e faze son apa(c)ible e acabado'.¹⁵

How Pero Niño has interiorised the lessons of the *ayo* is a theme which recurs throughout *El V*. The lessons interiorised as lived out in *El V* coincide with each battle between the virtues and the vices¹⁶ as well as serving to link the function of the digressions to the allegorical text. It seems likely that the opposition "*orden/desorden*" would not isolate one virtue as primary, but would include them all. The structure of all the episodes as a whole represents the battles of the seven virtues against the seven vices, in all possible combinations, such as the one just analysed. All together, these episodes represent the victory of the seven virtues over the seven vices. As Pero Niño is the knight who incarnates these battles, he is the epitome of the Perfect Knight

The first sections of the Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart analysis dealt with the description of the three narrators in *El V* and examples of the discourse of each type of narrator. The second section commented upon the functions behind the varying structures

used by the narrators. As part of the study on the functions of discourse within *El V*, the specific formulaic discourse by the protagonist belying his virtuous character is shown to be another, separate narration within the chivalric retelling of the count's deeds.

Types of Reader

The three narrators are part and parcel of the existing chivalric historiographical technique Games drew from. The reader also participates within the chivalric narrative. However, before scrutinising the response of the reader to the narrators, it is necessary to identify the different types of readers. An association of readers can be referred to thusly:

Figure 6.4: Types of Reader

1. The *Historical Reader* – Contemporary with the Author
2. The *Occasional Reader* – Interested historian or literary critic
3. The *Audience / Readers* – Historical Readers / Lectors

This section considers the relationship solely among the three types of authors and readers, which also have to be considered in plural. For each author-narrator, there is a corresponding type of reader. This relationship supposes an inter-textual reading on three distinctive levels in existence in *El Victorial*: that of “historical”, “occasional” and that of “listeners and readers”. The “historical”, as in reader in this study refers to those readers who

were contemporary to the author and who would have enjoyed *El V* having lived or heard of the references mentioned.

The Historical Reader

In the first place, it is necessary to consider the response of the contemporary reader living at the time of the author. Those readers who knew the Niño family which could go down three or more generations would respond positively or negatively to the historiographical narration depending upon how their lives were affected by the actions of Pero Niño later, distanced in time.

The Occasional Reader

There are the occasional, inquisitive readers who could browse the same narrative up through the centuries. These “occasional readers”, however, are no longer part of the contemporary lector the original author wrote for, and some references to the historiographical chivalric narrative become more and more obscure for the reader through the ages. The original perception of the historiographical chivalric narrative would not be the same, and the literary value is what can be appreciated at face value, so to say. This category refers to the lector interested in history, chivalry and those literary critics interested in Hispanic historiographical chivalric narrative.

The Listeners and Lectors

There is also the possibility that *El V* was read over a long period of time to knights or monk warriors as they ate in the Refractory – a common practice during the Middle Ages. This would explain the variation of style and subject matter divided up into meal-length

portions spread throughout the work as a whole so the listeners could enjoy each tale separately.

As well, different actor/audience relationships developed later through the echoes of Don Pero's name in the historical romance through the adaptations of "Conde Niño" (or the Conde Olinos, Conde Lino, and Gerineldo variations) as collected in the Spanish Romancero.¹⁷ What is clear, though, is the more the Reader identified with the Author, the stronger the Response would be. The Reader registers a different response depending upon the emphasis given by the author. If the chivalric narrative is read or heard within the count's lifetime or within two or three decades after his death the response varies.

Types of Reader Response

For each type of author narrative there is a possible response for contemporary readers. Over the years many responses given by lectors have registered varying opinions. The following figure is devised to show the different types of possible responses for the above-mentioned narrators.

If the true author is considered the only author, and the use of the literary technique of adopting a position, like Standard Bearers, is accepted as a standard convention and not the real position, then the author whom we refer to as Games, incorporated three levels of narration into the chivalric fiction. For the moment, whether two or more authors wrote the narrative, is not being contemplated. The emphasis is on the different types of responses a reader would have to each one of the levels adopted by the supposed author, Games.

Figure 6.5: Reader Responses

	Narrator	Author	Reader
1.	Omniscient	Real	Historical
2.	Eyewitness	Alférez	Occasional
3.	Oral	Actor	Audience

The Historical Reader Response

Upon a first reading, one reads in the narrative, and consequently supposes, the Omniscient narrator, Gutierre Díez de Games was hired by Pero Niño to elaborate a chivalric narrative about the count of Buelna. This author, using the conventions acceptable at the time, adorns the chivalric narrative with additional information gleaned from other sources such as annals, royal chronicles, or legends to compliment the reading about Don Pero Niño's life. The reader, thusly, becomes the Omniscient narrator just by the act of reading the chivalric historiography.

The Occasional Reader Response

By declaring himself the Standard Bearer, Eyewitness to Pero Niño's deeds the author can narrate the feats accomplished, as seen. The reader feels as if the battle were unfolding as the pages are turned and consequently is engaged personally in the chivalric

narration. The reader becomes the eyewitness and is likely to believe the legend of the count of Buelna as told.

The Audience Response

An oral narrator directing himself to the public fills in background information, augers what will happen in the future, or adds information pertinent to that of the events witnessed. This information is not necessarily resourced in legal tomes, but a representation of the “*vox populi*”, including probable gossip. The audience, depending on the tone used by the actor, perceives humour, intrigue, or sadness and can even identify with Pero Niño as a hero.

Figure 6.6: Relationship Author Types to Reader Interpretation

Author Type	Interpretation
1. Omniscient Narrator Real Author – Third Person	Re-write history
2. Eyewitness Narrator Standard Bearer – First Person	Create a hero of the Count
3. Oral Narrator Actor – Second Person	Create a “white legend”

The survival of the poem about Juan Niño and the Gerineldo cycle in the Romancero, are living proof of a legend about the Niño family still in existence, today. Having lasted as long as these romances have, indicates the legend created by the standard bearer evolved and became part of the Hispanic chivalric historiography, much like *El Cid* or that of *Túrpín*.

Author Types and Reader Interpretation

The reader, upon perusing *El V* for the first time, experiences many different sensations as one author “voice” changes to another. These “voices” lead to a possible variation of interpretations, depending upon the literary background or interest of each reader.

The Response to the Real Author

The original author uses the narrative discourse of the witness for battles and feats, in general, to offer historical or “extra-historical” data, meaning that not found in annals or other chronicles, and personal in character. As a consequence, the author is able to transform these concepts into a believable “white legend” of the count of Buelna for the reader. Taking advantage of a gap in the elaboration of royal chronicles from where Ayala left off to when these were to be initiated again, precisely when Pero Niño was at the peak of his military career, the author, Games, transmits what annals or royal chronicles would have said about the count of Buelna to be left for posterity. The resulting narrative rounds out the historical character of Pero Niño and enforces the chivalric and heroic facets of the count’s deeds in the eyes of the reader. As the readers contemporary with Pero Niño and Games have limited historiographical material from chronicles or annals, they would be likely to believe the narration transformed by the real author, Díez de Games.

The Response to the Standard Bearer

The fleshed-out character description, as witnessed by the standard bearer underlines the virtuous personality of Pero Niño and strengthens his leadership qualities as compared to the historical personages whom the count accompanied in the historiographical narrative. The result is a reader who believes what is read as the historical truth and creates an image corresponding to that of the “white legend”. There is less of a chance of a credibility gap if the reader is witnessing the events as if reported on the scene in first person. The author uses the eyewitness technique as the sole purpose of creating a new level of chivalric narrative – that of a personal, fictive narrative. This level, then, exists on its own plane as a special reading and different, within the same work.

The Response of the Oral Narrator

The asides as presented by the oral narrator emphasise the admiration others felt towards Pero Niño at every turn of his victorious participation in the making of a new Castile. This personal, oral narration of chivalrous feats is, in turn, a chivalric fiction created particularly for the count in the Middle Ages around the fictive chivalrous theme of arms and love. The oral author, through the use of the second person “voice” is like that of the “*vox populi*”, the voice of the people, and an echo of the legend. The commentaries about Don Pero Niño are added to convince the reader the “white legend” about Pero Niño. In this way, the oral author gives the supposed audience Games wrote for, mainly, the Niño family, another version of the count beyond that of the standard bearer or the official literary version in existence at the time.

Possible Response to the Narrator Types

Figure 6.7: Possible Response to the Narrator Types

Narrator	Reader	Possible Response
1. Omniscient Narrator	Intended Reader	Historical: To believe the white legend created by the chronicler
2. Eyewitness Narrator	Ideal Reader	Literary: To believe the heroic legend woven around Pero Niño
3. Oral Narrator	Audience	Diversion: To be entertained and propagate the literary legend.

The chart in Figure 6.7: “Possible Response to Narrator Types” relates the type of narrator intervention to the different possible readers and links them to the most likely response on the part of the Reader. As the centuries pass by, the reader is now not only far removed from the original environment, but also dependent upon translations of *El V* in

different languages to understand the thread of the plot. Consequently, the possible response among the readers loses some depth. Equally difficult, the initial humour, for example, as well as the knowledge necessary to read between the lines and judge the historiographical chivalric narrative as it is, fades with time.

The Omniscient Narrator

The Omniscient Narrator creates a believable “White Legend”. The Omniscient author could add what is already known about the count of Buelna as incorporated into the legal material, and other writs executed at the time the count’s family lived. In the same way, the author is able to choose which material is to be included in the chronicle about the adventures of Pero Niño. The mere process of selection of which narrative is suitable for the summary of the count’s adventures, as requested by the count of Buelna or a descendent¹⁸, implies that any negative material reported and incorporated into historiography concerning chivalric actions of the court, be they personal or professional, would be omitted. Only the positive features about the life of Pero Niño which would benefit a claim to family heritage and Fame, both themes in the historiography in which books of chivalry and chronicles would be included.

Indeed, it seems that the author is so lavish that one suspects perhaps the author is attempting to cover or even correct a negative incident somehow connected to the count. In effect, the organisation of the narrative about Pero Niño based on the recognised heroic literature, in particular, where these characteristic elements overlap with those found in books

of chivalry seem to imply that the writing of a “white legend”, covering what could be considered a “black legend” or whatever negative reports might linger, in legal writs.

The Eyewitness Narrator

The Eyewitness Narrator augments the “White Legend”. More problematic, perhaps, is to see the purpose of the use of the oral narrator who speaks to the reader in the second person, “you know”. The author takes advantage of this literary convention to influence the reader positively by relating the way in which Pero Niño incarnates the seven virtues of a perfect knight. Moreover, the heroic feats accomplished in keeping with the historiographical standard are witnessed and retold in glowing terms by the Standard Bearer.

The Oral Narrator

The Oral Narrator Entertains the Reader. At other moments the oral narrator, in the asides directed to the audience or a lector in second person, provides intense momentum during the military campaigns. These asides, slipped into the dramatic *momenta* or battle scenes, are intended to give more personalised information than what the Intended Reader deduces from the events as told by the Omniscient Narrator.

In the same vein, the asides add a romantic style to the love themes in all three books of *El V*. Glossed over by historians or literary critics, comic relief is used by Games through the second person comments to create pauses after the scenes of blood and gore, give opinions on the political events of the time in such a way that the audience is given “outside” information and even the use of animal description, such as those depicted on the shields of the French nobility grants a light pause in the pace of the narration.

The Response of Occasional / Historical Readers

As time wears on and the chivalric values change and the reason for knights in shining armour wanes into a longing for the past, *El V* becomes more and more of a signet narrative of a personal foray. The historiographical content becomes more of a memory. In fact, the personal quality of Pero Niño gives the historiographical sense more of a tale or novel than a treatise, chronicle or an annal for those readers far removed from the Hundred Years war. The following figure has been devised in order to compare the possible responses of the reader to the narrative historically, meaning as read down through the ages.

Figure 6.8: The Response of the Occasional / Historical Readers

	Narrator	Reader	Interpretation
1.	Omniscient	Occasional	Believes the white legend
		Historical	Believes the Author is the chronicler
2.	Eyewitness	Occasional	Believes the heroic legend
		Historical	Believes the Standard Bearer / Author
3.	Oral	Occasional	Entertained
		Historical	Believes the Hero Legend

The Response of the Occasional Reader

Although the fifteenth century author, a self-declared standard-bearer, wrote *El V* by drawing on the literary canons of the time, what a contemporary reader to that standard bearer enjoys, over time, loses more allegorical meaning the further away in time the narrative is read. Perhaps, even as soon as three generations away from when the adventures of Pero Niño occurred. Post-factum, though, the reader of the count's deeds in subsequent editions of *El V* is still influenced by the image formed by the three author narrators. These readers, are not only those interested in knighthood, the crusades, history, Arthurian themes or fervent followers of chivalric narrative, but also the historians, literary critics, medievalists and hispanists who study the narrative in contrast with other similar historiographical works.

Shortly, *El V* becomes another reference to Pero Niño, accompanying the original royal annals and legal writs, books and articles concerning the history, historiography and literary references to the count of Buelna down through the centuries. This accumulation of historiographical material covers the registered responses to the original three narrators within *El V*. This accumulated response corresponds to a chronological historical response of *El V* and the original narration as presented by the standard-bearer.¹⁹

The Response of the Historical Reader

During the revision of this accumulated reader response, it is interesting to note the widely different responses of the historical readers. As Fig. 6.10: "Historical/Occasional Reader Response to Literary Criticism" shows, on one hand, in the cases of the "Omniscient" and "Eyewitness" narrators, a unilateral, literal effect within the response occurs. The reader believes the white, heroic legend. On the other hand, and this refers to the immediate

audience as well as the historians later in time, there is pure entertainment or diversion. The Historical reader, though, has another type of response, and that interpretation largely depends on a particular focus given to any one edition or the methodology in vogue at the time.

In an attempt to trace the vogues across the ages, the following bibliography is not complete but of selected representative topics of literary criticism arranged chronologically in order to observe the changes in reader response down through the ages:²⁰ The alphabetical list only reflects personal opinions, whereas a chronological lists identifies vogues, tendencies, isolated studies and certain categorization waves are more easily recognized.

A Chronology of Historical Criticism

Fig. 6.9: A Chronology of literary Criticism

1577	Gudiel, Jerónimo. Doctor. <i>Compendio de los Girones</i> .ca (f.79).
1588	Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. <i>Nobleza en Andalucía</i> , Sevilla, 209-210.
1788	Antonio, Nicolás. <i>Biblioteca Hispana vetus</i> , II. Madrid, 212 (nº 106) 250; (nº 332) 197.
1807	de Vargas y Ponce, Joseph. “Varones ilustres de la Marina Española: Vida de Don Pedro Niño, primer Conde de Buelna”, sacada de <i>Autores Coetáneos y Documentos Inéditos</i> . Madrid, <i>Imprenta Real</i> : append. 8, 240-252.
1833	Southey, Robert. "British Admirals" (Vida de los Almirantes ingleses). <i>Cabinet Encyclopedia</i> vol. II, 20-41.
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Weich-Shahak, Susana “El Conde Olinos en variantes sefardíes”, 25, Marzo, 2011, Laopinion.es

Early studies

After looking through the titles of the studies chosen, many observations can be made, most of which are logical for the type of military arms used and the strategy applied at the time as well as the importance of horses and the current type of transportation system. The earliest cluster of studies was oriented towards the historical literary criticism, (1851, 1865, 1888). The earliest historical studies ²¹ (1888, 1932, 1977) were dispersed until re-initiated in 1994, 2006 and 2009. Both historical and literary studies have diversified into a growing field of historiographical studies focussed by theme within the more recent time frame. The popularity of historiographical studies, in general, renewed forces through a boom in the 1960s and another onset in the 1990s.

Another early interest was of Nobility (1577) which is later mentioned occasionally by literary critics, and is associated with power (1966, 1967) or genealogy. Naval history also has a cluster of studies in the early eighteen hundreds (1807, 1833, 1848,) when great

ships were still sailing the seas and then again in the early twentieth century (1923). The corsairs, in particular, have been of interest to Ferrer I Maillol (1968, 2000) more recently.

Genre consideration

As a note of interest, *El V* was printed in an anthology of “*Libros Raros y Curiosos*” in 1866. Shortly afterwards, however, the concept of chronicle in relationship to *El V* appears in 1901 with Savine and then a series of references follow the publication of Mata Carriazo in 1940, initially appearing in the 1950s through the 1970s. Again, in the 1990s there are more classifications of *El V* as a chronicle (and, more recently, in 2004).

The classification of *EL V* a biography first appears in 1935 and continues with Pardo, who, like other French critics, most likely consulted the French edition by Circourt y Puymagre translated to French (1867) as a background influence. Here, it is important to state the dislike of the French counts for the legends interspersed among the chivalric narrative dedicated to Pero Niño and, seemingly, having nothing to do with the deeds of the count of Buelna. This lead the authors to demean the purpose of the didactic prose in deference to the count of Buelna’s adventures in prose, much like that of a “book of chivalry”, influencing the readers of *El V*.

In Spain, another series of literary critics decanting for the categorisation of the deeds of the count of Buelna as a biography, started with Beltrán in 1986. Beltrán has added the most to the image of *El V* as a biography, as well as influencing Osorio, Flores, Montiel, Echegaray, Heusch and many others since the publication of the first Taurus edition in 1993, and then the more complete Salamanca edition in 1997. The consideration

of the classification of a possible genre for *El V* has been addressed only sparsely, (1975, and 2009). *El V* as a “*libro*” was considered in 2001, and a year later, Gómez Redondo (2002) associated *El V* with a “*Tratado*”.

Deep structure studies on *El V*

Grammatical structures were analysed in 1958, and then later in the 1990s. Specific studies on lexical studies and prose appeared in 1991, 2001 and 2003, but are not yet a popular choice. In 1980, Rueda separated the elements of *El V*, followed by Beltrán in 1986 and Gómez in 2002. The manuscripts have been edited and discussed by the editors,²² the annotated editions from 1782, some three hundred years after Games was commissioned by Pero Niño, then again in 1807, and 1867. It was not until 1928 when the abridged English translation by Joan Evans appeared (re-edited in 2004). Soon, Iglesias brought out another edition (1936) and Mata Carriazo (1940) issued a definitive edition which would be in vogue for fifty years until Beltrán added two editions in 1994 and 1997. In 2001, Gautier published the first French translation in two hundred and forty six years with a short prologue focussing on Pero Niño’s French connection.

Studies based on specific themes

The earliest religious study on Jesus in chronicles is German, 1884, and a probable influence was the first publication of Lemcke in 1863, followed by a publication of four more fragments from *El V* in 1865 by the same editor. Related rhetorical studies are also scattered in time (1946, 1975).

Romance as an ideal, was approached in 1979 and Gimenez spearheaded the focus on chivalry in 1977, soon to be echoed in 1981 and 1986. The poems from *El V* as part of the Romancero were addressed in 1985 and a study specifically on the manuscript in 1991 appeared just before the first Beltrán edition.

The countries of France and England, beyond the editions, are limited to 1989 and 2001, (France) and (Spain) to England. As for the folk legends in *El V*, the Brut legend was mentioned in 1961 and the legends in general are more recently examined along with the exemplum (1992, 2005 and 2010). Gutierre Díez de Games, as an individual is a recent study outlined by Beltrán (1989, 1993, 1997) and Gómez, (1998, 1999, and 2002).

A popular theme in *El V* has always been travel, considering the adventure of Pero Niño as a book of journeys. In 1976, 1985 and again in the 1990s this theme was popular, similar to that of the *Book of Alejandro* in *El V* with studies ranging from the initial convergence by Lida de Malkiel 1957 study through 1975, 1991, 1993 and 2007. These particular interests, like many other minor leitmotif, seem to come up every fifteen to twenty years and linked to personal interest.

These thematic approaches are latecomers, even if we take into account the structuralist movement which incited the separation of elements as far back as the morphological studies by Propp in 1972. In 2001 a study in *alteridad* is followed by one on the theme “arms and love” in 2003 and “*hombres salvajes*” in 2009.

All in all, the body of literary criticism around *El V* began three hundred years after the first news of the original manuscript in 1435. The initial status of *El V* as

historiographical narrative continued to cling to the initial perspectives of historical genealogy, literary citations and naval accounts for another two hundred years until the last sailing ships dwindled in fame.

Historical/Occasional Responses in General

Historical / Occasional Responses to Literary Criticism

From the variety of studies which have lately begun to multiply, there is a clear interest in *El V* on the rise over the years. There are more “Occasional” readers who are attracted to the various editions in French, English, German and Spanish for numerous reasons. Some readers are looking for tales of knights in shining armour, others historical biographies, and still others seeking answers to local legends. The “Historical” readers, referring to mostly historians and literary critics over the centuries, have also been drawn to the deeds of the count of Buelna for many of the same reasons and seem to draw the same ‘possible’ conclusions, depending on the reason why *El V* caught the ‘Occasional’ and ‘Historical’ readers attention in the first place. By way of a summary, the following Figure 6.10: “Historical / Occasional Reader Response to Literary Criticism” is a graphic representation of the responses to the chronological observations of literary criticism of the specifically ‘Historical’ and ‘Occasional readers. This graph, assists the reader and historians or literary critics to delineate the loose variety of possible differences of the interpretation of *El V* as observed over the years.

Figure 6.10: Occasional / Historical Reader Response to Literary Criticism

	Reader	Response
1.	Occasional	<i>Literal:</i> Believe in the “white legend”
	Historical	Interpretation: Believe the chronicler as author
2.	Ideal	<i>Literal:</i> Believe the hero legend
	Occasional	Interpretation: Believe the Standard Bearer as author
3.	Audience	<i>Literal:</i> Diversion
	Historical Reader	Interpretation: Believe the focus of the edition

By studying responses chronologically, it is evident that, according to a specific edition, the “Occasional” and “Historical” readers, both have a tendency to believe that the chronicler is the one true author. Some believe the author was also the Standard Bearer to the count. Not until generations after the famous deeds of the historically documented Pero Niño do critics specialised in literary techniques believe the Standard Bearer to be a rhetorical technique employed by Games in keeping with the literary traditions of the time,

What occurs, however, is that the reader across the centuries has access to only the posterior editions to the manuscripts and does not live in the same time frame. What is more, an opinion is most likely formed as a result of the way in which the editions are

presented, such as the abridged edition of *El V* produced by the counts Circourt and Puymagre or even that of Jane Evans extracting only the count of Buelna's deeds.

Amongst those readers are the literary critics who co-exist in an increasing pool of specific and rapidly changing field of methodologies. The registered response of the literary critics is to the libraries of historiographical narratives: chronicles, books of chivalry, travel literature, folk legends, short exemplary stories and the general compendium of historiography. These readers are, in essence, the "Historical Reader".

Scrutinising the different reactions of all the "Historical Readers" is an interesting exercise as the reactions show, in many cases, a unilateral reaction. This unilateral reaction is an interpretation based on the response of the reader to only one level – that of a single narrator - the Standard Bearer as the sole author of the deeds of Pero Niño. Pero Niño, as a perfect knight is believed to be what recent historical readers expect: a true history. Other responses appear in a cluster owing to a particular focus. These clustered interpretations depend upon the original language the story about Pero Niño was read in or the school of literary criticism one is trained in and the editions used as a reference.

The Historical / Occasional Responses to Narrators

Revising the historical responses and levels of interpretation, one can see the occasional, historical reader relates to the "Omniscient Narrator" and has a tendency to believe that the chronicler is the true author who wrote the tale of the count of Buelna from legal documents.

Those readers who identify mainly with the fictive, literary technique created through the “Eyewitness Narrator” of the more personal aspects of the count of Buelna, respond more to the heroic chivalric descriptions and the romantic elements in the historiographical narration of the hero and the “arms and love theme”. In this way, The occasional, historical reader who is looking for a historiographical, chivalresque narrative would accept and interpret the adventure of Don Pero Niño as if it were a book of chivalry or as part of the mainstream hero worship literature, national or international. These occasional readers or literary critics who take the “Eyewitness Narrator” as the true author, believe the Standard Bearer to be the artifice of the complete life record of the count as told in *El V*.

The third level of possible lecture is that of the “Oral Narrator”, with asides directed to the reader, or the audience. If an occasional reader re-creates a voice within the story itself as the most important level, the enjoyment of the presentation would be deeper. In reality, all possible levels of *El V* entertain as the narration is thusly constructed. The depth with which one reads or understands the historiographical story also depends upon one’s interest, expectations and knowledge.

NOTES AND CITATIONS CHAPTER SIX

¹ Vid. Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un Estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la realidad histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de “El Victorial”*, Valencia: 1986, refer to the section on the literary critical response.

² Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. “Gutierre Díaz, escribano de cámara del rey, ¿autor de El Victorial?”, *La Corónica*, 18-I 1989, 365-72.

³ Whoever, he may be and whatever name he might have had.

⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, 1986, Op cit., 1032-1033.

⁵ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op. cit., 1032-1033.

⁶ When not an epic reference or within an *exempla* or narrative digression.

⁷ The complete study of all the episodes to the lessons given by the old wise man is in progress.

⁸ Mata Carriazo, Juan. *El Victorial, Crónica de don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1940, 104/14-24.

⁹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 325/114-119.

¹⁰ Mata Carriazo, Juan, Ibidem.

¹¹ Mata Carriazo, Juan, Op. cit., 104/25-26.

¹² This concept is accompanied by the other vices, "temeridad", "ambición", "vanagloria" and "inconstancia".

¹³ Which I have translated as: “those who have a hunger and thirst for Justice”.

¹⁴ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 328/6-8.

¹⁵ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, Op cit., 328/24-25; 329/26-28.

¹⁶ The study on the themes order/disorder in relation to similar structures in *la Gran Conquista de Ultramar* and *el Amadís* is in progress.

¹⁷ Vid. The Appendix of this theses on the “Continued Legend for the poems” and Weich-Shahak, Susana, “El Conde Olinos en variants sefardíes”, 25, marzo, 2010, Laopinion.es

¹⁸ Vid. Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *El Victorial*, Fernando Gomez, *Historia de la Prosa Medieval vol. III*, discussions on the role of the grandfather in the initiation and a descendent of the Niño family in the finalization in the script.

¹⁹ The outcome of this response in literary critics concerning *EL V* is discussed in the next section of this Chapter.

²⁰ The following bibliography is compiled of the materials owned or consulted in libraries or private collections and the first three citations are included to show the time lapse in the chronology.

²¹ This chronological list is based largely on literary criticism concerning *EL V*, and the historical references are not included as this particular section is oriented towards literary criticism.

²² Vid Appendix B: “Chronology of Editions” at the end of this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THEMES RELATED TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF

EL VICTORIAL

CHAPTER SEVEN

THEMES RELATED TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF *EL VICTORIAL*

Genre Consideration

As we have seen in the previous chapters, *El V* encases a cross-cultural common pool of historiographical elements from which Games chose at leisure to weave the tapestry of the tale of a perfect knight, made into a hero. Nationally, this study echoes a series of themes and leitmotifs which had been used in the chivalric narrative harkening back to the chronicle tradition begun by Alfonso el Sabio. Albeit written several centuries after the Alphonsine chronicles, *El V* was at the end of what is considered a flagging tradition: the national Reconquest literary genre. In this light, I believe *El V* should be reconsidered as a work belonging to what the author, Games, has declared *El V* to be: a *Tratado*. It is time to reassess what the original author, whoever he may be, considered the place, (and perhaps not even a genre), that *El V* had within the national Reconquest literary genre.

In the *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana*,¹ Gómez Redondo² has compared various “*tratados*” as they appear within Castilian medieval prose and illustrates the variety among the existing “*tratados*”, and highlighted the other common historiographical elements included in the “*tratado*” structures. Gómez also discusses *El V* within the framework of a “*tratado*”, as Games understood the framework should be.

Gómez, for *El V*, states ‘El ‘libro’ se denomina Tratado³ porque no es una simple biografía ni siquiera corresponde a lo que podría llamarse una crónica de hechos particulares’.⁴ Gómez continues to affirm that Games ‘se sirve de toda suerte de materiales para tejer un discurso plural mediante la integración de diversos “cuentos”’.⁵ For “*cuentos*”,

Gómez insists that these narratives ‘ya de carácter cronístico, ya ficticio’⁶ were both involved and, in part, responsible for many of the resulting contradictory classifications.

Furthermore, as seen in the conclusions of the varied reader response to *El V*, the historiographical elements which have been drawn from the common pool by Games cover almost the entirety of the existing narrative forms, including those beyond the merely chivalric. As Gómez has shown, the original author of *El V* included ‘romances en verso [...], y en prosa, historias de todo tipo [...] el tronco cronístico de los reyes de Castilla [...], autores latinos [...] y biografías de caballeros contemporáneos’.⁷ It is no wonder why *El V* has been accredited with so many genre classifications held by literary critics over the years. *El V* is a very complex and thorough prose which includes not just chivalric, but most of the “common pool” in the historiographical narrative.

García Gual observes that Spanish chivalric literature was written as a way for the nobility-knights to stonewall time.⁸

A los caballeros les hubiera gustado detener la marcha de la historia, resucitando un feudalismo heroico en contra de la burguesía ciudadana y de las monarquías nacionales.

In an attempt to expand upon the statement by García Gual (concerning late medieval chivalric narrative having been composed in an intent on the part of the knights to halt the progress of time), it seems to me that *El V* is perhaps a mirror of one such intent to halt time. Moreover, García Gual suggests that one of the miracles of literary history is that the chivalric ideal persisted for so many centuries in Spanish medieval narrative.⁹ Actually, *El Caballero del Cisne*, *Zifar*, *Tirant*, *Amadis*, *Esplandian* and *Don Quijote* are popular because the knight-errant of nobility, with real names but of lesser fame, such as Suero de Quiñones

and Pero Niño, propped up the infamous legends. It appears that *El V* is an integral part of hero worship and hero-creating literature which, in turn, would fall into the romantic vision of the knight errant. Long before *El V* was penned in Spain, an epic hero, like *El Cid*, lived the same “arms and love” theme. Ideals and sentiment have always been present in historiographical chivalric narrative, hence, the importance of Christian ideals in the leitmotifs supporting the themes in *El V*.

El Victorial as an Epic Legend

Before *El Cid* was written, the hero image existed in various cultures. The figures canonized in the Old and New Testaments served as positive and negative examples of moral behaviour. Likewise, the Greeks had myths to explain ideas and heroes to emulate. Those heroes became legends. Each religion had exemplary tales for both governmental rulers and the “*populus*” to emulate as well. This historiographical narrative has always accompanied a system of control used by both church and state. The knight errant, according to some literary critics,¹⁰ fell by the wayside, but in reality, the knight errant went to the New World, had new conquests to worry about, new societies to lead. The knight – errant hero adopted many other changes as “hero worship literature” continued to be in vogue.

What fell by the wayside were the Middle Ages ideals needed to spur nobles on to conquest of the land. Once the church and state were no longer interested in subsidising the Christian-Moslem conflict for specific interest and the available land reconquered was relegated, the nobility had to be controlled with another ruse: another type of hero created to affect this. Backing the voyages against the barbarians in the Mediterranean; sailing to the New World and setting up missions were important to the same literary tradition, which

propagated the former Christian-Moslem conflict and was transformed into New World conquests of savages vs. Christians. Chronicles, often covered as a missionary vision in literature, continued on into the New World, and fictive chivalric narrative, referring to books of chivalry, as well. These books of chivalry served the purpose of helping to idealise the New World, as well as to lead interested adventurers into emulation of appropriate heroes.

Figure 7.1: The Trials of El Cid

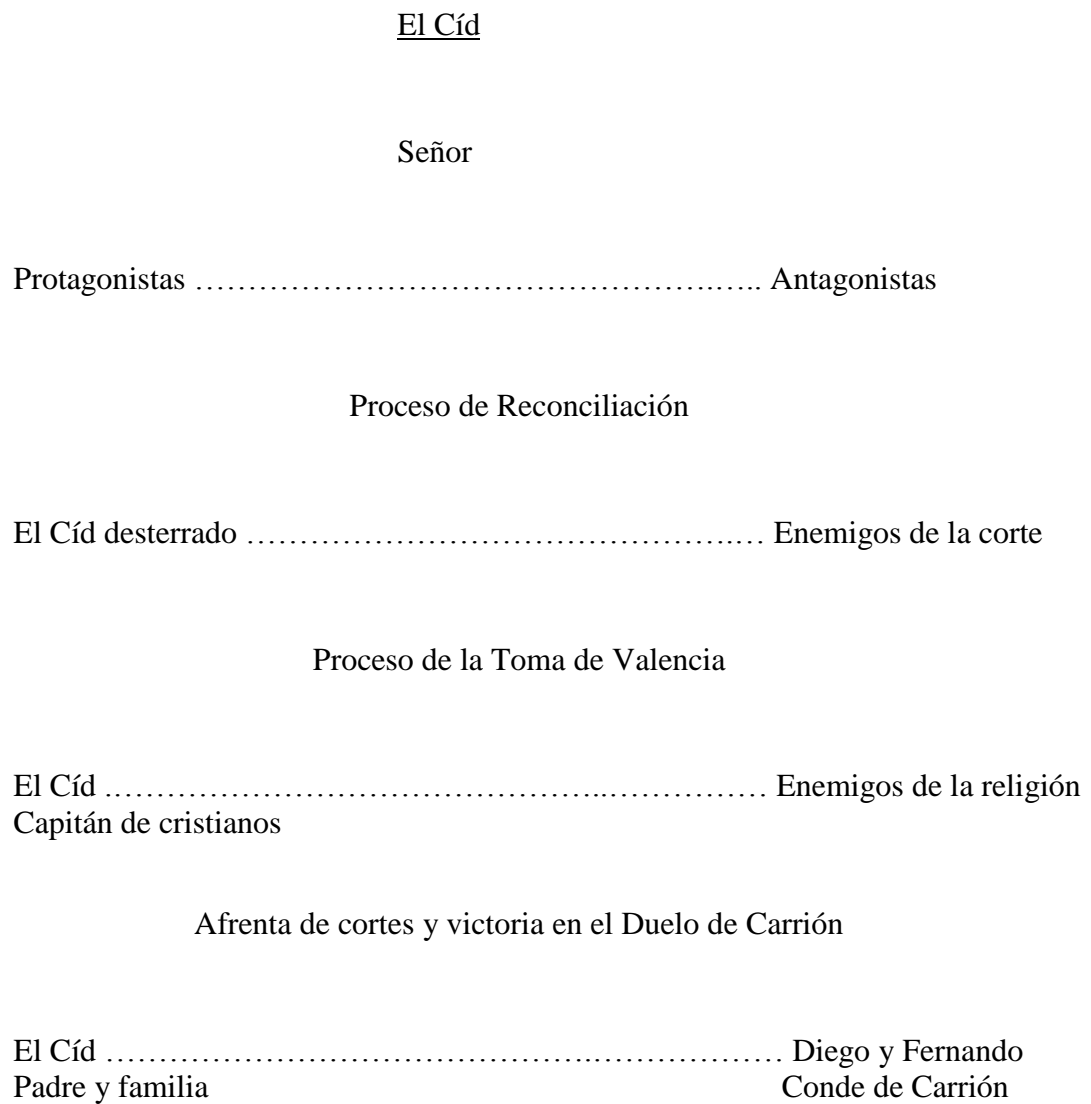
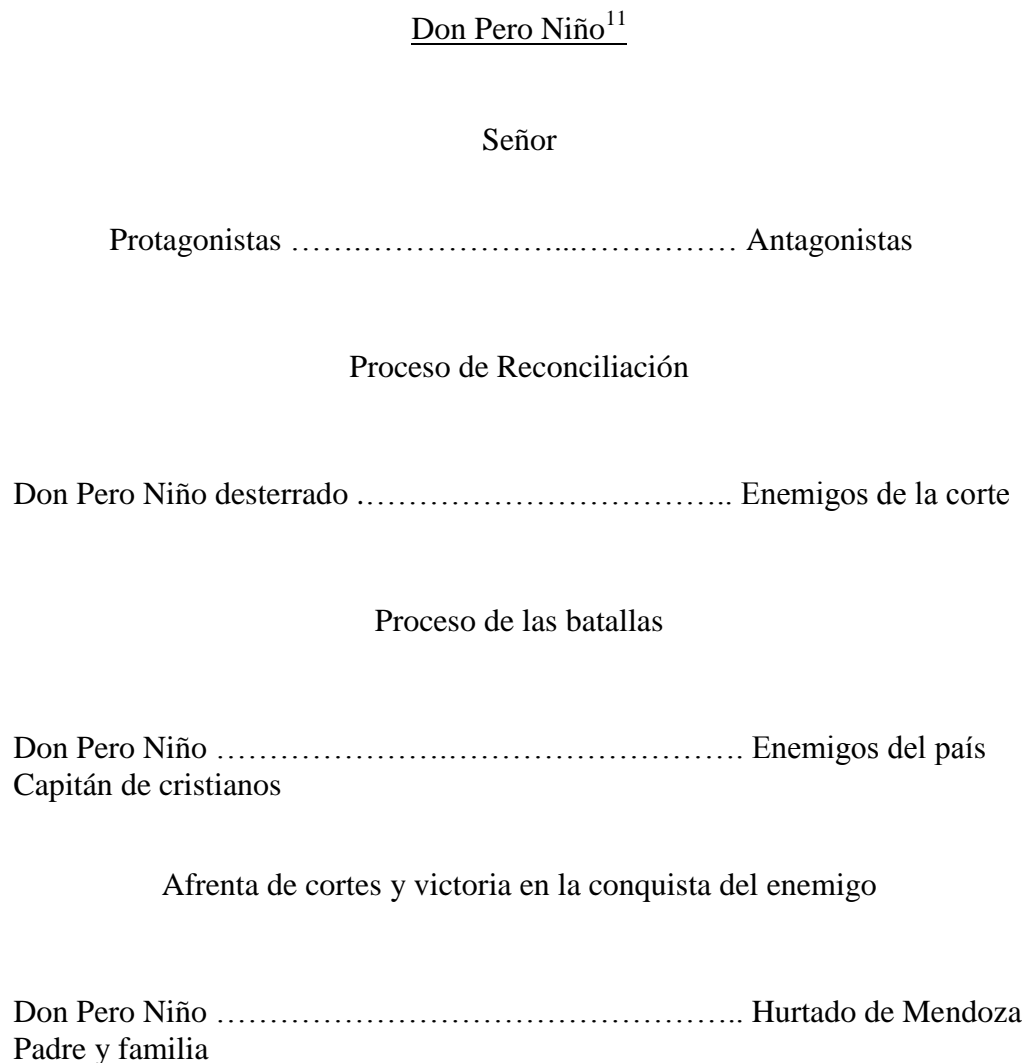


Figure 7.2: The Trials of Don Pero Niño



The Figure 7.1: “The Trials of El Cid”, drawn up by F. Lopez Estrada for El Cid was a useful tool in demonstrating how the basic epic structure is beneath the narrative sequence as I have applied in Fig. 7.2: “The Trials of Don Pero Niño” for *EL V*.

It should be noted that chivalric literature itself belongs to a wider category: that of hero-worship, the whole idea of creating legends in order to uphold ideals. An ideal image to emulate is an important part of religion: Biblical figures served as examples of acceptable and

unacceptable moral behaviour; Greek myths explained similar ideals and heroes, e.g. Alexander. These heroes became legends - an important aspect of human experience passed down through the generations. Different religions have their own exemplary tales for didactic purposes, while governmental systems have their heroes for the masses to emulate.

Among other scholars who have worked on structural models of the epic hero, of the list of twenty-two characteristics listed by Lord Raglan,¹² eight of these characteristics are fulfilled by the deeds of Pero Niño.¹³ The first common characteristic (No. 3) is having a near relative of the mother as nobility. The Niño family background is not clear, but one hypothesis is that the family is from the house of Anjou in France as proposed by the historiographer, Pedro de Lezcano, who describes the Niño family as “Niño. ‘Yo me inclinaré siempre a que descenden del Francés por que las armas del linaje de Niño son siete Flores de Lis azules en campo de oro y las armas de los Reies de Francia son tres flores de lis azules en campo de oro’”.¹⁴ Even if the hypothesis is not true, the count’s mother did belong to a wealthy family known for being friends of nobility in Cantabria.

The circumstances of Pero Niño’s genealogical line are unusual, which in *El V*, correspond to the second characteristic on Lord Raglan’s list, (No. 4) as the Niño family was transferred to the court and Pero Niño was brought up with the future Henry III. Following a ten year period about which we know nothing, (No. 9), Pero Niño, as a *doncel*, a young man, not only kills a giant - like man, Domao (No. 11), but he also hunts down a wild boar and saves the King from drowning (No. 12). Beatriz, the daughter of the Portuguese king and Pero Niño fall in love and secretly become betrothed (No. 16) incurring the anger of the King, uncle to Beatriz. Pero Niño loses favor in the court and is banished (No. 17). After

gaining fame and honour in arms and marrying Beatriz, however Pero Niño's son, Juan, dies from wounds received in a joust and leaves the count of Buelna without a male heir (No. 20).

These coincidences are chosen by the author as part of a heroic epic scheme which the reader would relate to just like other legends in medieval historiographical narrative. Two other sons of Pero Niño also died, but as they were not in the first line of inheritance, even born out of wedlock, the author silenced the information, as we have seen in Chapter One as a commonplace technique used throughout *El V*.

El Victorial as Moralising Prose

El V, given its title, is almost always associated with chronicles. However, the didactic-moral nature of the narrative is also shared with the category of didactic prose. If one considers *El V* moralising prose, apart from its obvious chivalric theme, before comparing it to books on chivalry, a series of interesting relationships can be found.

The *exemplum* (plural, "*exempla*"), a basic unit in moralising prose, has many similarities with the basic structure of *El V*. The *exempla* refer to each narration, fable, parable, description, moral story, refrain or anecdote, capable of serving as a support to doctrinal religious or moral material. The *exemplum* was the basis for many short stories, many of them from oriental and eastern cultures. Using *exemplum* was a simple narrative technique that became more and more important, until the twelfth century, when, with the Cistercian order, the *exemplum* reached a new popularity, spreading out to the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The *exempla* were used to inspire the faithful Christian. The incorporation of *juglar* techniques helped to create collections of *exempla* by the thirteenth

century. The most celebrated collection is that of Stephanus de Borbone who, between 1250 and 1261, gathered some three thousand exempla of various types.¹⁵

The various types of exempla gathered are of interest in comparison with *El V*.¹⁶ The accepted tradition of gathering exempla moved other authors to gather this material into a *Summae* including the diverse materials from theology, *Arthurian history*, *La Vulgata*, the lives of saints and scientific and geographical knowledge. These materials also make up part of *El V*. In time, though, as the exempla developed historically, they ceased to be only:

un recurso para subrayar o apoyar una doctrina; más tarde se convirtió también en una forma de distracción cargada de intenciones moralizantes¹⁷

The *exempla* are also assimilated into the literary structures created under Alphonso X, such as the *General Estoria*, and other works which are given as sources for diverse fifteenth century narrative such as *El V*. In 1991, *El V* is placed by Alvar, Moreno and Gómez within the section of chronicles considered "Ficción unidad didáctica" with Alvaro de Luna, *Hechos del Condestable*, and classified as an individual chronicle:

retrato de personas ajenas a la dignidad del rey, pero cuya vida puede alcanzar el mismo tratamiento, este grupo hereda la estructura real, ampliado sobre todo los componentes literarios que prestan a la obra un diseño retórico dependiente de la formación de sus redactores; estos suelen ser "criados" o familiares del biografiado.¹⁸

Of this category, the *exempla* constitute a basic unit. The assimilation of the *exempla* as "unidad didáctica" was used by Alfonso X in *General Estoria*, and at the end of the thirteenth century in *Castigos e documentos* by Sancho IV. In both, advice and doctrine are

accompanied by a minimum argument outlined only in general and about principal characters.¹⁹ After narratives of historiography and didactic books pick up the *exempla* books of fiction follow suit. This is especially noticeable in *Zifar*, where the central character chastises and warns his children about all types of circumstances which life may hold for them. Each chapter has an "epígrafe" which gives advice through oriental and eastern-style story telling.

El V does not exactly have an *epígrafe*, but chapter headings introduce the content. Also, the *Proemio* of *El V* does not chastise, but teaches. "The circumstances of life" in *El V* are the battles against the vices that await Pero Niño.

another parallel with *Zifar* is that the protagonist, *Zifar* does not clarify the lesson to be learned, but allows the protagonist to discover the didactic support himself.²⁰

Thus, several episodes can follow, one after another, as if on a string of pearls.

In *Zifar*, the exemplum functions as a correction of narrative situations in such a way that the conclusion can be included in the argumental structure.²¹

The personages narrate the stories *they have lived* in a book which recounts their life with *exempla* as a narrative form and a didactic unit commonly found in literature of the fourteenth century, to the point where *exempla* can appear isolated in manuscripts such as the *Libro de Buen Amor* (but in this case, the author himself uses the technique of narrating his own story).

In *El V*, the framework uses the same structure as the *Zifar*. Pero Niño is an *exordio* of doctrine, an example of famous warrior belonging to the historical class of warriors. The explanation is that warriors, "*bellatores*" of the Middle Ages, are knights "in theory" and the medieval knights are to emulate the life of an *exemplum*: the life of Don Pero Niño, as a doctrine exemplum to follow.

The *Libro de Conde Lucanor*, by Don Juan Manuel, could be an extended *exemplum* of the chivalric activity of a particular individual, who also reflects this extension of the textual model *exemplum*. Don Juan Manuel developed both types of *exempla*: 1) the short anecdotal type and 2) the extensive and intentional narrative form; all with the intention of supporting the theological and moral content. A series of similar examples are developed in continuation. In the same vein, *El V* has both types of *exempla*.

The *Proemio* is, in itself, an *exemplum*, for it is the kernel of the story as a didactic chivalric narrative. Within the body of the narrative, in the first and second parts, the digressions serve the purpose of classic "*exempla*" such as the dialogue between the Wind and Fortune. The battles are segmental and anecdotal but make up the longer campaigns (of several battles), which would be the longer, extended type of *exemplum*. The third part has several anecdotal stories based on the short narratives. Don Juan Manuel, like Games, applied this same technique to a chivalric manual which was one of the basic resource materials for all authors on chivalric themes: the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*. Not only is the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero* heavy on chivalric doctrine, like *El V*, but there is also another parallel between the two authors: the use of an assistant. In the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*, the escudero is, like Sancho Panza to Don Quijote, a chivalric given as commented elsewhere in this study. For *El V* it is Games himself as the standard-bearer.

El Victorial as a Book of Chivalry

Comparative Structures: 'El Victorial' and 'Amadís'

The classification of books of chivalry by Curto Herrero²² is presented in three categories. The classification includes those formative years before the edition of *Amadís* by Montalvo, where the narrative is considered 1) "*funcional*". After two centuries of manipulations, 2) the "*constituyente*" is made up of the narratives published between 1510 and 1512, which make possible the growth of the genre both thematically and formally; 3) that of "expansion", is a phase including all books published after 1514, in which a basic shared pattern is observed.

Montalvo introduced moralising literary and historical passages to the old *Amadís* belonging to the Breton Cycle from the "*funcional*" period. Montalvo also modified the ending by substituting a tragic death at the end of the story for a happy ending. As all these passages, elements and structural systems existed in *El V* before Montalvo re-wrote the *Amadís*, it seems logical to think that a chivalric pattern had already been developed and Games had a very clear model to follow. The coincidences between the *Amadís* and *El V* are too many to ignore. Too, the elements and structural sub-terms in *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar* from the thirteenth century as compared to those in *El V* are also very clearly coincidental, and are echoed in the sixteenth century *Amadís*.

It seems to me that Games structured his narrative intentionally to fit the accepted models for chivalric literature in the fifteenth century. As a result, *El V* seems to be another link on the chain of medieval peninsular chivalric literature including the French twelfth century moulding by Chrétien de Troyes; the thirteenth century *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, all the way up through the sixteenth century *Amadís* in the peninsula. An

interesting difference observed by Curto Herrero between *Tirant lo Blanch* and *Amadís de Gaula* could help to highlight the pattern structure Games uses in *El V*.

The basic difference in the structural pattern is seen between the two popular expressions: “el saber hacer” and “el poder hacer”. On one hand, *Tirant* is identified ‘por la utilización de la astucia y la maña, “el saber hacer”, como un medio para alcanzar fama y conseguir los objetivos caballerescos.²³ *Amadís*, on the other hand, represents the almost exclusive use of “fuerza física y el vigor personal”, “el poder hacer”.²⁴

Pero Niño falls into the second category, the “poder hacer”, due to the strong moralising tone of *El V*. The theme “poder hacer” in *El V* is subject to the allegorical substructure, however, and the chivalric code followed as explained in the *Proemio*. Although the *Amadís* has been accepted as the first book of its genre in Peninsular literature, a kernel or pattern had to already exist as a pattern for historiographical heroic narrative. By way of an introduction, Curto Herrero refers to the:

Concepción del género caballeresco como un TODO inmediatamente fragmentable en partes que serían los libros de caballerías. De esta manera, cada obra tendría un valor “en sí” y también con relación a las obras anteriores y posteriores en la cadena del género.²⁵

However, Curto Herrero continues to refer to those narratives as ‘libros, cada obra tendría un valor en sí’²⁶ as an application to those recognised as libros de caballerías from *Amadís* onwards, or “refined books of chivalry”. Those books of chivalry which are only ‘las obras anteriores y posteriores en la cadena del género’²⁷ could include pre-refined texts, perhaps with specific characteristics. The fact that “una cadena” does exist means that those

narratives before the sixteenth century also belong to the genre, but should be declared by some other names: books or novels of chivalry. A look at the structures declared as standard for the genre is necessary. The following discussion compares the structures found in the sixteenth century version of *Amadís* with those structures in *El V*. As *Amadís* is usually designated as the first book on chivalry, comparing the narrative structure in *Amadís* with that of *El V* is an initial step in the comparison of *El V* with an accepted model.

The overall structural comparison of the narrative shows to what extent *El V* parallels the *Amadís* in skeleton form. Both are presented in a fragmented narration and four planes, coinciding basically with the four books, which comprise the total narrative. In *El V*, the first book is the "*Proemio*", the second book is called "*Primera Parte*", corresponding to the first part of Pero Niño's life-his youth; the third part is the "*Segunda Parte*", corresponding to the battle sequences in Pero Niño's young adult stage of life; and the fourth part, the "*Tercera Parte*", corresponds to the end of his fighting days, his fight to win royal recognition of his marriage and compensation for his years of loyal service to the kings.

The *Amadís* is divided roughly into three sections within each book. In *El V*, each book can also be roughly divided into three unequal sections, resulting in 12 subsections. The "*Proemio*" is divided into a section introducing the moral-didactic content of the book including the four princes (Chap. I-IV); a section with passages from the Evangelical Pseudo Matthew, introducing the idea of the palm of Victory (Chap. V-VII), and a closing section with an introduction discussing who is eligible to be a knight-in-arms in the Christian sense.

The "*Primera Parte*", in *El V*, is subdivided into a section introducing the idea of lineage (Chap. IX-XVIII); another dealing with the lesson of the *ayo* to Pero Niño, containing all the details of the chivalric Christian doctrine he needs to become victorious (Chap. XIX-

XXI); and a third part dedicated to the first scaramouches, jousts and individual battles which begin to create a name of fame. Also, his first love, Doña Constanza, is the occasion for Games to present *exempla* of the three types of love, which close this section corresponding to the youth of Pero Niño on the Peninsula. The “arms and love” theme is also introduced here, as in *Amadís*.

The "*Segunda Parte*" of *El V* is subdivided into geographical areas and dedicated to the theme of battles covered by Pero Niño's forays. Roughly, including the *exempla* which fall within the explanations of the different battles, the first subsection is that pertaining to the Corsair campaign and the Mediterranean battles (Chap. XXXVIII-L); the second, to those themes dealing with England (Chap. LI-LXXV); and the third, to those episodes roughly dealing with France (Chap. LXXVI-LXXXIX). As in the "*Primera Parte*", there is a sentimental episode, with a different woman, which closes the "*Segunda Parte*": the second recapitulation of the arms and love theme.

In the "*Tercera Parte*" of *El V*, which is very short compared to the rest, there is a short introduction presenting the secret marriage of Pero Niño and Doña Beatriz. This episode is necessary to understand the resulting two sections of the opposing vice *discordia*, and virtue, *concordia*; (Chap XC-XCII); followed by the frustrating separation of the two lovers (Chap. XCIII-XCV); and the happy ending; the royal recognition of the marriage and an exhibition of Pero Niño's loyalty to the King (Chap. XVI-XCVII). The final recapitulation of the “arms and love” theme is woven into the recompense to provide a happy ending, and if conceived of as the brooch to the narrative, a closed ending.

The twelve subsections within the *Amadís* begin and end with situations to which all other subsections are related. In the case of *El V*, the *Proemio* initiates the concept of arms

and love, a perfect knight and compensation due. The third book closes with the compensation for arms and for love to a perfect knight: a happy marriage. Although both the *Proemio* and the "*Tercera Parte*" reflect stories of "arms and of love",²⁸ each is specifically significant to the theme. The first mention, in the *Proemio*, promises victory in love and arms through gaining fame, which is seen as being fulfilled in the last section, the "*Tercera Parte*".

The kernel for this formula is to be found in the *Proemio*, which alludes to the importance of worship to and reverence of the female figure, the Virgin, in the attainment of Fame in didactic moral doctrine; and, again in the "*Tercera Parte*", where the didactic moral doctrine has been followed faithfully from episode to episode and where the battles of virtues against vices are seen as incarnated by Pero Niño, by now the epitome of Fame, is recompensed with true love for having been victorious in all battles.

The *Amadís* reflects correlated contents in each section, which are complemented by the following structural philosophy: 1) the potential, 2) the act 3) the power and 4) the being.²⁹ The four steps parallel the growth pattern of humans; from essence through birth, youth and adulthood. In the *Amadís*, the initial situation is dedicated to the preparation and formation of the future hero, including the prophecy as a premonition of the chivalric career of Fame, which forms the skeleton of the narrative.

In *El V*, as in the *Amadís*, the correlated "arms and love" theme forms a leitmotif which runs through the whole narrative and follows the same structural exposition as in the *Amadís*, where these correlations which follow the "potential" are equal to the *Proemio*, where the chivalric moral didactic code is presented. The "act" includes the lessons to Pero Niño from the *ayo* and the prophecy as given by the Italian traveller to Inés Lasa the count of Buelna's mother. The "power" refers to the actual battle scenes in the central part of the

narrative. The "being" then, refers to the achievement of Fame and the marriage of Pero Niño to Beatriz which fulfils the promise of the "arms and love" theme presented in the *Proemio*. The compensation for loyalty to the King and being a loyal lover is Fame and Victory. The formula for Fame, the essence of the doctrines presented in the Proemio is subsequently followed by Pero Niño in order to become a hero. Pero Niño goes through the steps of *the potential, the action, the power and the being* to gain Fame.

The *Proemio* in *El V* reflects this growth pattern, but the words used to mark the four stages are different.

En comienzo, de qualquier obra, quatro cosas son: ynquirir z acatar la causa material, z la hefestiva, z la formal, e la final; porque el oydor sienpre deve buscar e querer quien es el autor, e de qué obra trata, z cómo en ella trata, e a qué fin, e a qué provecho (1/19; 2/1)

The definition of the four terms is also given:

La causa material en aquesta obra e ofiçio e arte de caballería. La causa suficiẽte es quiẽn la hizo. La causa formal es loar los fechos de vn buen cauallero. La causa final es prouecho (2/1-4)

The part of *Amadís* considered "potential" follows the heroes' steps, and this "potential" relates the adventures of *Amadís*, as a knight errant, in three sequences. The first sequence is negative, but, battling a slow ascent, as he overcomes one difficulty after another, Amadís reaches the peak with a positive ending. So, Amadís, as the Doncel del Mar, who has parted in search of Fame without clear knowledge of his lineage, and has to overcome the three series of difficulties in the first book (ordered by their degree of importance) reaches the qualification of "*mas valiente caballero*".

Pero Niño, like Amadís, is in a negative situation from the beginning, because of the fall in rank of the Niño family, which had been much higher as the *ayo* alludes to in the lessons:

Hijo, parad mientes cómo soys de grand linaje, e cómo aquella rueda del mundo que nunca está queda, nin dexa ser sienpre las cosas en buen estado, abaxó el vuestro muy honrado linage, e de los grandes fizo pequeños, e de los altos fizo baxos e pobres (64/11-15)

and the challenge the "*ayo*" gives Pero Niño:

E a vós conviene pugnar e travaxar por tornar en aquel estado, e avn por pasar de grandeza e de nobleza aquellos donde vós venides. Ca non es maravilla paresçer el hombre a su padre en mantener aquel estado que él dexó, porque aquello ganado lo falló, mas es mucho de loar pasar a todos aquellos donde él viene, e cobrar mayor lugar (64/15-20)

Through the many battles where Pero Niño confronts vices and overcomes them, one by one, he ascends in Fame. Like Amadís, Pero Niño sets out in search of Fame. However, whereas the Doncel del Mar did not know of his lineage, Pero Niño has only a vague, and not specifically clarified reference.

Pero Niño has three different geographical areas in which he has to overcome the battles, which correspond to the Mediterranean, to England and to France. At the end of his trials, he has fought in the three most important countries in the European Crusades and has reached Fame through his victories. His compensation is not only being considered the "most valiant knight" but by being invested as a knight. Pero Niño also is compensated by the recognition of his marriage. This is along the theme of arms and love and, in hero worship literature, the compensation for the best knight.

Both Amadís and Pero Niño began on a low plane and have moved upwards. Both have gained respect for their name and regained a sense of lineage in the process, turning this negative initial situation into a positive one. The basic structural patterns coincide between *El V* and *Amadís* in the reference to numbers in the three by four patterns and in the arms and love themes. This is another allusion to a pre-existing pattern, which both Games and Montalvo used to structure their chivalric narratives.

Historical Heroes

During the fifteenth century, various types of historiographical narratives were written, many reflecting different sets of influences. *El V* is perhaps one of the most complex narratives of chivalric prose forms negotiated in the Iberian Peninsula at the time: within the historical genre, the narrative historical prose about Don Pero Niño also contains many traditional epic and legendary chivalric themes. Recent studies on the books of chivalry prevalent in the sixteenth century have categorised the common chivalric motives found in them. This particular study compares the themes woven into the chivalric prose in *El V* written a century earlier before the invention of the printing press and consequently before the genre became a more formulaic novel.

The count of Buelna asked one Gutierre Díez de Games to narrate his life, roughly between the years of 1399 to 1436. This time period fills a gap in the production of royal chronicles where, if there had been any official chronicles, the Díez de Games manuscript leads us to believe that the captain's deeds would have been included. A gap in the royal chronicles is a logical reason why Don Pero Niño would commend Games to tout his "un-chronicled" adventures as if they were to be included in the official historical chronicles. What is not surprising, then, is that the actual historical chivalric narrative, as corroborated in

other chronicles, is sparse. The differences between early medieval epic hero characteristics and those found in XVI best-seller books of chivalry show a slight shift in author usage of chivalric characteristics in Spain from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries. By looking at which specific chivalric ingredients Games chose to narrate the Mediterranean and Atlantic campaigns where it is understood the count participated, as seen in Book Two, a comparison with those common characteristics in Spain during the fifteenth century and those in the sixteenth century might give us a clue as to when *El V* was written, or re-written.

At the end of *El V*, supposedly finished in 1435, the “book” as commended to Games by Pero Niño, was to be placed in the chapel. The original manuscript has never been found, if it ever existed. Recent research has shown a court scrivener named Díaz de Games was in service at the time *El V* could have been originally sketched, or even written out.³⁰ By measuring which of these characteristics appear in the three books of *El V* and how they are distributed, some answers as to how the author conceived his task of narrating the chivalric deeds of Don Pero Niño could be discovered. Furthermore, the enigmas as to whether the late fifteenth century manuscript is possibly the first one or whether there is more than one author involved in the elaboration of the manuscript might be revealed.

If we compare the chivalric references used within the chronicle, however, to others in existence at the same time, it might be possible to discern at what point during the fifteenth century the narrative was written, or if the manuscript we have from the sixteenth century is the final compilation of many attempts to edit a text recounting the life of Don Pero Niño. Recently, many lists of medieval chivalric elements compiled for literary sources which stretch from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Middle Ages and up to the sixteenth century, which is to say roughly from the Epic poems up through Don Quijote, have provided an

excellent means of tracking the changes in chivalric references and could help critics discern better when Games, or other authors, wrote the different parts of *El V*.

One recent work, “*Heroes*” by Angel Grimalte³¹ has compared the chivalric characteristics of three Spanish literary figures: from the epic poem, *El Cid*, *Amadís*, representative of the books of chivalry of the time, and *Don Quijote*, from the sixteenth century novel. A careful scrutiny of the characteristics of each, selecting only the ones in common with *El V*, should help to decipher which characteristics were popular and/or in existence at the time of the writing of *El V*, and perhaps an approximation of chivalric characteristic borrowing can be chartered. Some personal characteristics which Pero Niño demonstrates and which are *not* in common with *El Cid* are:

Pero Niño

- does not cry
- is stoic as he bears his pain
- does not always turn in his booty to the King

The chivalric characteristics found in *El V* which *are* common in *Amadís* are few, as both:

- kill dragons or monsters (el javalí, Domaos)
- have an unclear family background
- have to prove themselves through trials to their courtly lovers.

Some chivalric characteristics which the count of Buelna has in common with Don Quijote are that both:

- seek adventure for adventure’s sake
- make decisions on a whim or for themselves
- have self-contained adventures **not** linked to the overall picture.

However, the characteristic which Pero Niño does *not* have in common with Don Quijote as a book of chivalry are that Pero Niño:

does *not* do penance for a lover
is not idealistic
does not suffer humiliations for his lover.

As there are some chivalric characteristics in common with all chivalric narratives, by tracing where these particular characteristics appear in the narrative of *El V* we might be able to discover how Games executed the final form of the structure as we know it today and perhaps why certain characteristics were chosen for specific adventures within the telling of the count's select vitae.

Upon observing this placement of certain chivalric characteristics within *El V*, I have discerned some patterns. The Biblical and Classical material used in the elaboration of the narrative precedes the discussions on knighthood, in general. Usually, the borrowed Classical material which appears in one chapter is followed by another chapter written in the style of a *manual about knighthood* (Book One). However, the specific references to Pero Niño's family appear tucked into a chapter on general history of the time and are written in a *style of a chronicle* (Book One). The epic hero characteristics, in reference to the stages a hero follows in life, such as first arms, first blood, first love, usually appear as fully developed, self-standing episodes in a separate chapter. These self-standing episodes are carefully placed throughout Books One, Two and Three in *El V*.

Although there are no enchantments or fantastic episodes in Book Two, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end, there are three clusters of episodes where Pero Niño is in danger and evokes God and the Virgin Mary. Miraculously, the count is immediately saved from danger or the impending dangerous circumstances disappear. Coinciding with these "miraculous" episodes, there are also clustered dialogues, short exchanges which appear at historical moments in the narration of the Mediterranean Campaigns and which just

happen to be those criticised by other contemporary chroniclers or, where in legal documents, Pero Niño is reflected to have had legal problems during that period. This technique, then, is tantamount to a “whitewashing” of an image, an obliteration of “negative traces, a counter attack to a “black legend”.

Interestingly enough, the sparse use of dialogue in the episodes strangely coincides with the portrayal of the characteristics of a perfect knight based on the cardinal virtues and reinforces the unmarred description of Pero Niño through his actions. Other chivalric characteristics, similar to those in the sixteenth century books of chivalry, independent actions, decisions, or acting upon a whim, appear scattered in and among both the Mediterranean and Atlantic military campaigns and tournaments in Books Two and Three. The existence of open-ended episodes, a reflection of chivalric writing about fifty years later than 1446, (the date written in the final line of the last book in *El V*, Book Three), might indicate a different mentality and approach to the development of chivalric literature by the author, and perhaps added at a later date.

After revising the chivalric selections used by the chosen author, whoever he may be, it seems that there might indeed have been an original document completed by Games in 1446, and deposited in the church in the home town of the count, as stated in his will. However, the first manuscript found, as we know it, is a document written perhaps a half a century later, reflecting some of the sixteenth century ideals and probably not written by Pero Niño’s Standard Bearer, and perhaps by another Games we have yet to identify.

In summary, many of the heroic epic characteristics seen so far in *El V* are signet episodes for all chivalric narrative. *When* these characteristics were set down is important as the epic behaviour coincides with a gap in royal chronicles as well as at moments when no

one would ever know what was said or done. The placement of these specific characteristics belies a particular scheme was used by the author to reflect Don Pero Niño in the mirror of the perfect hero, coincidentally responding to a chronological blank in royal historiography.

The actual sentimental and ideological content of chivalric literature,³² reflected in the “arms and love” theme, remains the same as it develops from the thirteenth century on, even though the authors incorporate more contemporary styles in response to the changing literary schemes.

Banquet Scenes, Victuals and Water

As seen in previous chapters, García Gual sees the maintenance of chivalric ideals and form as a desire to stonewall time, a nostalgia for a world beyond economic means; a revival of a heroic feudalism against the national monarchic rule, and a mythical refuge.³³ One such theme common to books of chivalry and chivalric narrative, in general, is that of food being served in either open or closed spaces, usually palatial or in the countryside and a reflection of luxury³⁴. A common episode concerning victuals which appears in chivalric narrative in *La Vulgata* and Iberian chivalric historiography up through the ages is the banquet scene. The banquet scenes in *El V* each seem to have a specific function within the whole as conceived by the author.

The banquet scene found in the *mester de clerecía*, *Libro de Apolonio*, books of chivalry and the Arthurian tradition³⁵ respond to a characteristic scene generally associated with the *Romancero*. The origin of this literary feast harkens back to the French Arthurian legends. Also echoed in “Zifar”, there are different versions in the story of Tristán, the Vatican Bible, in “Lanzarote”, two textual references from José de Artimea, and also adaptations of the leitmotif in “*Amadis de Gaula*”.³⁶ Many of the settings written in Castilian

Spanish are usually a banquet for royalty as part of an *exemplum*. There are victuals consumed in closed spaces, like the palace, and also in open spaces, as in the countryside. With reference to *El V*, in the chapter “Como fué Pero Niño a ver al almirante de Franzia, e a madama el almiralla”,³⁷ there is a palace scene which echoes that of the books of chivalry where not only food and victuals are discussed, but also typical leitmotifs belonging to chivalric narrative.

The chapter begins with a description of Pero Niño, famous for reflecting the virtues a charming knight should have as a nobleman: ‘E Pero Niño todas las buenas enseñanzas e gentilezas le benía por nature, e siempre vsó dellas en quanto él vibió; e aún bibe oy su fama, e vivirá entre los caballeros e entre los nobles.’³⁸

Pero Niño, a famous captain by that time, was in Roán, Arnao de Tria, almirante de França ‘Envió rogar al capitán Pero Niño que le vuese ber;’³⁹ at his palace in Xirafontaine for a few days. At this point, Games employs the common chivalric “leitmotif” of “the most beautiful woman in the kingdom”. In *El V*, she is the admiral’s wife, the daughter of ‘señor de Belangas: la más fermosa dueña que entonze abía en Franzia: hera de la mayor Casa y linaxe que avía en Normandía.’⁴⁰ Another “leitmotif” is of “order”, associated with good knights and nobility, as discussed previously in Chapter Five, is introduced yet once again through the daily routine of the madama Belangas: ‘Contarvos he la horden e la regla que la señora tenía’,⁴¹ from the early morning through lunch, the required siesta, an afternoon of falconry, the evening meal, followed by dancing, to when everyone retires at the accustomed hour.

As in the “*Amadis*”, the first banquet described takes place in the palace, a closed space, and tables set with ‘Los manjares, muy dibersos e muchos, e de muchos buenos adovos, de todas las biandas de carnes, e pescados, e frutas según el día que hera’.⁴² After

mentioning the victuals, Games recalls the moral virtue of “Temperance”, which all nobility should exhibit at mealtime: ‘En tanto que durava el comer, el que supiese hablar, teniendo tenperanza, e guardando cortesía’.⁴³ Within the same line, Games reminds the reader of the major leitmotif common in epic poems, chronicles and books chivalry: ‘en armas e en amores, buen lugar tenía de lo decir e de ser escuchado y bien respondido, e satisfecha su yntençión’.⁴⁴

The admiral and his wife, Madama Xirafontaina, and Pero Niño, listen to minstrel music, and ‘En tanto, había juglares que tañían graciosos estrumentos de manos. La bendición dicha e las tablas alzadas, venían los mestrieres,⁴⁵ e danzava madama con Pero Niño, e cada uno de los suyos con una damisela’.⁴⁶ The dancing after the generous lunch lasts for an hour and then ‘Acavada la danza, dava paz Madama al capitán e cada uno a la suya con quién avía danzado. E traían el espeçía, e davan vino, e iban a dormir la siesta’.⁴⁷ After an afternoon of falconry on horseback, another meal was held in an open space, a field where many other dishes typical of a country outing were served: ‘e sacavan gallinas e perdizes fianbres, e frutas, e comían e bebían todos’.⁴⁸ After more singing on the way back to the palace, the knights and ladies have their evening meal, a walk outside and upon returning to the palace once again, the minstrels play, wine and fruit are served and everyone retires to their rooms. Here, Games harks again on the leitmotif of “order” in life to express that peace, tranquility and good manners come to those who keep an orderly life such as that of madama Belangas: ‘Esta ordenanza que os he dicho se tenía todos los días, en cada tiempo segúnd conviene, todas las vezes que el capitán allí venía, e otros, segúnd sus estados’.⁴⁹

As if it were an echo of Arthurian feasts, the association of food with an extra-marital affair is found in *El V*, but as Durán has noted, fleetingly is extra marital romance treated in

Castilian narrative and glossed over with an acceptable Christian explanation: ‘E Pero Niño fué tan amado a Buena parte de madama, por las bondades que en él veyá, que fablava ta con él algo de su fazienda’.⁵⁰ The relationship appears to be courtly. In accordance with much of the chivalric narrative, there is neither a written legacy which proves this banquet was attended by Pero Niño nor proof of a relationship with “madama Bellangas”. This scene seems to be another gratuitous one, unless the author sees a need for a courtly ‘aside’ as a required element in the “Tratado” Games declared he wrote at the request of the count of Buelna.

Not only does the sentimental and ideological content of Iberian peninsula chivalric literature represent heroic elements, but also each society possesses a heroic literature which has evolved century by century. In *El V*, the nostalgia or the desire to stop time is a recreation of the ideals necessary to situate Pero Niño in the hero-worship narrative.⁵¹ As seen in this chapter, the themes repeated in Spanish chivalric literature stem from the fusion effected by Chrétien mentioned in Chapter One. In line with this chivalric narrative, in *El V*, there are the key names, and underlying Christian themes in the common historiographical narrative, as well as key structures to be found in Spanish literature as can be seen on a time line of developments as they occurred;⁵² first, with the common historiographical chivalric elements and then, with the comparable chivalric structures.

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CHAPTER EIGHT: CLASSIFICATION CONSIDERATIONS

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CLASSIFICATION CONSIDERATIONS

Classification considerations

Published first under the name "chronicle" in the eighteenth century, *El V*¹ has been classified in many different ways since by editors and literary critics alike. Funnily enough, however, *El V* was labelled "chronicle" by Don Eugenio Llaguno de Amirola and the word does not appear associated with *El V* before that date. This personal choice adds to the confusion between chronicle and fiction, which, I believe, has been a basic problem for many critics and authors of anthologies who have had difficulty categorising *El V* as a particular genre under that of historiography. A historical understanding of these terms is necessary in order to reconsider any classification.

The classification used by critics after the seventeenth century seems to accept history as a narration of true events, like a science, 'fiction', then, has been generally considered to be the narration of fantastic situations, falsehoods, or untruths, inasmuch as they are accepted as invented. Conversely, while *El V* relates historical events and mentions real names, it also includes narratives of dubious historical authenticity.² Beltrán has recently published theories on the content of the work and has demonstrated where the criteria used by Games to structure the composition of *El V*, is basically novelesque, but, in Beltrán's opinion, not novelesque enough to stop considering the chronicle as historical.³

In summary, it has been difficult to classify *El V* for several reasons. On the one hand, the nineteenth century classification of "history" versus "fiction" has formed the opinions of

literary critics for many decades. On the other, the complex nature of *El V* has led other critics to distinguish and separate fictional themes from historical and traditional elements. Also, a re-evaluation of the creative process behind medieval narrative is necessary for further research and for a clearer view of the elements found in *El V*.

The process of elaboration

In the fifteenth century, when *El V* was supposedly finished in manuscript form, criticism of the different genres also existed from historians at the time. Pérez de Guzmán y Hernando del Pulgar insisted on condemning what they themselves did not write: history of the "other" kind, those books of chivalry that they considered fantasies and inventions. Their own books, showing how "history" was conceived up to that point, were, as we have seen in chapter one, not faithful representations. However, what is important is that Pérez de Guzmán and Hernando del Pulgar were aware of the differences between verisimilitude in the retelling of historical events, and the pure invention of such moments as seen in books of chivalry in lieu of veritable information.⁴ A few decades later, their distinction was further refined by Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo.

If one accepts that "history" does not necessarily refer to "the whole truth", but, "a" truth, then the idea of "history" in a "chronicle" changes. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo, in his introduction to *Amadís de Gaula*,⁵ further defines history by dividing those books considered "historical" into three categories: books of chivalry,⁶ chronicles about entire kingdoms; and general, as well as individual stories. He described them in the following manner:

1.- *Historia de afición* (reading for enthusiasts) such as the "*Crónica Troyana*" and similar texts inspired by the idea of producing admiration for ancient Greek and Trojan

battles and adventures on horseback. In *El V*, as in the Alphonsine Chronicles, the ancient and Greek and Trojan heroes from the war scenes are used as exemplary warriors "*bellatores*" to be emulated by the knights.

2.- *True stories or those of relative credibility*, are, according to the classical model of Tito Livio, now that we are in the Renaissance, to heighten the feeling of nationalism and its moral values, together with the presentation of veritable facts. The classical mode of Tito Livio also appears in *El V*. This model is used to augment the nationalistic feeling necessary to propagandistic narrative, like that used to hail the Reconquest.

3.- *Invented stories: Amadís, Explanadian*; the novels of chivalry in general, which are "more falsehood than chronicles". These stories are considered fiction, far from representing factual truths, but are interesting to this study because they also include admirable circumstances "beyond Mother Nature's order" which is to say, the fantastic and the marvellous. They also present good *exempla*, doctrines and ideals. What is important is that this last category, albeit dealing with fantastic or marvellous circumstances, is not exempt from the presentation of Christian ideals through exempla and doctrine. Montalvo included these Christian ideals in *Amadís*, as well as the fantastic elements.

The narrative of the conde de Buelna and the chronicles referred to in the "invented stories" have not been considered to be one and the same by literary critics. Narratives labelled "chronicles" belonging to the fifteenth century, like *El V*, have been categorised as "historical" meaning narratives taken from annals, diaries and other supposedly "*fidedigna*" sources of factual information. There is a coincidence in the name "chronicle" given to some "*libros de caballerías*" that, in emulation of the organised work, "chronicle"; the author refers to his book of fiction as a "chronicle". If the different motives, themes and elements in *El V*

are considered, the chronicle ceases to be a concept limited to a factual category, could and conceivably belong to all three categories. The original author, Games, has structured the narrative in *El V* around a specific moral-didactic code. The fantastic elements that do exist are referred to in *El V*, as an aside, usually, but explained scientifically. The word "chronicle" added to *El V*, then, instead of being factual, could reflect the ideal of "chronicle" used as a term in book of chivalry.

One century later, further consideration of the value behind the different historical genres, chronicles, books and novels of chivalry by Cervantes was underlined in the controversial doctrinal dialogue between the canon and the priest in Chapters XLIX and L in *Don Quijote*.⁷ On the one hand, their argument stems from the differences seen by the canon in reference to the veracity and value of historical books in general.⁸ On the other, the priest distinguishes between the moral exemplarity to be found in the historical books of the Bible⁹ or in Castilian chronicles, written about national heroes, such as *El Cid*, *Fernán González* and the non-moral chivalresque fantasies such as "*Félix Marte de Hircania*".¹⁰ This distinction leaves the chronicle, *El V*, according to both the canon and the priest, as historical and, as further classified by the priest, as not invented, not a book of chivalry dealing with fantasies.

The important point here, though, brought up by Alberto Sánchez, is that Cervantes, in the words of *Don Quijote*, defends both categories in virtue of being heroic and altruistic, as all the historical books (all three categories) personify human behaviour which is worthy of being emulated, and this one virtue is what counts in the long run.¹¹ In the end, it is Cervantes, as a literary critic of his time, who has posed a hypothesis that helps us to understand how "history" is fiction. In my opinion, this argument can help us to understand how the narrative of the count of Buelna can represent all three of Montalvo's categories in

fiction as well; but also belongs in the third category. The resulting sum of motives, historical examples, scholastic distinctions and doctrine illustrated from the Scriptures, also supporting chivalresque themes, shows that *El V* leans closer to being a book of chivalry than an historical account of a knight's life in the sense of a diary, annal, or historical chronology. It is also close to being a "*crónica histórica caballeresca*".

Attempts at Classification

The recent opinions of literary critics¹² have challenged the categorisation of many fifteenth century Spanish chivalric narratives. This brings to light the necessity for further scrutiny of the themes, motives and intention used by Games, the author of *El V*, in order to re-assess its character. First, a look at how *El V* has been classified will help us understand how some literary critics have seen it to date.

According to Enrique Toral Peñaranda, there are four "*crónicas particulares*" about individuals in the fifteenth century. Those chronicles are: *Jaén y el Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*; that of Don Alvaro de Luna, *Condestable de Castilla*; the *Maestro de Santiago* and *El V*.¹³ Some literary critics have classified *El V* as a biography,¹⁴ but with a preceding modifier before the word "biography" to define nuances. Madelaine Pardo¹⁵ refers to *El V* as a novelesque genre, which is romanesque in nature, as opposed to being sentimental. R.B. Tate declares *El V* a biography as a pretext used by Games to present the moral chivalric code.¹⁶ With almost an opposite point of view, Franco Meregelli refers to the biography as "humanistic".¹⁷ Flora Rueda¹⁸ prefers the term "*cronica biografada*", after reminding us that the fantastic elements in *El V* keep it from being classified as a "*biografía de caballeros*", as de Riquer does, using *El V* as a perfect example.¹⁹ For Rubio Tovar, *El V* is

a chronicle *and* a biography which pretends to be a doctrine on chivalry by narrating the life of Don Pero Niño, and constitutes a perfect example for knights to follow.²⁰

These classifications are similar to each other but each one reflects a different focus. As the other classifications for *El V* mentioned elsewhere in this study, all the classifications, as a group, are confusing. The words "chronicle" and biography keep reappearing in reference to the title, *Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna* and the chronological format of narrative about the knight errant, emphasising his lineage. Indeed, the complex nature of the narrative is problematic. Actually, in part, all of these assessments reflect a correct appreciation of the novelesque elements common to both historiographical and fictional narrative.

The complex nature of *El V* is seen by Beltrán as falling somewhere between historiographic and fictional narrative. This could be a possible future category, but, with the present classification, it seems to be a reciprocal prejudice. When *El V* is categorised as historiography, there is a high degree of fiction, meaning novelesque elements, and when categorised as novelesque it is not considered all fictional for the degree of historiographic elements *El V* contains, and also for the title "*Crónica*".

As a narrative from a time when most of the fiction and historiography shared common techniques, the reciprocity is only beneficial, as each genre still borrows from the other. The context of each genre needs to be re-conceptualised perhaps as many types of narratives working together in order to promote a clearer idea of one categorization. In this sense, then, *El V* can be seen as a whole product and consequential to its time.

It is highly significant that Games classified his own narrative, as "*libro*" and not "*crónica*", which was a word that he used to distinguish the "chronicles" about the peninsular

kings, from his own narrative about Pero Niño. In fact, not until the eighteenth century is there an edition²¹ of *El V* under the title of "chronicle" and, by then, Llaguno had probably published his edition titled *Crónica de Don Pero Niño*²² where he omitted the title *El V*, and proposed the work as a "chronicle". Lemcke,²³ however, presents the narrative as one which addresses the duties of a Knight and includes a poem dedicated to Doña Constanza, appealing to the fictional, amorous character of the book. The inclusion of the poem shows Lemcke understood the conventional necessity for a knight to write poems to his lady as part of the knights-errants' duties.

Other literary critics try to place *El V* within a wider framework. Ramón Iglesia,²⁴ in the introduction to his edition, reflects upon the treatment of the image of Pero Niño in *El V* as a representative work of the slow change from divine content and worship in narrative towards a more human, singular approach. The doctrinal framework and chivalric code maintained by Games keeps *El V* from what Iglesias dubs "an insistent and deforming adulation",²⁵ which is the great danger inherent in biographies prepared upon request fall into.

Ticknor classifies *El V* as a chronicle of a "persona notable" and considers it as one of "*crónicas caballerescas*" like those of "*El Rey Don Rodrigo y la destrucción de España*". Gayangos, on the other hand, was going to include *El V* as a book of chivalry in his catalogue of books on chivalry in Spanish and Portuguese up to the year 1800. We do not know why, but Gayangos considered categorizing *El V* as a book of chivalry, but finally desisted from doing so. Oddly enough, the intention was there.

As one can see, the opinions about how to classify *El V* run the whole gamut from Llaguno, (as historical) to Gayangos, (as a book of chivalry) as remarked by Beltrán.²⁶ These classifications made further research difficult. If *El V* is read without a pre-conceived idea of

a classification in mind, the historiographic and the novelesque elements and substructural systems will speak for themselves. Reading the text without pre-classifying it as pertaining to any one genre might reveal many substructural systems similar to European books of chivalry in common and later peninsular novels.

Approaches to categorisation

Another approach to narrowing the focus of classification approximating the original intention of Games, is by isolating those elements traditionally considered chivalric which, slowly but surely, began to take on many other elements, motives and themes found co-existing in other genres, up into the fifteenth century. A recent study has made it possible to compare *El V* with other narratives which are considered chivalric and even narrow down which type of chivalric narrative *El V* could possibly pertain to.²⁷

After selecting texts which have the elements recognised as chivalric in common, Viña Liste divided the types of texts in which chivalric elements are found into seven groups: 1) *Historiografía literaturizada y leyendas relacionadas con la historia*; 2) *Mitologías y leyendas clásicas*; 3) *Leyendas artúricas y materia de Bretaña*; 4) *Epica y romances franceses*; 5) *Libros españoles autóctonos*; 6) *Leyendas cristianas y hagiográficas* and 7) *Manuales doctrinales*.²⁸

Again, *El V*, much like chivalric narrative, harbours various elements which are shared with all the categories. If one category were to be chosen in order to define which type of chivalric narrative prose *El V* would be classified as, perhaps the explanation given by the author for the first category fits the peculiarity of the narrative about the count of Buelna the best:

Victoria Cirlot ha visto cómo, desde Chétriën de Troyes, se legitimó la proyección hacia el pasado de formas institucionales y culturales

propias de la época del escritor, y por ello resulta explicable que héroes como Eneas o Edipo se encuentren calificados en los romans como "caballeros corteses", lo mismo que Hércules o Alejandro Magno, e incluso el apóstol Santiago, en la obra del rey Alfonso X".²⁹

Of the other books listed by Viña Liste as belonging to this category, two of them share elements representative of other categories; namely "Epica y Romances franceses" (Flores y Blancaflor) and "Leyendas cristianas y hagiográficas" (Historia del Noble Vespasiano).³⁰ *El V* would also share many elements from other categories. For example, the structural system of *El V* has borrowed not only from Alphonsine chronicles but more so from the Arthurian cycle. Epic elements exist and the Christian legends form a substructure complemented by the strong moral-didactic nature of the narrative. As Cirlot has made patent in the phrase above, to the medieval mind, all of these elements were equal upon considering the heroes Eneas, Edipo, Hércules, Alejandro Magno, Santiago, and many others, not just those mentioned in *El V*, all "caballeros corteses".

This example serves the purpose of showing how difficult it is to classify a narrative of chivalric theme with strong echoes from many different genres. Although *El V* is not included by Viña Liste within these categories (perhaps due to its complexity), Viña Liste does refer to the chivalric elements in historiographic prose, such as chronicles and other "biographies" [like *El V*], describing the protagonists as knights de "carne y hueso", incarnated, and personified". To Viña Liste's suggestion that a reclassification of chivalric literature is necessary, I agree, but also, at the same time, I suggest even a wider gamut of categories is needed to differentiate among the many

narratives, not only in Spain, but within much wider European and other known confines of chivalric literature in existence at the time *El V* was written.

***El Victorial* as chivalric prose**

Any one of several possible approaches to the study of *El V* requires the establishment of a classification in order to relate its various elements of a framework to a whole. As the narrative is chivalric, a clear definition of a specific chivalric is imperative. A review of the elements in *El V*, as compared to those common to other narratives, is necessary.

The following elements are requisites for the determination of the chivalric genre of fiction, according to Viña Lista, and which make up the whole of the narrative: *hagiografía; épica juglaresca; cronica histórica; relatos históricos, romancero, leyendas, cristianos, libros de aventuras y viajes, repertorios moralistas, "carácter ejemplar de tratados doctrinales"*.³¹ What is important to point out, however, is that this genre is a hybrid. The discussion of all these points, which do appear in *El V*, has been touched upon within the context of this study. As well, some of these same points have been discussed by literary critics: each point in a context formed by the individual focus.

It is significant to see just how Games has used these elements to form the varied substructures within *El V*. As previously seen in Chapter One linked to the Christian-Moslem conflict, the most outstanding "*hagiographical*" element is the reference to the apostle Santiago. There are many elements from the "*épica juglaresca*" which form an interesting oral-folklore substructure of support for the chivalric theme. The "rite of

passage” for a young knight is the slaughter of a type of monster. The author has a pubescent Pero Niño kill a boar and fight with the giant, Domao: two examples of the proof of virility common to epic substructures.

The word "*crónica histórica*", I believe, for the textual content of *El V*, is better referred to as "*crónica*", or "*novelesque chronicle*", as there are other types of chronicles which are more like annals and would fit this term better. How these historical elements are changed around and exactly how little history really supports the narrative in *El V* are issues which Beltrán has discussed in depth.³² The ways in which Games changed the text to glorify Pero Niño were discussed in the first two chapters of this project. The elements from "*relatos folklóricos*" create a series of references within the text which help Games fill in the chivalric structures of didactic moral structures.

Both references to "*romancero*" and "*leyendas cristianas*", which are a required theme in Celtic literature, in *El V*, help to fill out the moral-didactic message. Those travel themes and elements from "*libros de aventuras y viajes*", also a required theme in Celtic literature, and found in *El V*, serve as a basis for propaganda concerning the extent of the European Crusades. Also, the "*repertorios moralistas*" provide a solid structure for the moral-didactic chivalric theme. Above all, the "*carácter ejemplar de tratados doctrinales*" in *El V* provides the framework for the *Proemio*, the lessons to Pero Niño from the *ayo* and the basis for the allegory used throughout the adventures to create a mirror of Christian life for Pero Niño. In general terms, the chivalric genre is also defined by Viña Liste as a transformation of the "*roman courtois*", the Arthurian narrative and the "*romance sentimental*".

Indeed, in *El V*, these three fictional genres, chivalric, “*roman courtois*” and “*romance sentimental*”, are interwoven, in echo of Chrétien de Troyes, in such a way as to make the actual pulling of the different “*roman courtois*”, Arthurian and sentimental “strings” to undo the tapestry woven by Games quite difficult. Those elements, which have neither been dealt with earlier by other literary critics, nor assigned a specific chivalrous classification, are contained in the following chapter. Even though not all of the characteristics have been fully researched, and as it is impossible to address all the elements within the confines of this project, only some examples which support the purpose of re-classification and a few of the others which have been overlooked, are included.

Definition of terms

In order to show how *El V*, like other historiographic and chivalric narratives, reflects important historical moments as spiritual order and fiction, it is essential to examine definitions of history, chronicles and fiction as understood during the Middle Ages. Writers, especially authors of treatises, based their definition of history on Cicero's concept of history as “the testimony of the times, the light of truth, the life behind memory, the master of life itself and the messenger of Antiquity”. Curiously enough, this definition could apply to the *Proemio*, itself in *El V*. Pero Niño, as exemplum of the light of truth, based on heroes from Biblical sources, a leader and testimony of a perfect ‘caballero’ as has been recognised and passed down through time. Obviously, this definition is too general, so a deeper meaning must be drawn.

The concept “master of life” suggests that history serves as an example to be followed, a pattern to emulate. This one characteristic helps to explain the otherwise

contradictory definitions of history, as understood in Spanish, at the time Games wrote the narrative about the life of the count of Buelna. "Historia", in Spanish, then and now, does not distinguish between the books based on real circumstances, real names and truthful eye-witness chronological accounts of the past, as does the word "History" in English, which is distinguished from "story", a circumstance which simulates a real situation with either real names or invented ones. Today, the accepted definitions for "history" are: 1) a narrative of events; chronicle; 2) a chronological record of events; 3) the branch of knowledge that records and analyses past events; 4) the events of the past and; 5) an interesting past: a house with a history [<GK. historia>] (American Dictionary, 330). The definition of chronicle differs very little, then; from history.

Commonly, today, we understand a "chronicle" to be: 1) a chronological record of historical events; 2) Chronicles as in the Bible; to record in or in the form of a chronicle [<GK. Khronika, annals>] (American Dictionary, 125). That is, chronicles are records which narrate true circumstances. The definition of chronicle as a narrative representing a chronological order of events does apply to *El V* in that its order of events in the life of Pero Niño follows an order dictated by his life circumstances. What is important here is the chronological order of events which leads literary critics to associate *El V* with the word "chronicle"; the title given to the edition of Llaguno and Amirola, and in return, associated *El V* with the chronicle tradition.

The original Greek meaning of chronicle, refers to simply "annals", emphasizing the chronological character of the writing. The Greek concern of "history", also in its simple form as merely "an interesting past", seems to define the reality of the text in not only Books One, Two and Three of *El V* dealing with the life of Pero Niño, but also the

placement of the *Proemio*, which is more doctrinal in nature; before the other three books.

The definition of 'history' as a narrative of events, or a chronological order of events, would apply only to Books One, Two and Three of *El V*, but where the "biography" of Pero Niño is concerned, as a series of dated materials, would be true if these materials were presented as annals, such as reflected in the study on chapter headings that were mentioned by González earlier in this study.

It is clear that, even today, general definitions in a dictionary of "history" or "chronicle" necessarily refer to facts. As a result, then, the "branch of knowledge that records and analyses past events", as the meaning of history referring to factual events, more closely reflects Aristotle's definition of history in *Poetics*, in which he draws a line between universal poetics and history.

The essence of this theory has been discerned by Alberto Sánchez in a statement by "el bachiller Sansón Carrasco" in *Don Quijote*; where he says: "[It is one thing is to write like a poet, and quite another, is like an historian: the poet may tell or sing of things, not as they were, but as they should have been, and the historian should write about those same things, not as they should be, but as they really were, without adding or taking away anything from the truth]". History, in *El V*, consequently, is not "a branch of knowledge that records and analyses past events" but more like the history in the approach described by Aristotle - not his requisite for history as what things really were if the whole truth was recorded. Whether historians followed Aristotle's advice or not is impossible to verify. However, examples of the same difference between history

and fiction are discussed in the next section which sheds a different light on the definition of what was more viable and what was more fictive.

Structural observations

An observation made by A. van Beysterveldt concerning the changeover between *Amadís*, the old knight errant, and *Esplandián*, a new courtesan, only concerned with "razón" and the religious missions in his life, highlights the process where two completely opposing cultural forms cross in the fifteenth century. Van Beysterveldt notes the growth of the increasingly popular class of "oratores", ("los letrados"), and the declining class of "bellatores", the "knight errant". This same circumstance is reflected in the narrative growth in *El V*: the initiation of the theological chivalric doctrine expounded upon in the *Proemio* incarnated by Pero Niño in the image of a knight errant. This courtly knight follows a courtly love code which, in turn, is followed by another courtesan image of Pero Niño's son. This son is not as preoccupied with the narration of virtuous acts by the medieval knight errant like his father, Pero Niño, but with reflecting his self - defense within a more contemporary courtesan social context.

The last part of the second section, Book Two, and the third part, all of Book Three, of *El V* include form, structure and content found in the sentimental novel, also appreciated by Fernando Gómez as "episodios amorosos, muchos de ellos dignos de ingresar en las páginas de los libros sentimentales, tanto por el amor cortés desplegado en su relación con Jeanette de Bellangues como en los sufrimientos y peligros afrontados por Pero Niño para casarse con doña Beatriz, hija del infante don Juan de

Portugal". The sentimental novel is recognised as a narrative rising up at the very end of the fifteenth century. Once again, this point underlines another coincidence between *El V* and sentimental novels.

Like other chronicles and novels of chivalry, *El V* was written with a purpose commonly found in the spectrum of narrative: to characterise models of warriors for humans to emulate. What *El V* and other historiographic and novelesque narratives, like novels, and books of chivalry, have in common are the doctrinal element that complicates the plot; a human figure for the reader to want to emulate; and an apparent authorial anonymity. The task for the author is to weave a story which represents a thread of truth for the reader. Eliminate verisimilitude by naming the hero "The Green Knight" for example and there is a mirror of a book of chivalry without real names and places which are no longer necessary. Whether real names and real places are used or not used results in one of the basic structural differences between a novel and a book of chivalry. The romance, as defined by Viña Liste: a category to which both 'novel' and 'book' would belong to, I believe, would have to be further classified into two groups, those of real names, and those with invented names.

NOTES AND CITATIONS CHAPTER EIGHT

¹ The first classification of *El Victorial* as a 'chronical' is by don Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola in his edition *Crónica de Don Pero Niño, conde de Buelna*, por Gutierre Díez de Games, su alférez. Colección de las Crónicas y Memorias de los Retes de Castilla, 3. Madrid, Imprenta de Antonio Sancha, 1782.

² Unusual dialogues during high sea storms, Rafael Beltrán, *Un estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la realidad histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de "El Victorial"*. Tesis doctoral dirigida por D. Joan Oleza Simó. Universidad de Valencia, Facultad de Filología, PPU, 1989.

³ Beltrán, Rafael. *El Victorial*, Madrid: Taurus, 1997.

⁴ Caro Baroja, Julio. *Las Falsificaciones de la historia*, Barcelona: Clásicos Hispánicos Noguer, 1976.

⁵ Referring to the 1º libro, Zaragoza, 1508. Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel. *Amadís: Heroísmo mítico cortesano*. Madrid: CUPSA, 1979. Chapter XVIII: "La Intervención de Montalvo", 366-388.

⁶ These three categories are to be later divided into two more categories; according to Martín de Riquer, either books or novels of chivalry whereby the novels are more religious and the books include fantastic elements proper of the Arthurian cycle. *Caballeros Andantes Españoles*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1967.

⁷ Riquer, Martín de. *Aproximación al Quijote*. Barcelona: Teide, 1967.

⁸ "historical books" are all three categories distinguished by Montalvo lumped together here, as Don Quijote referred to them and valued them in Cervantes's book. Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel, Op. cit. 366-388.

⁹ These historical books are called Chronicles I and Chronicles II, another meaning of the word chronicle understood and used in Medieval and Renaissance literature which here is associated with the chronicles of Castilian national heroes.

¹⁰ Sánchez, Alberto. "Historia y Poesía", Don Quijote entre la Historia y el Mito. *Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja*, 564, Pt. 2, Ch 3, 100.

¹¹ Sanchez, Alberto, "Historia y Poesía", Op cit., 101.

¹² Vid. J. D. Foguelquist. *El Amadís y el género de la Historia Fingida*. Studia Humanitatis. Madrid, 1982; Cristina González, *La tercera crónica de Alfonso X: "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar"*. Tamesis. London, 1992; José María Viñas, *Textos medievales de caballerías*. Cátedra. Madrid, 1993.

¹³ Toral, Peñaranda, Enrique. *Jaén y el Condestable Miguel Lucas Iranzo*. Instituto de Estudios Jiennenses (C.S.I.C.) Confederación Española de Centros de Estudios Locales, Diputación Provincial. Jaén, 1987.

¹⁴ Riquer, Martín de. *Vida caballeresca en la España del siglo XV*. Madrid, 1965, 247-248.

¹⁵ Pardo, Madelaine. "Un épisode de *Victorial*: Biographie et élaboration romanesque", *RO*, LXXXV, 269-293.

¹⁶ Tate, R.B. "The Literary *Persona* from Díez de Games to Santa Teresa, *RPh*, vol. XIII, No. 3, Feb. 1960, 298.

¹⁷ Meregelli, Franco. *Cronisti e viaggiatori Castigliani del Quattrocento (1400-1474)*, Milán, 1957, 39.

¹⁸ Riquer, Martín de. *Vida caballeresca en la España del siglo XV*, Madrid. 1965, 247-248.

¹⁹ Rueda Laorga, Flora. *Estudio de los elementos literarios en la Crónica de Don Pero Niño de G. Díez de Games*. Director de la memoria: Dr. D. Juan Fco. López Estrada, catedrático de Literatura de la

Universidad Complutense. Memoria de Licenciatura. Facultad de Filología, Sección de Hispánicas, Subsección de Literatura Hispánica. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. 1980, 3.

²⁰ Rubio Tovar, Joaquín (ed.), *Libros españoles de viajes medievales (selección)*, Madrid, Taurus, 1986, 40.

²¹ Vid, Appendix A: Manuscript Tradition: Ms E: Gutierre Díez de Gamiz (Cruz) Cronica/de/Don Pedro Niño/Conde de buelna,/escrita/por.../su Criado y Alférez (Dibujo). 9/561d8 (olim 1226-1 / D-8) de la Real Academia de la Historia.

²² De Llaguno Amirola, Eugenio. *Crónica de don Pero Niño*, Madrid 1782.

²³ Lemcke Ludwig, G. *Bruchstücke ans den noch ungedruckten theilen des Victorial*, publicado en Marburgo. 1865 (citado en Leipzig por Joan Evans y Carriazo).

²⁴ Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial. Crónica de don Pero Niño*. ed. Ramón Iglesia, Primavera y Flor, Madrid: Parga, Signo, 1936.

²⁵ Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial. Crónica de don Pero Niño*. ed. Ramón Iglesia, Seneca, Madrid: 1940.

²⁶ Beltrán Rafael. *Un estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la Realidad Histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de El Victorial*. (Tesis doctoral presentado por Rafael Beltrán Llavador. dirigida por D. Juan Blecua), Valencia: 1986. 60.

²⁷ It is well-known that of the many genre, recognised in the fifteenth century, chivalric literature began to slowly mix and take on elements and themes from other genres such as hagiography, juglaresque, epic tales, the historical chronicle, an oral tradition of folklore in tales, the romancero, aesthetic Christian legends, books about adventures and travel, miracle tales, moral or doctrinal treatises, and above all, the Arthurian tales and sentimental prose. For further references vid Viña Liste, *Textos Medievales de Caballerías*, Madrid: Cátedra, 1993, 32.

²⁸ Viña Liste, José María. *Textos Medievales de Caballerías*, Madrid: Catedra, 1993, 66-69.

²⁹ Con todo en este libro se han reducido al mínimo las muestras seleccionadas de estricto carácter histórico, pues, de dar cabida a todas las posibles con implicaciones caballerescas, se obtendría con facilidad un libro mucho más voluminoso que éste" Viña Liste, *Textos Medievales*, Op. cit., 67.

³⁰ Viña Liste, José María. *Textos Medievales de Caballería*, Op cit. 28.

³¹ Beltrán Llavador, Rafael, *Un estudio sobre la Biografía Medieval Castellana: la realidad histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de 'El Vitorial'*. Valencia, PPU, 1986.

³² "history"- [>GK. Historia>] *American Dictionary*, 330.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS TO THE
CHAPTERS AND OBJECTIVES

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Initially, in order to perceive the different layers of meaning behind the variegated colours of the tapestry which Games wove about the Perfect Knight incarnate it is important to understand the techniques, themes and leitmotifs associated with the historiographical narrative tradition at the time. However, it is also necessary to identify those novelistic techniques chosen by Games in the retelling of the deeds of the count of Buelna. The strategy of applying a methodology adapted to this research from the basic concept of structuralism to the whole of the chivalric narrative in *El V* was particularly successful in ferreting out in which sections the author employed specific techniques and in which sections historically verifiable truths were incorporated into the chivalric scheme as a whole.

Chapter One: “The Falsification and Transformation of History”

In the first chapter, “The Falsification and Transformation of History”, in order to understand the nature of historiographical material used in chronicles, annals and legal documents, various techniques which historians and chroniclers had been using since Ancient History as a common practice, as imitated by Games, is discussed. This information concerning techniques was separated by a modified structuralist method, and then categorised according to whether the technique involved slight modification of legal data, or more radical transformation. Then, I reorganised this same material into other categories according to the

highest degree of veritable truth to the lowest, or the absence thereof. These categories were then scrutinised and conclusions drawn depending upon the use of a greater or lesser amount of factual proof.

“Falsification of historical documents”

In the introduction, “Falsification of historical documents”, there is a revision of an accrued traditional treatment of historiographical material familiar to Games. In this section, it became evident that, for centuries, historical documents were at the mercy of political interchanges, biased reporting and personal interest. With a renewed slant on the contents within *El V*, a rereading produced the necessity of separating the entity as produced by Games into kernels, each group of which gave rise to the separate angles to focus upon in this study.

“Falsification of History in El Victorial”

The second section of Chapter One, “Falsification of History in *El Victorial*”, is the result of concentrating on the non-historically documented descriptions of Pero Niño’s actions and analysing how Games approached the transformation of a historically documented nobleman into the Perfect Knight incarnate. Several techniques, ranging from quasi-historical to pure fiction, became evident. As a consequence of this analysis, I was able to identify, name and order the techniques applied on the part of the declared author, Games, from the least amount of intervention, to the most elaborate and supposedly most fictive in nature. These techniques, as seen in Figure 1.1: “The Falsification of History by Games through Novelesque Techniques”, are grouped into three sections. The first section, “*Omission*”, referring to a means of falsification, has two categories: “Simple omission of fact” and “Narrator discourse”. The second section, “*Allusion*”, referring to the ways in which

the author transformed the data, has four categories: “Space and Time”, “Added Presence”, “Modification of image” and “Substitution of names”. The third section, “*Transformation*”, referring to the most creative and fictive use of historiographical facts on the part of the author, has three separate categories: “Added Dialogue”, “Direct Dialogue” and “Pure Invention”.

Omission of History in *El Victorial*

The first part of the section, “*Omission of History in El Victorial*”, an isolated study of the silencing of those historically verified facts known about the count of Buelna, “Simple omission”, obliged me to organise the life of Pero Niño on the timeline in Appendix F: “Niño Family Timeline” as set up by Games in the context of *El V.*¹ This variation of dates underlined a second meaning to the story as elaborated by the author and revealed the stages commonly recognised to be those of an epic hero. The second section, “Narrator discourse” where the diversified interventions of the author were tracked, isolates the narrator discourse into various subsections which are the basis for Chapter Six: “Author Type/Reader Response in ‘*El Victorial*’”.

Allusion to History by Games

The section dedicated to the ways in which Games transforms the historiographical narrative, “*Allusion to History by Games*” has much to do with the actual adulation of a hero. In the first subsection, “Space and Time”, the occasion for Pero Niño, as a young boy, to prove his worth before receiving arms, is achieved by a switch in the presentation of historically dated facts. This exchange signalled further use by the author of stages characteristic of books of chivalry. “Added Presence” refers to the historically annotated battle and court scenes in which the royal annals do not record a presence and the author

surreptitiously slipped Pero Niño into the action. More additions were found in “Modification of Image” and “Substitution of Names” revealing a tally of more statistics modified than not.

The Transformation of History by Games

The third major technique used by Games, “*The Transformation of History by Games*”, resulted in specific novelistic techniques chosen by the author whereby the virtuous characteristics and corresponding actions of a perfect knight as incarnated in Pero Niño could be exalted. “Added Dialogue” seemed to occur in the most dangerous or crucial moments of Pero Niño’s actions, usually reflecting one of the seven virtues. “Direct Dialogue” refers to those interventions by the author addressing the reader, also explored to a greater degree in Chapter Six: “Author Type/Reader Response in *El Victorial*, and the actual dialogue from Pero Niño when addressing his contemporaries, also analysed in the “Author Type/Reader Response in *El Victorial*” chapter. The imaginative text, which is really “pure invention”, is the array of delightful descriptive passages for which Games is most famous among literary critics: the famous battles, the romantic scenes and particularly the palace scenes, one of which is analysed further in Chapter Seven, “Themes related to the Classification of *El Victorial*”.

Chapter Two: Literary History as Chivalric Fiction in “*El Victorial*”

After discovering the overwhelming amount of fictive material in *El V* as opposed to what I had assumed was more historically verifiable, there seemed to be a need to analyse why the fictive techniques were used and relate the concept to what a “faithful representation” of historical data meant to Games. This chapter is divided into four stages of comprehension: “*Chivalric History as Reality*”, “*The Result of the Transformation of*

History”, “*References to the Orders of Knights*” and “*Chivalric Numerological References*”. The first stage, “*Chivalric History as Reality*,” refers to the mirror image at play in chivalric narrative, and the second stage “*The Result of the Transformation of History*”, is divided into two sections dealing with fusion and confusion of history: “The Confusion of History and Real Life”, and “The Fusion of History and Fiction”. A third stage, “*References to Orders of Knights*”, deals with knighthood in chivalric narration and the fourth stage, “*Chivalric Numerological References*”, is an observation of how the author has focused on certain numerical themes. This purpose of this chapter is to explain why Games designed *El V* as such.

Chivalric history as a reality

This section revises historical data as seen in a definition of chronicles and annals and a reminder that a likeness to reality is just a mirror of realism which makes the reality more credible. The purpose of this introduction is to present the following chapters in an appropriate light of “faithful representation”.

The Result of the Transformation of History

“The confusion of history and real life in *El Victorial*”

Misunderstanding on the part of the readers, literary critics or historians often presents a slant on how *El V* is perceived. This first section, like that of Chapter Six, “Author Type/Reader Response in *El Victorial*”, comments on perceptions of Pero Niño other than those as suggested by Games. Then, the perceptions of knights and the imitation of knighthood as a reality is broached. Frequently, legends exist based on imaginary characters and the confusion has made history a reality. This is a necessary step to take before discussing the

next concept, the fusion of fiction with reality in the minds of not only the readers, but also the knights of yore as they continued to live in imitation of famous chivalric heroes.

“The fusion of history and fiction”

As a complementary analysis, and in order to demonstrate why Games comfortably borrowed some of the information found in royal chronicles and why so much historiographical material has been added to *El V*, various examples of the fusion of historical fact in contemporary literature and the lives of knights are given. This analysis brings to light the fictive historiographical chivalric narrative which underlines the apparent historically viable facts.

References to orders of knights

A specific historical order of knights in Spain is not associated with Pero Niño. Instead, another chivalric French order is mentioned in *El V*, the “empresa del brazelete”, and Pero Niño is invited to join. By delving a bit further into the position of the invitation within the narrative in *El V*, one can discern that from the reference to the letter sent to Pero Niño by the French order, the count of Buelna’s answer and the ensuing banquet scene are all but one more literary technique Games has employed to underline the fulfilment of a chivalric requirement associated with books of fiction within the wide field of chivalric historiography available to the him. The actual description of the battle of seven against seven impelled me to investigate the possible use of *gematría* in *El V* which gave rise to the next section in this chapter: “Chivalric Numerological References”.

Chivalric Numerological References

Numerical references in *El Victorial*

Most of the *gematría* seems to come from borrowed material from the ancient, Arthurian or contemporary annals referring to thousands of soldiers. In any case, for the chart of numbers as they appear by chapters, in Appendix H: “Numerical scheme by Chapter”, it is clear that the borrowed historiographical material created a basic pattern to be followed. It also appears that this basal numerical structure is a required element in historiographical chivalric narrative Games could not leave out.

General observations

The numbers used in the chapters as seen in the numerical chart and found in the descriptions seem to break down after the heaviest of borrowing from biblical sources, Arthurian material and those of folk legends being particularly noticeable. Consequently, a deduction would be that more than one author had a hand in the organization, or even a re-ordering of *El V*. Logically, material snipped from the royal chronicles would probably include the numbers used by the original chronicler. The other numbers found seem to follow patterns.

Number Seven

Starting with the crest of arms for the Niño family, seven fleur de lis on a gold field, there are a whole series of references which appear in groups of three, groups of four and threes and fours which add up to seven. Appendix H: “Numerical Scheme by Chapter”, shows a definite series of three and four clusters associated with an explanation illustrated with passages in the Bible, or manuals for princes or knights. Again, in comparison to what one traditionally believes *El V* as a “chronicle” or “biography” to be, the sheer amount of

borrowing from historiographical chivalric data underscores the concept of “writing” a “*Tratado*”, as Games has tagged his chivalric narrative, becomes more evident.

Other references referring to seven are the battle of seven against seven, mentioned twice in *El V*, and the seven virtues found in Pero Niño’s character description (the four Cardinal and three Theological ones). These virtues are seen in *El V* as played throughout the characterisation of Pero Niño corresponding to and forming a basal structure for his victorious adventures. The leitmotif of good knight / bad knight comes into play and is also reflected in the deeds of Pero Niño as associated with these virtues. The mere outlining of the chivalric narrative seems to rely on the incarnation of these virtues as seen in Pero Niño, which Games unfolds before our eyes.

“El voto”

Another leitmotif bound to the battle of seven against seven in books of chivalry is that of ‘arms and love’. In the chivalric narrative the vow or promise, like those made in the “*empresa del brazalete*”, are of two types: religious and the symbolical honour, in arms as well as in love. Games intertwines the votos with the jousts fought by Pero Niño and with the separate love stories included in the portion of the count’s life Games has chosen to portray.

In *El V*, Games presents Pero Niño in singular terms: as number one, or the one, throughout the narration. The achievements of Pero Niño are presented as single-handed, his correct judgement accepted over the others, his personal free choice in love, his personal vow, or his own decision. Sometimes overtly, and at other times not, there is a subliminal reference to “the only one who” which is part and parcel of the hero theme: to be number one. After reading *El V*, the overwhelming repetition of the same numbers, (which can be

seen in Appendix H: “Numerical Scheme by Chapter”) makes one think that the number scheme was the backbone which Games used to develop his chivalric narrative.

In light of the use of the reiteration of numbers and a nod towards the use of gematría in *El V* to support not only the religious themes but the chivalric leit-motifs, it is clearer that an imitation of life woven into the prose describing Pero Niño’s adventures is suggestive of a theme in itself. As the number systems mainly appear when factual proof of an episode seems to be missing from historical records and within the most personal moments in *El V*, it could be possible that another hand, not just that of a standard-bearer, were responsible for the more didactic sections, like the *Proemio*, and the borrowed legends spread out over the three books as we read them today.

“El Voto/El Vodo”

Another element common to chivalric narrative is the promise, vow or ‘voto’. The vows in *El V* are linked to the leitmotiv ‘arms and love’. The vows are basically two: religious vows with a promise to go to battle for God, and vows in echo of courtly love which are those proffered by the knight to his lady. In *El V*, Pero Niño not only vows to fight but also joins jousts, or ‘empresas’ in imitation of the ‘voto del caballero’ where a knight must fight to be liberated from his vow.

As for vows in love, the count of Buelna either sends a token from his victorious tourney to his lady, or he receives favours or gifts from his lady to support him in battle in echo of the courtly love tradition. These episodes vary from those when Pero Niño is married to his first wife and then to Beatriz, consequently appearing to be a required leitmotif to be underlined rather than a possible excerpt copied by the author from a chronicle, an annal, a letter or a legal writ concerning the count of Buelna. In fact, the majority of the free-time

spent by Pero Niño is in descriptions in echo of the love part of ‘arms and love’, or appealing for his rights after going into battle under three kings, the ‘arms’ corollary.

Chapter Three: Historical Development of Chivalric Peninsular Narrative

Historical Development of Chivalric Narrative

The revelation of the overwhelming amount of varying historiographical elements in *El V*, contrary to what many historians believe, are not truly historical in the sense understood today. The awareness of how, for centuries, many literary critics and historians have had difficulties in classifying *El V*, led me to organise a series of individually themed essays in Chapters IV: “Chivalric Doctrine in *El Victorial*”, Chapter V: “Models Rites and Symbolism” and Chapter VII: “Themes related to the Classification of *El Victorial*” to understand better how Games perceived his “*Tratado*”.

First, a revision of the meaning of historiographical narrative as recently commented upon by critics of similar historical works is necessary to focus on common elements existing in supposedly “historical” works. The resulting discovery that *El V* reflects the historiographical body as a whole inspired me to clarify a number of narratives *El V* has in common with the fourteenth, fifteenth or even the sixteenth century. The “Common Pool of Chivalric Narrative”, Figure 3.2, as well as Figure 3.3: “Common Chivalric Characteristics”, was added to be referred to in this, as well as the following chapters. Equally important, this chart shows a common pool of genres which Games had at his disposition and pulled from in order to elaborate the deeds of the count of Buelna.

This same framework is necessary to understand the complexity of *El V*, as Games ran the gamut of the historiographical material developed. It is as if the author were trying to

create the most thorough “*tratado*” possible. The reflection of *El V* as a mirror of growth of the historiographical narrative over these centuries helped me to focus on comparing *El V* with different elements as found in both chronicles and books of chivalry in the next section.

El Victorial within Chivalric Narrative

In this section, *El V* is compared with *el Amadis*, *el Zifar*, *la Gran Conquista de Ultramar* and, in definition, other chivalric “romances”. The correlated elements are then related to those in Figure 3.1: “Historical Development of Chivalric Narrative”. Upon revision, it is seen that *El V* has not only moral-didactic chivalric narrative, particularly in the *Proemio*, but also develops non-didactic chivalric narrative throughout the rest of the next three books. These moral characteristics roughly correspond to “*Romances de material historiográfica*”, leading to “*material literaria*” and the non-didactic ones fall under the category of “*Romances de material caballeresca*”, to “*materia sentimental*”. An approach to relating didactic or moralising prose to the general historiographical scheme is the next step in the analysis of *El V* within chivalric narrative.

El Victorial as Chivalric and Didactic Prose

Upon a revision of the selection of elements found in *El V*, it is apparent that Games drew from *repertories moralistas*, enmeshed with those from oral folklore substructures, *romances*, the “*épica juglaresca*”, *leyendas Cristianas*, *crónicas históricas*, and *relatos históricos* to support the chivalric theme in *El V*. This wide variety of elements leads one to the conclusion that not only is *El V* one of the most complete chivalric narratives, if not the most complex, but also that Games was versed in many more contemporary genres, historical material, chivalric narrative and moralising prose than other authors commended to relating the deeds of noblemen. It is clear, then, the complexity of the chivalric material about Pero

Niño in *El V*, together with the overt correlation of moralising prose, indicates that there must be, not one layer of meaning, but several behind the declared “tratado” of Games.

Chapter Four: Chivalric Doctrine in *El Victorial*

Chivalric Doctrine

The complexity of *El V* is such that the motives behind the complete work are not self-evident. The religious doctrine included in the chivalric prose plays an important role in Pero Niño’s life and the specific use of this chivalric doctrine must have been a means through which Games needed to portray the count of Buelna as a hero. How Games elaborated his moralising prose is the aim of this chapter.

As part of the moralising prose, the introduction recalls various elements from ‘La Vulgata’ which signal a will on the part of Games to include Arthurian material, albeit just to criticise some elements from ‘La Vulgata’ as untrue. This material leads to a discussion on how the author used these negative comments to highlight the moralising prose within *El V*.

Another theme in moralising prose is that of the Virgin Mary. A revision of virtue as seen in *El V* introduces the main descriptions of Pero Niño and Beatriz and introduces the theme of the Virgin Mary. The echo of the Virgin Mary is first pronounced in the *Proemio* and reiterated throughout *El V*, especially in the folk legends and the difficult moments during the Maritime campaign as well as those battles on land. In deference to those elements common in *El V* to books of chivalry, the echo of a plea for help to the Virgin makes the “*Tratado*”, as Games conceives it, even more than a simple manual for princes. In books of chivalry, a plea for help produces a miracle. In *El V*, the difficult circumstances where a plea to the Virgin is made, and suddenly, the problem is solved. It is at these particular moments,

which are few and far between, when Pero Niño speaks. The count explains the natural scientific fact behind what appears to be a danger or a miracle worked, and those who were in fear are qualmed. It is as if the Virgin intercedes, but the reality is the triumph of reason and order over irrationality and disorder: two of the main leit-motifs in *El V*.

Moral Values

In an attempt to reach another layer of meaning, this particular chapter the moralising doctrine in *El V* is related to the specific moments in which Pero Niño belies the seven virtues as proposed through the *ayo* in the *Proemio*. The moments of association of any one virtue were difficult as the virtues characteristic of a perfect knight as incarnated in Pero Niño were repetitive and scattered throughout *El V*. Having looked for a specific, clear structure and not finding an exact outline as presented in the *Proemio*, I realised that, perhaps, this very fact indicates that there was more than one author had elaborated the whole ‘Tratado’ as we see it today.

Furthermore, it seems that the first manuscript alluded to in *El V*, supposedly commended by Pero Niño’s grandfather to pen his “story”, was distanced in time from when the count of Buelna engaged Games to continue with the saga of the family and recount his deeds, as hypothesised, to cover the gap existing in the royal chronicles. The previously mentioned change in numerical references could also have influenced any previous organisation of the virtues as pre-meditated in the *Proemio*. This is one more conclusion which denotes more than one hand in the embellishment of *El V*.

‘las potencias del alma’

As a substructure of the virtues mentioned, other leitmotifs, such as “arms and love”, and the excessive use of “Bienandanza” caught my attention and are expounded upon. These

concepts coincided with the leitmotifs of good government/bad government as well as the key concept behind all actions of a good knight: the concept of order which is observed in most of the signet episodes in *El V*.

The Christian Vision of a Knight's Life

An enquiry into the type of dialogues and the frequency of the dialogue by Pero Niño revealed the presence of an overwhelming Christian vision added through the dialogue in this particular chivalric narrative. It was the curiosity as to when the dialogues appeared and what special meaning these dialogues might have which sponsored the investigation into the next two sections: “Biblical References” and the “Allegorical Patterns in *El Victorial*”.

Biblical References

As indications to biblical references were presented as they appear in the Bible, a list of these references in the order in which they appear in *El V*, seemed to be in order, hence, Figure 4.1: Appearance of Biblical References in *El Victorial*. The purpose of this list is to isolate the references from the text, and observe the order to find an association with specific sermons, or semblances with other historiographical chivalric narrative. Having attended the triennial Medieval Chronicles Conferences, and after having met with experts on religion and chronicles in an attempt to find any similarities of this list outside peninsular historiography, to date, it seems that the biblical references are chosen to exemplify the lessons taught to Pero Niño by the *ayo* in the *Proemio*. The emphasis on a moralistic manual for knights is thusly reaffirmed.

The Allegorical Patterns in El Victorial

If the biblical quotes serve as an introduction to moralistic scenes, it seemed logical that a parallel literary meaning as those in books of chivalry would be shown throughout *El V*

to accompany the mirror vision of Pero Niño as a perfect knight. On the contrary, there is clear evidence on the part of Games of avoidance of such folk legends like the “*endriago*”, for example, as found in Arthurian chivalry. Whenever Arthurian or other literary legends are mentioned, they are coupled with warning of the *ayo* to avoid such beliefs of “*contra natura*”. Moreover, this concept often appears in the episodes where Pero Niño emulates the lessons from the *ayo*.

Surprisingly, further investigation into the moments in which Pero Niño moralises revealed a specific pattern used in the count’s moralising speech which is first reflected in Figure 4.2: “Pero Niño’s Discourse”. The second and more complete discussion of all discourse markers found in *El V*, including that of the count of Buelna, is included in Chapter Six: “Author Type/Reader Response in *El Victorial*”. The fact that it is in the few dialogues included in *El V* where moralising speech is found points to an overall vision of the use of dialogue by the author, or authors involved in the underlying skeleton from which the chivalric narrative was based.

Allegorical Character Portrayal in El Victorial

The historiographical recourse of allegorical character portrayal appears in *El V* in different ways. At certain moments, the author makes use of the comparison of animals, sometimes with Pero Niño, and at others, controversial figures for character portrayal. The lion appears in relation with Pero Niño, or and in relation to Saint Mark from the *Apocalipsis*. The occasion to use leitmotifs from folk legends, was not ignored by Games. Some examples are that of naming Pero Niño’s most fearsome weapon, the ballesta, La Niña, as in the Arthurian cycles, and the insistence on the ‘arms and love’ theme or the “heroic salvador” leitmotif common to earlier historiographical chivalric narrative.

Chapter Five: Models, Rites and Symbolism

El Victorial as a manual of Good Chivalry

The appearance of an abundance of leitmotif in *El V* shared by historiographical chivalric narrative, and the overwhelming amount of moralising prose was intriguing to read. As a consequence, research into the balance between moralising symbolism and chivalric symbolism common to books of chivalry seemed to be useful in discovering how Games perceived a “*Tratado*”. A repetitive series of corollary dichotomies appears to form a moralising foundation in *El V*: Figures 5.1: “Corollary dichotomies supporting the *orden / desorden* leitmotif”, 5.2: “Corollary dichotomies supporting the *good / bad* leitmotif” and 5.3: “Virtue Conquers Vices”, which are, again, variations of the order/disorder; good/bad chivalry, government, and knights; vices and virtues: leit-motifs found in books of chivalry. These leit-motifs are spread thickly over the chronological events on Pero Nino’s lifeline. So thickly are they interspersed that it appears the leit-motifs, and their placement, are more important than the narration of the deeds of Pero Nino in itself.

The Necessity for Vices and Virtues

Upon reviewing a series of episodes in which the actions of Pero Niño are those against the incarnation of a vice, insults, or imprudence, I understand these to be not only battle scenes in echo of those found commonly in books of chivalry, but also the opportunity for Pero Niño to be exalted as possessing these virtues. At times, the ‘asides’ from the author insisting on the virtuous perfection of the count are repetitively obvious. However, at other times, the underlying moralising code is not always perceived as Games has so elaborately

described many encounters, those of jousts, love or battles, in such a way that the drama involved in the episode often overshadows the moralising message.

Established Chivalric Rites

Piqued by how similar *El V* is to books of chivalry, on the surface, but how moralising the prose really is upon re-reading, I decided to further the search for the established rites in common to chivalric narrative. Upon revising the traditional rites associated with chivalry, I noticed whereas these rites are observed in simple prose in books of chivalry, in *El V*, they are related to the instructions given to Pero Niño by the *ayo*. This repetition is reflected in the formula elaborated in Figure 5.4: “*Ayo lessons Put to Practice*”.

Complementary with the moralising prose of a manual, the chivalric rites related to the moralising prose of a manual are disseminated throughout *El V*. These rites are the initiation: first sword, first blood, recognition of righteous deeds, recognition of fame, compensation for having fought and marrying into nobility and a family. The emphasis given to these rites in *El V* appear in the order of the rhythm of Pero Niño as he matures. In parallel to living a literary mirror of the three main stages of a perfect knight’s life, the count lives a moralising echo of the life of Christ.

The Meaning behind each Weapon

Wondering whether there was an allegorical meaning behind the use of arms, I created a comparison of the descriptions of the weapons of a knight by Ramón Llull in *Libro de la Orden de Caballería*² and an article by Martín de Riquer on “The arms in *El Victorial*”³ to reveal if Games had written the meaning behind the weapon into the many battle and jousting scenes in *El V*. What sometimes appeared to be intentional was usually a realistic description by Games or a coincidence in the use of the arms terminology. As the coincidences were not

as orderly as they would have been if the meaning had been purposely included, one conclusion could be that there was more than one author who worked on the battle and jousting scenes or there would not be such a difference in styles. Furthermore, the usual moralising comment or tone characteristic of Games did not accompany the descriptions, so a logical conclusion is that the allegory was from the common pool of chivalric narrative.

The Meaning of the Standard-bearer

The symbolism accompanying the standard bearer is multiple. The author declares himself the standard-bearer of Pero-Niño as eye-witness to his deeds. Whether this is true or not, the position of standard-bearer is common in chivalric narrative, be it the standard-bearer, called the *alférez*, also referred to as *falconero mayor* or even *escudero*, as Sancho was for Don Quixote. The position of the *alférez* is also a narrative technique used to introduce the “yo”, or “I saw” voice behind the eye-witness narrator. Another meaning is literal, not just because the standard-bearer holds the banner for Pero Niño, but also due to the fact that the all - important position of *alférez* gives the narrative the veracity of his privileged “eye-witness” accounts, without which, the historical deeds of the count of Buelna would never have been known.

Chapter Six: Author Type/Reader Response in *El Victorial*

Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart

The diagram preceding the discussion on the results of an initial study of narratology in *El V* is a chart which tracks the different types of possible reader response from the time Games, or the supposed author, penned *El V* up through the centuries until the present. The rows on the left represent the three different types of author ‘voices’ Games used to address

the reader: First person, Second and Third person. In parallel, the functions of each narrator are correlated. The importance of separating the narrators allowed the functions to become more apparent. The columns at the top represent the varied categories within the research done: “Type of Author/Narrator”, “Type of Reader”, “Type of Intervention”, “Type of Reader/Audience Response” and the “Type of Interpretation”.

The Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart Introduction

Upon reading *El V*, it becomes clear that the narrator assumes different “voices” in order to communicate in different ways with the reader. It is as if several individuals were addressing the reader. The Flowchart is designed to track several techniques employed by Games in the historiographical narrative he conceived as a “*Tratado*”. The chart is explained row by row and each row is a specific way of looking at the historiographical narrative as presented by the different authors. The columns are designed to track possible changes in reader response over time up until the modern reader of today

Author Type / Reader Response Flowchart Explanation

A division of tasks seemed to be the best way to illustrate the different types of narrator and relate the narrator in each role assumed in *El V*. As the readers also form part of the historiographical narration as lecturers, various angles were designed to discover all of the possible techniques Games used in conceiving his “*Tratado*”. The divisions are: “The Type of Author/Narrator”; “Type of Reader”; “Type of Intervention”; “Type of Reader/Audience Response” and “Type of Interpretation”. This Flowchart was designed for two reasons. The main reason was to identify why Games used different ‘voices’ and how these narrators were identified within the text. The other one was to ascertain why so many historians and literary critics responded to these narrators in so many different ways. The division of the narrator

into three voices lead to the discovery that each narrator had a specific function frequently either unimportant or ignored by literary critics and historians alike.

Types of Author (Flowchart diagram)

After comparing the interventions in *El V*, it seems that Games has used a technique of three “voices”. The three authors I have labelled as 1) Gutierre Díez de Games, the real author, supposing he is the main author, 2) Gutierre Díez de Games the Standard Bearer and 3) Gutierre Díez de Games as an author introducing extraneous historical information as an unknown voice in “off”.

Types of Narrator (Fig 6.1)

In scrutinising the text it appears each author takes on a personage in narration. The real author takes the role of an “Omniscient Narrator”. The Standard Bearer who accompanied Pero Niño on his adventures is the “Declared Author” as his name is mentioned as such, and named Gutierre Díez de Games. The third author is the Unknown voice in “off”, but also a possible actor or outside reader. Equally important in the differences among the narrators is the “voice” represented. The Omniscient narrator presents the information in third person, and frequently begins his role with the words “The author says....” The “Declared Author”, the “Standard-bearer”, is the eyewitness proof of Pero Niño’s virtuous life and narrates what he saw in first person, “yo ví”. The “Unknown author” or “Oral “Narrator addresses the reader from the pages in second person, “as you know”, creating more intimacy with the reader, as if the reader were being let in on a secret.

The Function of Narrator Discourse (Fig. 6.2)

The next logical step was to compare the speech patterns of each type of narrator to discover the function assigned to each narrator within the general scheme of *El V* in all three

books. This part of the identification of narrators was interesting because the startling amount of moralising comments and functions behind almost all of the episodes made *El V* even more of a manual for knights than what one would expect from historiographical text labelled a “chronicle”.

The “Omniscient Narrator” function gives extra information necessary for the reader before continuing the story of the life of Pero Niño, or to lead the reader through the many interspersed folk legends and historical asides. The “Eyewitness Narrator” is an echo of epic legends which Games uses to verify all of the actions by Pero Niño as witnessed in first person. Unsurprisingly, these “eye-witness” interventions coincide with the most polemical episodes in *El V*, corresponding with contemporary historiographical material. It is also this narrator who overshadows Pero Niño and becomes the real protagonist of the chivalric narrative.

The “Oral Narrator”, speaking in second person, complies with the function of giving lessons, the *ayo*, for example, or colourful asides which are personal opinions. These personal opinions are what make *El V* unique in that this facet of Games functions like an actor on stage stopping in the middle of an operetta, to introduce a humorous comment, an opinion about the scene which is about to happen, or one which has just occurred. This additional angle endears Pero Niño to the reader as a real person beyond the moralising image of a perfect knight.

The Function of Pero Niño’s Discourse (Fig. 6.3)

Within the context of Narrators, a separate study on the dialogue designated to Pero Niño seemed fitting as the count also defends himself and convinces Beatriz to become his wife. However, beyond these brief lines, the other brief dialogues pronounced by Pero Niño

in the three books, as a “*doncel*”, captain and then as a count, are formulaic. Once more, Games follows a pattern as set out in the *Proemio*. Pero Niño, representing a virtue; confronts a vice in the form of beast, enemy or opponent; evokes God, the Virgin Mary or refers to a lesson by the *ayo*; and, of course, becomes victorious.

Types of Reader and Reader Response (Fig. 6.4 – 6.7)

The categories of reader are stipulated by Narrator. The first type of reader is associated with the “Omniscient Narrator”, third person author and is historically distant, meaning contemporary with Pero Niño, referring to those readers who lived at the time of the count of Buelna. These readers tend to believe *El V* is a true story and the author is the real author.

The second type of reader corresponds to the standard bearer, the “Declared Author”, first person Eyewitness Narrator is the “Occasional” reader, who reads *El V* for a particular interest down through the ages. These readers could be literary critics, historians or attracted to *El V* for the arms and love theme or chivalry. These readers relive the hero’s actions, believe what is read and if the reader identifies with the eyewitness accounts, the Standard Bearer might be the believed author.

The third type of reader is associated with the actor who uses a “voice in off”, the “Oral Narrator” who addresses the audience or the lector. This reader is entertained (possibly like the other readers even if they do not identify with this narrator) mainly and is likely to believe the legend. Here, however, it seems that the literary critics are divided as to who the real author is and the purpose of the asides directed to the reader or audience.

The Readers Response Flowchart was developed basically as a reaction to the various attempts of classification out of a query as to why so many literary critics reacted in different

ways to the three narrators chosen by Games for *El V*. With an interest in assessing how literary critics approached *El V*, a *chronological* revision of a select representative group of studies, Fig. 6.9: “A Chronology of Literary Criticism” based on *El V*, led to some interesting observations. Mainly, the chosen themes by literary critics and the influence of editions in other languages came to the fore.

A Chronology of Literary Criticism (Fig. 6.9)

As a result of the chronological assessment, it was seen that the first studies of *El V* were logically concerned with genealogy, maritime exploits and nobility. History and literary criticism began a bit later and in the last century, the studies began to diversify. Not surprisingly, though, when an edition of *El V* was issued labelled as a “chronicle”, a flurry of articles followed in its stead. The same occurred for an edition labelled “biography”.

Understandingly, the complexity of *El V* has meant largely peninsular editions have been issued. A second and long-awaited French edition has gathered a notable amount of studies in French but a German edition is still to be issued. The first English edition has been reprinted but there is not a Portuguese edition in spite of the ties of the Niño family with Portugal. The amount of historiographical narrative amassed by Games has meant that many areas of interest have but a few studies in each specialisation. The majority of the studies, however, are inclined to classify *El V* as either a chronicle or a biography in spite of the fact that Games declared the narrative to be a “*Tratado*”. These assessments lead to further thoughts on classification attempts in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven: Themes related to the Classification of *El Victorial*

Genre Consideration

Interested in the development of classification in general, this chapter was perceived as an approach to first, how critics conceived of classification. Secondly, accepting that Games declared *El V* to be a “*Tratado*” and still curious as to what this author conceived as a “*Tratado*”, it was reasonable to compare *El V* with standard historiographical material in an attempt to understand which chivalric narratives were closer to the author’s concept of “*Tratado*”.

El Victorial as an Epic Legend

A revision of the epic characteristics in *El Cid* in Fig. 7.1: “The Trials of *El Cid*”, shows a matching underlying approach used by Games, as seen in an adapted Fig. 7.2: “The Trials of *Don Pero Niño*”. Further research shows Games also employed characteristics from renown hero legends on a world-wide basis. A comparison of Lord Raglan’s list of characteristics common to heroes, illustrates which episodes in *Pero Niño*’s life were chosen by Games to correspond with the generic hero narrative. The result was just eight out of twenty-two, the basic characteristics in common with legendary heroes from many folk origins. This suggests that there must be another, or perhaps several variations of medieval chivalric narrative common pool lists which Games drew from to lay out the underlying structures in *El V*.

El Victorial as Moralising Prose

As Games cast *El V* in a fictive moralising chivalric style, a revision of “*exempla*” and how *El V* compares with the *Zifar* in the use of “*exempla*” seemed interesting. Curiously enough, there seems to be another corresponding parallel between the didactic prose in *El V*

and the fictive moralising prose in *Zifar*. The similarities suggest that the “common pool” of historiographical chivalric narrative was almost a requisite for any chivalric narrative. After considering the substructure of *Zifar*, an overall comparison with the signet book of chivalry, the *Amadís*, would close in on the universal concept of a common chivalric standard Games pulled from. As suspected, there are many more points in common among these four chivalric narratives which are to be delineated in the following section.

El Victorial as a book of chivalry

Comparative Structure: ‘El Victorial’ / ‘Amadís’

A comparison of *El V* with *Amadís* showed a thematic similarity not only in the definition of Montalvo for *Amadís*, but also in the basic format of *El V*. Both narratives have the four “causes” stated in the *Proemio*. The division of the narrative in *El V* roughly follows the triple division laid out by Montalvo as well as the moralising prose in both “books”. If one were to imagine Pero Niño named ‘Doncel’, or el *Amadís* given a proper name like Alfonso Calderón, then the historiographical moralising chivalric narratives would appear to be even more similar.

Historical Heroes

Instead of choosing one chivalric narrative belonging to either the category of books of chivalry or a moralising prose, to illustrate which techniques Games chose, I decided to broach the subject of the common pool of characteristics which slowly evolved from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth as a way of placing Games on a timeline. In this way, if the characteristics in *El V* were compared to an early epic legend, like *El Cid*, a later standard book of chivalry, like *Amadís*, and then to a sixteenth century classic like *Don Quijote*, then perhaps the similarity in characteristics would speak for themselves. The characteristics,

theme or leit-motifs which were not present could possibly reflect up to which point Games had been or not been influenced by the new wave of literary “Humanism” sweeping Spain.

Using this comparison it seems to be very likely that the year in which Games reports having finished *El V* could be true as many of the characteristics known to be common to *El Quijote* and the genre of books of chivalry printed *en masse* in the sixteenth century are not included. Another explanation is that those later characteristics were not within the framework Games had in mind for a “*Tratado*”.

Banquet scenes

One of the consequences of the latest approaches to literary criticism is to compare a particular theme or leitmotif among other narratives within the same genre. One method of “weighing” the veracity behind the open descriptions of Pero Niño in society as described by the standard bearer in *El V* which would not be found in royal annals or chronicles as “borrowed” historiographical narrative, would be to choose a recognised traditional theme in books of chivalry. In order to see if Games had relied upon the common dichotomy of “open space” and “closed space”, for instance, I chose the theme of banquets, victuals and water, so common to books of chivalry up through the sixteenth century, to trace.

In *El V*, the dichotomy of “open space” referring to banquets in the country and “closed space” referring to palace banquets do follow the descriptions well-known in books of chivalry. Surprisingly, though, Games not only relies on the stock functions but uses the closed palace banquet scenes as a backdrop for political opinions and the open spaces are introduced normally to include the virtuous character of the count of Buelna. Sometimes the ‘asides’ referring to Pero Niño’s perfect manners are to enhance the count’s image, others to

belittle as inferior, if the circumstance prefigures a future happenstance. These particular scenes are not presented as merely stock functions, though, but with a moralising tone.

The references to the search for water while at sea, the references to rivers and lakes do not always conform to a standard leaving one to think there is some veracity behind the historiographical chivalric narrative important enough to Games to include.

Chapter Eight: Classification Conclusions

Classification Considerations

Several factors have influenced the classification of *El V* over the centuries. Initially, as seen in Fig. 3.2: “Common Pool of Chivalric Narrative”, the genres we recognise today as separate entities were drawn from simultaneously and narratives of like characteristics appeared under different categorisations by the authors themselves. When Games wrote *El V*, there was an unsettled discussion around “history vs. fiction” which affected our present day definition of ‘chronicle’ and ‘fiction’. The complex nature of *El V*, and the fact that Games declared his tome as a ‘Tratado’ has baffled literary critics for ages.

In the seventeenth century, once ‘history’ was accepted as a narration of true events, like a science, then ‘fiction’ was seen as a separate genre which has generally been considered as the narration of fantastic situations. The use of ‘chronicle’, ‘fiction’, ‘historiography’ and ‘biography’ – all terms since applied to *El V*, has created confusion upon attempting to classify *La crónica del conde de Buelna*. An investigation into why there has been so much confusion seemed in order.

The Process of Elaboration

When *La Crónica del conde de Buelna* was written in gothic lettering, the difference between ‘history’ as a retelling of historical events, and ‘history’ as a pure invention had been formulated. Historians of the time, like Pérez de Gúzman and Hernando del Pulgar, were critical of narrative text not following this distinction. Adding to the confusion, though, the categorisation of varying chivalric forms continued to loosely apply both concepts of ‘history’, as in ‘chronicle’, and ‘history’ to fictive ‘books of chivalry’. Further complications resulted from entitling ‘books of chivalry’, ‘chronicles’.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the appearance of *Amadís de Gaula* by Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, and a definition of “historical” books divided into three categories in the introduction of the same, began a differentiation of categories to be accepted. *La Crónica del conde de Buelna*, however, fits all three categories: reading for enthusiasts; relatively true stories and invented stories, with a heavier emphasis on the most fictitious. Later, Cervantes, in the famous discussion between the canon and the priest in *El Quijote*, whereby both gentlemen would classify *El V* as historical, but neither as invented nor a book of chivalry dealing with fantasies. Those differing opinions, almost contemporary to Games, lead to a revision of the more recent statements of classification proposed by literary critics and historians to counter if these more modern visions were at all influenced by the historical discussions. In some ways, the classification is slowly being questioned.

Attempts at Classification

Upon revising the actual terminology selected by literary critics and historians alike, interestingly enough, most classifications stagger between a historiographic and fictional chivalric narrative. The whole gamut of classifications run from ‘crónica particular’,

‘biografía’, ‘crónica biografiada’, ‘chronicle’, ‘biografía de caballeros’, ‘crónica caballesc’, to ‘a book of chivalry’. What is still interesting is that historians and literary critics insist on diversifying the classification when it is Games who refers to his own work as ‘libro’ and declared his tome, *La Crónica del conde de Buelna* to be a ‘tratado’, which is none of the above. It seems logical that our task should be to discover what ‘libro’ refers to in fifteenth century terms, and exactly what a ‘tratado’ consisted of at the time and what it meant to the author, Games, whoever he may be. For the moment, we have moralising prose, set conventions taken from a common pool of chivalric characteristics and very little legally proven material to associate “*La Crónica del conde de Buelna*” with a chronicle.

Approaches to Categorisation

In a further attempt to categorise *El V* as a more specific chivalric narrative and to isolate those elements considered chivalric, a comparison of *La Crónica del conde de Buelna* with the seven divisions proposed by Viña Liste seemed necessary. Although Viña Liste intended to be more specific, the exercise became one of proof as to how difficult it is to classify a narrative of chivalric theme with strong echoes from many other genres. What can be concluded is that it is necessary to be more specific and define more categories as *El V* is still beyond contemporary categorisation. A revision of the elements in *El V* which are not chivalric specific seemed to be the next step to take in research.

El Victorial as chivalric prose

Upon revising the elements in *El V* which are not particularly bound to chivalric narrative and finding that, again, *El V* defies classification, it is important to look at the whole of the narrative. What is clear is that *El V* is a very complex hybrid genre. Another term which could be coined after re-considering the various chivalric characteristics from the

‘common pool’ is a ‘novelesque chronicle’, but the redundancy is still a far cry from the clear idea Games had when assembling the myriad of elements found in the genres available and woven into the tapestry of Pero Niño’s chronology of deeds. A look at the definition of the terms used to define ‘cronicle’, ‘history’, ‘historia’, ‘story’ over time would help literary critics add to what the author perceived of as a ‘tratado’. As seen so far, *El V* contains the whole of the chivalric narrative “pool”, so perhaps the author attempted to include everything considered chivalric as ‘tratado’ could be synonymous to ‘complete’, or ‘whole’.

Definition of Terms

In the Middle Ages, authors, especially those of treatises, based their definition of history on a reflection of the times, truth, and the master of life itself, all of which would refer to *El V*. The separate inquiries into how ‘history’ and ‘chronicle’ have been defined and used over time bring to light the use of ‘annals’ as history. After looking again at ‘chronicle’ as a series of records from and about the past, but remembering Aristotle’s approach to history written as if the truth were being recorded, one could approximate a definition of the hybrid genre *El V* seems to be. Despite centuries of philosophical discussions about the correct terminology to use in classification and categorization, though, the problem of categorisation still exists in the minds of historians and literary critics. What, as of yet, is necessary is to discover the true meaning behind the ‘tratado’ Games affirms to have written.

Structural observations

After considering the conclusions to the various sections included in this paper, I believe we are still far from understanding *El V*. Games lived at a time when a variegated mass of historiographical chivalric narrative was common to many “genres” as we recognise

them today and it seems that many authors considered the common material suitable for each individual focus.

Parting from the point of view that we should not attempt to classify a work already designated as “*tratado*”, the same narrative should be allowed to speak for itself. The “*tratado*”, as stated, is not anything like those works contemporary to Games and labelled ‘tratado’. One example is the *Tratados Militares* by Alonso de Cartagena, unlike *El V* in that the love theme is not as well developed, among other reasons. Evidently ‘tratado’ meant something else to Games when he referred to *El V* as book *and* a ‘tratado’. The studies included in this paper, I feel, have brought us closer to an understanding of the idea of “borrowing” from a common pool of historiographical chivalric narrative as well as why *El V* defies classification. Equally important, I believe the elements in *El V*, separated and re-organised as a result of the modified structuralist technique, reveals there are more levels of meaning behind what we are accustomed to reading about the life of the count of Buelna.

Conclusions to the Objectives

Introduction

El Victorial harbours a very complex narrative interwoven with various underlying sub topics, which at times, seem to be disconnected from the main theme: a summary of Pero Niño during his active military life. The selection of a modified structuralist methodology, in my opinion, proved to be the best approach for ferreting out the objectives of this dissertation.

First objective:

The *First Objective*: the recognition and separation of disconnected material and narrative structures. This adapted structuralist methodology allowed the initial message of

the author to emerge, thusly complying with the first objective: the organisation of apparently disconnected material. Upon applying a modified structuralist methodology and separating each topic, anecdote and element of the general narrative, it has been possible to study the elements separately more efficiently.

In this way, the role of the Proemio and the order of the presentation of the material **not** dealing with Pero Niño, became evident. It was clear, then, that the author was more intent on writing a manual of knightly behaviour than one about a perfect hero as reflected in the style of the royal annals, or chronicles or a modern day biography.

In fact, the chronicle contains only a scanty thirty percent of chapters with activities dedicated to Pero Niño and not always in chronological order. As a consequence, it appears that the pattern of the hero – worship legend, based on chivalric legends and books of chivalry, was used to augment the image of the protagonist in scene after scene, as opposed to including material from royal chronicles or annals to describe the real personage, the count of Buelna.

The specific study of some isolated elements has also helped to understand the logic behind the choices Games made to weave the tale of the count of Buelna. Upon the discovery, in Chapter One, that a gap in royal chronicles existed and a possible reason for the count of Buelna to have Games write *El V* would be precisely to cover said “gap”, helps to explain the importance behind the elaboration of *El V* and the novelistic techniques employed by Games to comply with the mission commended.

Furthermore, the historiographical chivalric narrative as specified in Chapters Two, Three and Four aids in understanding the framework within which Games wished to place don Pero Niño. Chapters Five and Six underlined the symbolic, allegorical and Christian

structures which figure prominently in the association of the characteristics with which Games described Pero Niño's personage as found in *El V* as seen through actions as well as the words used by the count to address those in his company.

Second objective:

As a result of the first objective, the *second objective* examines the differences of stylistic resources from borrowed and witnessed sources in order to see how Games perceived of his approach to history within *El V* as a designated "tratado": that more like a royal chronicle, biography or that of a book of chivalry. On the part of Games, the way in which he has elaborated the summary of battle campaigns has hidden more than it has revealed.

In Chapter One, after scrutinising the stylistic techniques used by Games, various gradations of veracity can be seen. Globally, it seems that there is only a mere reflection for royal historical fact in the book reflecting the count of Buelna. The more polemical the incident seems to be, the more stylistic techniques come into play to augment the image of Pero Niño when contrasting his actions to those of either his adversaries or simply the men with whom he carried out the military campaigns.

When Games wanted to convince the reader of a character trait other than that as reflected in the annals, he used a monologue or a direct dialogue, as seen in Chapter Six, as a way of introducing the reader into a believable story. In this way, Games transformed history by producing fictitious, but believable, narratives to accompany history as reflected in the royal annal, chronicles or even books of chivalry.

Clearly, though, many of the allegorical symbols, biblical references, orders of knights, echoes from epic or Arthurian material as seen in the third, fourth and fifth Chapters were also included by Games as part and parcel of the complete vision of the historiographical chivalric narrative tradition this “tratado”, as seen by the author, belonged to. Thusly, the methodology of isolating these chivalric elements has led to shedding new light on the second objective: a greater understanding of what Games considered essential to his task.

Third Objective:

The *third objective* is to weigh the contents of fictive or real historical events as they are depicted in the chronological life of the count of Buelna in order to clarify some concepts about how various literary critics and editors have perceived the classification of the work about Pero Niño over the centuries. The isolation of structural elements revealed various approaches affecting the readers and literary critics.

In the first chapter, *El V* contains a series of chivalric narratives which reflect a closed ending and narrative elements from the previous centuries. As aforementioned in the introduction, *El V* reflects an aristocratic ideal and has an unfinished, open ending. Therefore, it falls within the pattern of chronicles written between the late fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, as also seen in this project, *El V* contains elements which form an integral part of the traditional narrative which was to be developed in the following century with an open ending and an aristocratic theme.

As seen in the first sections of this study, the reason for the positioning of various chapters resulting in the alteration of the natural order of a chronological account indicates

that perhaps, to Games, the veracity of a chronological order was not important when narrating the historical events. Moreover, in the following chapters we have seen that the archetypes in *El V* are not exactly like those of royal annals, but rather are elaborated more in accordance to specific patterns accepted in historiographical chivalric narrative at the time. The standards from certain knightly orders, promises, jousts and battles, like that of seven against seven, are given equal importance in the author's narration of events as those events found reflected in royal annals.

This fact reveals that the author perceived the use of a good deal of the historiographical chivalric patterns to be those in common with the "tratado" Games declared in *El V* including those of: a book of chivalry, an epic legend, a romance, a summary of a person's military life written as a diary on board while cruising the Mediterranean, or a chronicle recounting the land battles of service under a king. The study of the banquet scene common to all is one example of how many literary critics associate certain scenes with specific chivalric narratives. To be specific, the chronological study of how literary critics responded to the varying historiographical chivalric narrative in *El V*, advances the understanding of why differing classifications have been associated with the "tratado" of Games, the third objective of this study.

The results of the *third objective* then revealed several common beliefs in reference to the narrative structures elaborated in *El V*. Most readers and literary critics identified with the *omniscient narrator* and believe the author to be the standard-bearer and eye-witness to the deeds described. To be noted is that, historically, the literary critics tended to perceive the elements in *El V* as belonging to one category or another depending upon *when* and *how* these readers and literary critics were educated and influenced.

Of equal weight, the resulting classification of these readers and literary critics reflected the historical era in which they lived; the methodology popular at the time; the latest edition, focus, and language of *El V* studied and the reigning historiographic tradition. Another important facet is the insistence with which literary critics reiteratedly classified *El V* as a chronicle.

Fourth objective:

The information available on Gutierre Díez de Games is limited, which supposes a real challenge if a more concrete identity of the author is to be found. The *fourth objective* was to clarify how the “declared” author, Games, presented himself in the narrative and, thereby, try to deduce further information about the “supposed” author, Games. As a result of this study, a literary “ink print” or “fingerprint”, as we might refer to it in other words, the outline which the author has chosen to use and the reasoning behind that choice traces a style and a certain training, was somewhat useful for discovering the real personage behind the declared name, “Standard-Bearer” as Games presents himself in *El V*. In spite of the fact that Games declares himself to be the Standard-Bearer of the count, and therefore witness to Pero Nino’s life, after scrutinising elements and discovering a scant basis of veracity, it is seen that the chosen name, “Standard-Bearer” is yet another stylistic device which hides the authentic profile of the author.

The emphasis on classical philosophy, the chivalric lifestyle, didactic prose and allusions to personal relationships which are woven into a plot of very different patterns, suggest that there is not one author, but perhaps two or more. Upon scrutinising the varying

themes of romance common to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and then others which appear at the end of the Middle Ages and in the early sixteenth century in the previous chapters, it is plausible that one “Games”, in the 1500’s, sewed together several patches of hand written material. What is possibly the result, then, is a historiographical chivalric narrative which had changed hands, philosophical content and even spanned style changes from the initial attempt to tell the story of the Niño family, (perhaps, as suggested in *EL V*), the grandfather of Pero Niño, down to Fernando Niño, (Patriarch of the Indies, a great-nephew to Pero Niño in the later sixteenth century), who ordered the coat of arms to be painted and illustrated on an earlier manuscript.

In conclusion, the four objectives have been met in that new information, through the use of a modified structuralist technique, has been identified, categorised, and re-organised from among the myriad of narrative forms co-existing within *El V*. Not only have changing patterns spanning the Late Middle Ages within historiographical chivalric narrative been identified, but also various styles of narration. It seems that not one genre, in particular, or those of a specific technique, but many were to be included within the historiographical chivalric narrative about the story about Pero Niño, the count of Buelna, and that the author perceived these specific elements as necessary to elaborate a “tratado”.

Final remarks:

The results of the previous observations are manifold. On one hand, the Author Type/Reader Response flow chart deals with the importance of the narrator style used by Games which, at the same time, reveals part of the author’s character. On the other hand, the way in which the fictive narrative is elaborated from the *Proemio* up through the third book

echoes varied structural approaches spanning many years used by the author, or possible authors.

This presentation of the observations accrued concerning *El Victorial* is arranged by the stages of research which were necessary to delve deeper into the multi-layered structures employed by the author, Gutierre Díez de Games, to portray the narrative about the life of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna.

After the justification of this project, an explanation of the objectives to be achieved is followed by a revision of the methodology adapted to benefit the research as projected for this specific work and the bibliographical influences which were crucial for me in order to organise and differentiate the general substructures common to *El Victorial* and the contemporary chivalric narratives in existence at the time Don Pero Niño ordered Games to tell the tale of his life.

The “Introduction” glosses the purpose and methodologies applied in each of the chapters in reference to the objectives to be obtained. So as not to create any confusion with previous or contemporary research, the “Definition of Terminology” limits the lexical references in order to clarify the concepts discussed.

The abbreviations are those used in the various bibliographies to be found in Chapter Six, Figure 6.9: “A Chronology of Literary Criticism”; Appendix D: “An Alphabetical List of Literary Criticism”; the “General Bibliography” and all of the endnotes to the chapters and appendices.

The conclusions are detailed in Chapter Nine. The results of those conclusions are summarised at the end of each chapter which coincide with what is my contribution to the observations concerning “*La Crónica de don Pero Niño, conde de Buelna*”.

The appendices are selected according to the information necessary to further grasp the concepts developed in the chapters. As this project covers several centuries of bibliographical data, the first three appendices: Appendix A: the “Manuscript Tradition”; Appendix B: the “Chronology of Editions” and Appendix C: the “Chronology of Thesis” are included to offer the reader the known literary background of the corpus of work done to date.

The “Alphabetical List of Literary Criticism”, Appendix D, is the complete list of the reduced and selected list of works scrutinised in Chapter Six: Figure 6.9: “A Chronology of Literary Criticism”, re-arranged alphabetically to make consultation easier for readers.

Precisely because the layout of *El Victorial* rambles from biographical data to legendary material borrowed from various sources, a reader is left wondering exactly where Pero Niño’s life begins, develops and ends. To verify specific dates corresponding to the historical background, Appendix E: “Niño Family Tree” and Appendix F: “Niño Family Timeline” are added to create a framework within which the reader can visualise the Count of Buelna within the European context which influenced the historical and political actions taken by the three Trastámara Kings under whom Pero Niño fought.

In order to better conceive the patterns and structures with which the author, Gutierre Díez de Games, worked, Appendix G: “Synoptic Chart” and Appendix H: “Numerical Scheme by Chapter” reveal the numerical substructures perceived as essential to the narrative

to be developed in the re-telling of the activities undertaken by Pero Niño and the adjunct philosophical content considered necessary to correctly portray these years in Spanish history.

Two important bibliographies are added: “A Bibliography of Cited Works” and the “General Bibliography”. The first bibliography, “A Bibliography of Cited Works”, is for readers and literary critics who would like to further understand the focus undertaken to support the declared interests of this project. The second bibliography, the “General Bibliography” covers further possible research on the themes, motives and substructures researched to clarify the literary construction beneath *El Victorial*.

In an attempt to reach as many readers as possible, the conclusions written in Spanish are added at the end of the bibliographies. As the original text of *El Victorial* is in Spanish, as well as much of the accompanying literary criticism, this summary explains the chapter contents for immediate reference purposes.

²NOTES AND CITATIONS FOR CHAPTER NINE

1. This timeline is organized to place Pero Niño within a historical and cultural context which hopefully would be familiar to literary critics and historians studying *El V* from other countries or from a different point of view. The Timeline is a combination of several books in echo of the main themes. For contemporary battles, *Batallas del mundo, Las 100 Batallas más importantes de la Historia desde Kadesh a la toma de Bagdad. Tres mil años de Guerra*. by Cau Pablo, (Firenze: Tikal,) was useful. Equally useful are the reflections and dates written about Pero Niño’s home town, Cigales, and the Niño family, as collected in *La Villa de Cigales* by Mariano San José Díez, (Cigales:1995). For european history many dates are taken from *Chronicle of the World*, (ed.) Jerome Burne, (Paris: Jacques Legrand, 1989) and much of the information was included in the Juan de Mata Carriazo edition of *El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940).

²Ramon Llull. “Del significado que tienen las armas del caballero”, *Libro de la orden de Caballería*. Madrid: Alianza, 1986.

³Riquer Martin de. “The arms in *El Victorial*”, *Serta Philológica*. Homenaje a Lázaro Carreter. I, Madrid: 159-177.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A: MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

APPENDIX A

Manuscript Tradition

A: Gutierre Díez de Games: *El Victorial*. Manuscrito 17.648 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid [olim G(ayangos) 209].

Este libro a nonbre el bitorial e fabla en el de los quatro principes que fueron mayores en el mundo quien fueron e de algunos otros brevemente por exenplo a los buenos caualleros e fidalgos que an de vsar ofiçio de armas e arte de cauallería trayendo a concordança de fabla de vn noble cavallero al qual fin este libro fize.

(Inicial) En el nonbre del muy alto todopoderoso padre e hijo e sprito santo..."(fol. 1r)"... a diez días del mes de nobiembre del nascimiento de nuestro salvador ihesuchristo de myll e quatroçientos e quarenta e seys años (fol. 191r).

Letra: gótica textual o gótica caligráfica, de la segunda mitad del siglo XV o principios del XVI. Tinta roja y negra.

Folios: 192 folios (191 folios útiles, modernos numerados a lápiz), en vitela. El texto acaba en el fol. 191r.

Encuadernación: pergamino, con guardas de papel.

Medida: 285 x 195 mm, (Beltrán: 295 por 200 mm.) a línea tirada.

Caja: 190x130 mm.

Texto: Rúbricas en rojo, espacios reservados para capitales o miniaturas. El texto presenta anotaciones en los márgenes, probablemente debidas a Llaguno, pues algunas se refieren a omisiones de la edición de éste.

Lomo: "El VITORIAL DE LOS QUATRO PRINCIPES" + clavel.

Procedencia: Pascual de Gayangos (G-209). Llaguno Amirola states this is the manuscript followed in his edition.

B: Gutierre Díez de Games: *El Victorial*. Manuscrito 9 / 5112 [olim 9-24-2 / B-28] de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid).

Letra: formada castellana o corriente humanística de la segunda mitad de final siglo XVI (aunque Lemcke, el primero en dar noticia de este manuscrito, lo data en la segunda mitad del siglo XV).

Folios: Existen 275 folios (distribuidos en 70 cuadernillos), papel, numerados en romanos hasta el 60 y en arábigos desde el fol. 60v. hasta el final. Hay errores en la numeración (los fols. 40r y 40v están repetidos, y hay otros saltos).

Encuadernación: cartón multicolor.

Medida: 292 x 200 mm, línea tirada.

Caja: 245 x 155 mm.

Texto: Rúbricas, títulos de los capítulos y toscos adornos en tintas roja y/o verde. En ocasiones, espacios incompletos para estos colores. Los márgenes derecho e izquierdo se adornan siempre (menos entre los fols. 136v - 160v) con motivos florales, frutales, y, sobre todo, geométricos, en rojo o azul, de muy ruda ejecución.

Tejuelo: “El Vitorial”.

C: (ms. F en la ed. de Carriazo) Gutierre Díaz de Games. *Crónica de Don Pero Niño*. Manuscrito 328 de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo de Santander.

Letra: cursiva sin peculiaridad especial, de finales del XVI o, más probablemente, del XVII: Siglo XVI (texto de *El Victorial*) y siglo XVII (texto siguiente).

Folios: Existen 199 fols. numerados, 99 en arábigos y el resto en romanos, más tres folios sin numerar), papel.

Encuadernación: pergamino.

Medida: 305 x 215 mm., a línea tirada.

Caja: 210 x 140 mm.

Procedencia: Perteneció a la colección de Salazar y Castro. *Ex libris* de Gabriel Sánchez. Librería.

D: Gutierre Díez de Games: *El Victorial* Manuscrito 5978 [olim Q-311] de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

Letra: cursiva perteneciente a los siglos XVI-XVII.

Folios: 86 folios, papel 86 útiles, numeración en arábigo.

Encuadernación: pergamino.

Medida: 285 x 205 mm, (Beltrán 290 por 210 mm.), a línea tirada.

Caja: 235 x 130 mm.

Lomo: “Victorial de los 4 Principes del Mundo de Gutierre Gomez de Gamez.

Procedencia: La selección de Salazar, como se anota en el foio de guarda: “Sal. 2ªEsc. B, Caja 4º.

E: Gutierre Díez, de Gamiz (Cruz) *Crónica/de/Don Pedro Niño,/Conde de buelna,/escrita/por.../su Criado y Alferes* (Dibujo). Manuscrito 9 / 5618 [olim 12-26-1 / D-8] de la Real Academia de la Historia.

Letra: del siglo XVIII.

Folios: Existen 225 fols. papel, formato de gran folio.

Encuadernación: pergamino.

Caja: de escritura: 250 x 145 mm, a línea tirada.

Texto: La portada con tinta roja y negra: “[Cruz] CRONICA / DE / DON PEDRO NIÑO, / Conde de Buelna, / ESCRITA / Por su Criado y Alferes / [Dibujo]”. El primer folio lleva las dos letras iniciales en dorado, y una orla con el lema: “O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI ORA PRO ME REGINA CELI LETARE ALEL”, que reproduce el de la portada del ms. A. Los títulos de los capítulos están en tinta roja.

F: (ms. C en la ed. Carriazo) Gutierre Díez de Games: *El Victorial*. Manuscrito 12-4-1 [H-16 de Salazar y Castro] de la Real Academia de la Historia.

Letra: de la segunda mitad del XVI o XVII.

Folios: Carriazo: Existen 248 folios numerados de letra del siglo XVII. Beltrán: 199 folios, en papel. 196 numerados, 99 en arábigos y el resto en romanos Letra del XVI o XVII – Letra del XV [?] dice Simón Díaz; letra del siglo XVI avanzado, dice Carriazo.

Beltrán: Mss: contiene dos textos: I. fols. 1-196r.: *El Victorial*. II. fols. 197r.-198v.: *Genealogía de doña María Niño*.

Medida: 305 x 210 mm.

Encuadernación: Carriazo: en cuero de la época, Beltrán: en carpeta, en pergamino abotonada.

Caja: Carriazo: 210 x 140 mm. Beltrán: 305 por 215 mm., a línea tirada.

Lomo: de la carpeta: Beltrán: “Vitor / rial / O / Historia / De / D.P. Niño / Conde de Buel / na / POR // Gutierre / de / Gamiz / M.S. [Flor] / B. 55 / 1446”.

Procedencia: Carriazo: Ex libris de Gabriel Sánchez. Librería. Beltrán: de la colección de manuscritos del marqués de Montealegre, que se integraron en la colección de Luis Salazar y Castro de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia.

Beltrán: “En el último folio, 199r., con distinta letra, se encuentra la siguiente información: Libro intitulado Victorial trata en el principio de cuatro príncipes poderosos en el mundo y después descende a contar la historia de Don Pêdro Niño conde de Buelna compuso este libro Gutierre de Gamiz que fue so Alférez y le siguió en todas sus andanzas llega esta historia asta la muerte de la condesa de Buelna doña Beatriz de Portugal mujer del conde que fue a 10 de Nobiembre de 1446 años. Hallose este libro entre los papeles del conde de Villaumbrosa Don Pedro Niño, donde estaba desde el tiempo de Doña María Niño su visaguela y quarta Aguela de la Condesa Doña María Niño que posee esta Casa Año de 1673”.

G: *Victorial*. Manuscrito 1622 [olim F-334] fols. 229-52 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

Letra: Beltrán: Se trata de una copia autógrafa del Padre Francisco Méndez, fechada en 1798, con letra del siglo XXVIII.

Folios: Beltrán: Se trata de un ms. Parcial. Incluye título y encabezamientos de los caps. 1 al 7 (fol. 230), caps. 8 al 29 completos, encabezamientos de los caps. 30, 31, y 32, partes del cap. 33, encabezamiento del 34 t caps. 35 y 36 (fols. 231-45r).

Toda la segunda parte, con excepción de las 12 líneas primeras, está ausente del ms. El extracto continúa con la tercera parte, caps. 91 a 95, y cap. 96, parcial (fols. 245r-51v) y acaba reproduciendo el *explicit* con las últimas líneas.

Procedencia: Carriazo: COLECCION / DE DOCUMENTOS / copiados en la mayor parte / para el uso del / Rmo. P. Mro. FR. HENRIQUE FLOREZ (dibujo) / Año de 1798 / Tomo I.

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY OF EDITIONS

APPENDIX B

Chronology of Editions

- 1435 Diez de Games, Gutierre. *El Victorial*. Crónica de Don Pero Niño. Conde de Buelna. (Noticias del original).
- 1782 *Crónica de don Pedro Niño, conde de Buelna*, por Gutierre Díez de Games, su alférez. La publica don Eugenio de Llaguno y Amirola, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, de la Real Academia de la Historia. Colección de las Crónicas y Memorias de los Reyes de Castilla, 3. Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Sancha, 1782. viii + 235 páginas + 2 hojas, 25,2 cms.
- 1807 Vargas y Ponce, José *Varones ilustres de la Marina Española: Vida de don Pero Niño, primer conde de Buelna*, Madrid: Imprenta Real. Complete copy from 307-44.
- 1863 Lemcke, Ludwig G., ed., *Brüchstücke aus den noch ungedruckten Theilen des "Victorial"*, Leipzig.
- 1865 Lemcke, Ludwig G., ed., publica cuatro fragmentos inéditos de *El Victorial*. *Bruchstücke aus den noch ungedruckten Theilen des Vitorial von Guitierre Díez de Games*, Herausgegeben von L.G. Lemcke, Elwert: Marburgo.
- 1867 *Le Victorial. Chronique de Don Pedro Niño, Comte de Buelna par Gutierre Díaz de Gamez (sic) son Alférez (1379-1449)*. Traduit de l'espagnol d'après le manuscrit. Avec une introduction et des notes historiques par le Comte de Circourt et le Comte de Puymagre, Paris: Victor Palmé.
- 1928 *The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the deeds of Don Pero Niño. Count of Buelna by his Standard-bearer Gutierre Diaz de Gamez (1431-1449)* Translated and selected from *El Victorial* by Joan Evans. London: George Routledge & Sons. Ltd.

The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the deeds of Don Pedro Niño. Count of Buelna by his Standard-bearer Gutierre Díaz de Gamez (1431-1449). Translated and selected from *El Victorial* by Joan Evans. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

1936 Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial. Crónica de don Pero Niño*. Edición, prólogo y notas de Ramón Iglesia [Parga], (Primavera y Flor), Madrid: Signo.

1940 *El Victorial. Crónica de don Pero Niño*, por Gutierre Díez de Games, Edición de Ramón Iglesia [Parga], reed., México: Séneca.

El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna, por su alférez Gutierre Díez de Games. Edición y estudio por Juan de Mata Carriazo, (Colección de Crónicas Españolas, I), Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

1989 Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño*, Edición de Jorge Sanz, (Crónicas y Memorias), Madrid: Polifemo.

1994 *Gutierre Díaz de Games. El Victorial*). Edición Rafael Beltrán. (Colección Clásicos Taurus 25), Madrid: Taurus.

1997 Gutierre Díez de Games. *El Victorial*. Edición Rafael Beltrán. (Textos Recuperados, XV), Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

2001 *Le Victorial Chronique de Don Pero Niño, Comte de Buelna (1378-1453)* por Gutierre Díaz de Gamez son porte-banniere. Traduction et presentation par Joan Gautier Dalché. Brepols: Turnhout.

2004 *The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the deeds of Don Pedro Niño. Count of Buelna* by his Standard-bearer Gutierre Díaz de Gamez (1431-1449). Translated and selected from *El Victorial* by Joan Evans; [reed., Boydell, Woodbridge, Suffolk].

- 2006 Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño*. Edición de Jorge Sanz, Dueñas: Palencia: Salamanca.
- 2014 Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial*. Edición, estudio y notas de Rafael Beltrán, Madrid: Real Academia Española.

APPENDIX C: CHRONOLOGY OF THESIS

APPENDIX C

Chronology of Thesis

- 1884 Suchier Rintelienses-Hassus, Edmund. Ueber Provenzalisch Bearbeitungen Der Kindheit Jesu, Ph. Diss. Universitate Gridericaiana Halensi, Halis, Saxonu, E. Karras. [cf. Zeitschrift fur Romanische Philologie. 1884].
- 1967 Mordaunt, Jerrold La Valle. “*El Victorial*” *Aspects of Fifteenth Century Spanish Phonology and Morphology*, Ph. Diss., Stanford University. [Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1990].
- 1980 Rueda Laorga, Flora M^a. *Estudio de los elementos literarios en la “Crónica de Don Pero Niño” de G. Díez de Gamez*. Director de la memoria: Dr. D. Juan Fco. López Estrada, Catedrático de Literatura de la Universidad Complutense. (Memoria de Licenciatura. Facultad de Filología, Sección de Hispánicas, Subsección de Literatura Hispánica). Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- 1986 Pérez Ovejero, M^a Ángela. *Estado actual de los estudios sobre El Victorial de Gutierre Díez de Games*, Memoria de la Licenciatura, Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- 1986 Beltrán Llavador, Rafael. *Un estudio sobre la biografía medieval castellana: la realidad histórica de Pero Niño y la creación literaria de “El Victorial”*, Tesis Doctoral dirigida por D. Joan Oleza Simó, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, Facultad de Filología, PPU. (ed. en microfichas).
- 1991 Miranda Poza, J. Alberto. *Análisis filológico y Estudio lingüístico de “El Victorial”*; *propuesta de edición crítica*, Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Complutense.

- 1992 Montero Garrido, Cruz. *Sobre historiografía castellana tardo-medieval*, Tesis doctoral dirigido por Don D. Diego Catalán, Madrid: Universidad de Autónoma.
- 1993 Fisher Echeagaray, Lynne. *Writing to Conceal: Silencing in Fifteenth Century Castilian Biography*. Ph Diss., :University of Connecticut.

APPENDIX D: ALPHABETICAL LIST OF LITERARY CRITICISM

APPENDIX D

Alphabetical List of Literary Criticism

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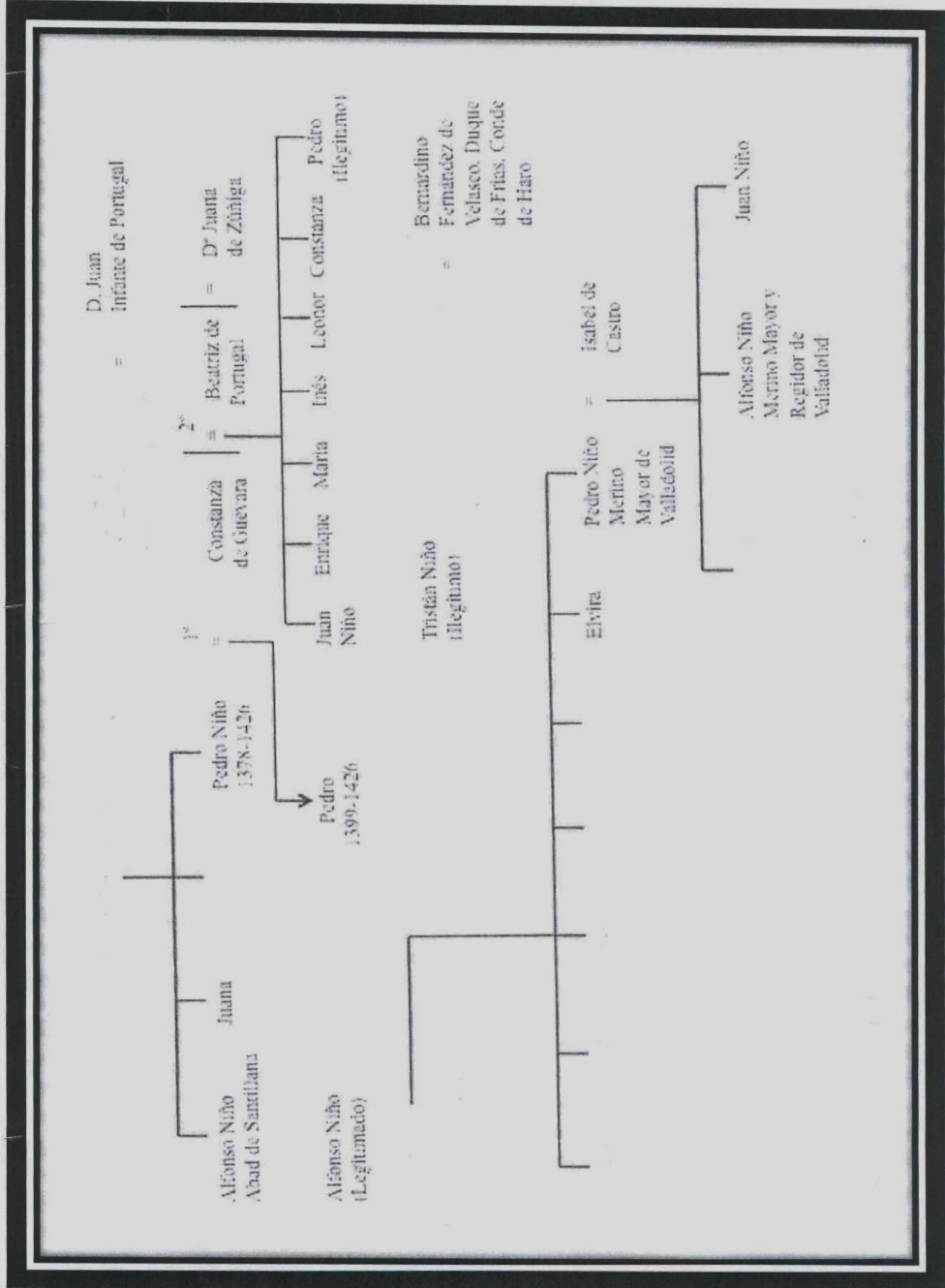
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APPENDIX E: NIÑO FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX F: NIÑO FAMILY TIMELINE

APPENDIX F

Niño Family Timeline

1337-1453	<i>100 Year War</i> ¹
1346	<i>Battle of Crécy</i>
1347	<i>Battle of Calais</i>
1356	<i>Battle of Poitiers</i>
1378	Don Pero Niño born ²
1380	Ines Lasa was called to the palace to nurse the Infante Enrique
1384	Pero Niño's father, Juan Niño served in the King's army in the siege on Lisbon
1391	A scrivener named Games silences his role as clerk in the Royal Chancery
1393-1406	Most famous actions of Pero Niño during Henry III's reign

El Victorial (up to 1399 or 1404) First Book

1394	15 July, France, Charles VI issues a decree of general expulsion of the Jews ³ Pero Niño is 16 years old Benedict XIII succeeds Clement VII as Pope
1395	Tamerlane destroys Astrakhan

¹FOOT NOTES FOR APPENDICES

¹ *Timeline from Cau Pablo, Batallas del mundo, Las 100 Batallas más importantes de la Historia desde Kadesh a la torna de Bagdad, Tres mil años de Guerra, Tikal: Firense.*

² **Pero Niño timeline from *El Victorial***

³ Historical timeline from *Chronicle of the World* ed. Jerome Burne Paris: Jacques Legrand, 1989.

- 1395-95 First arms; two sieges on Gijón
- 1396 *Pero Niño marries his first wife, Doña Constanza, at the age of 18⁴*
- 1396-98 War on Portugal
- 1397 *Pero Niño has a son with Doña Constanza, Don Pedro*
- 1398 First arms – Don Pero Niño
- Tamerlane invades India and sacks Delhi**
- 1399 **John II of Boucicat, the marshal of France, with Western troops, holds Constantinople against the Ottomans**
- 1400 **France, Jean Froissart finishes his chronicles. Their picture of the chivalric world during the second half of the last century is proving immensely influential**
- 1401 *Doña Constanza, Pero Niño's first wife, dies*
- 1402 **Henry of Castile sends an expedition to conquer the Canary Islands**
- The King gives Pero Niño men under his command – first task: liberate the shores of the Levant from the Corsicans*
- Under the command of Don Ruy López Dávalos, Gutierre de Games is declared eye - witness to campaigns

El Victorial (1404-1409) Second Book

- 1403 *Pero Niño named captain at the 23 years of age by Enrique III*
- 1404 **John the Fearless becomes duke of Burgundy**
- Naval campaigns in the Mediterranean
- 1406 **A copy of Ptolemy's Geography is brought to Italy**
- Pillage on Jersey, Pero Niño mentioned as armed knight in Jesús de Rodríguez's *El Debate*
- 1407 **Paris 23 November – Louis the Duke of Orleans, is murdered on the instigation of John the Fearless, the Duke of Burgundy**

⁴ *Timeline from La Villa de Cigales, San José Díez, Mariano Cigales: 1995.*

- 1407 Eclipse of the Sun, June 16, 49° 26' 38" N / 6' 12" E
- 1407-08 Campaign against Granada, two sieges, Ronda and Setenil
- 1408 *Doña Beatriz becomes interested in Pero Niño.*
- 1408-19 *Crónica de Juan II* mentions Gutierre Díaz as the King's scribe sent to Granada on missions.

El Victorial (1409-1410) Third Book (A)

- 1409 *Tourney in Valladolid, the pair fall in love and become secretly engaged. Infante Don Fernando refuses to accept their engagement*
- 1410 *Pero Niño's second wedding with Doña Beatriz de Portugal at the age of 24 years old*
- 1411 *Pero Niño's son, Juan Niño, becomes the Comendador de Mérida*
- 1415 ***Battle of Agincourt – swords used only for nobility***
- 1416 **Alfonso V succeeds his father, Ferdinand, on the throne of Aragón**
Mission in Plasencia
- 1419 *Inés Niño, daughter of Pero Niño, becomes Abbess of Santa Clara in Valladolid*
- 1419-1422 Isolation of Don Pero Niño
- 1420-22 Pero Niño serves Enrique de Aragón
- 1420 July 13, polemical takeover in Tordesillas
- 1423 Pero Niño is exiled to Aragón

El Victorial (1431-1436) Third Book (B)

- 1424 *Don Pedro, son, dies at 27 years of age*
- 1431 Pero Niño is made a count
War on Granada – Battle of Higuera
- 1432-1444 Games silences Pero Niño's deeds in this period *El V*

- 1435 Conde Pero Niño dictates his will and commands Gutierre Díaz de Games to write his story
- 1437-1445 Pero Niño supports the wrong side of the monarchy
- 1436-1437 Games works as a clerk in the Royal Chancery
- 1440 *Pedro Niño's illegitimate child, Pedro Niño, also dies*
Valladolid is held by Pero Niño on the behalf of the Infante de Aragón
- 1444 Death of Pero Niño's son, Juan
- 1446 *Doña Beatriz dies, sepulchre in chapel next to altar in the Iglesia de Parroquial de Cigales in the choir*
Enrique Diez, wedded to Doña María de Guzmán. María, wedded to García de Herrera, Señora de Cigales becomes abbess of Santa Clara de Valladolid
Juan Niño, second son of Pero Niño, dies in a tourney
- 1446 *Leonor Niño is wedded to Don Diego López de Zuñiga, Conde de Nieva.*
- 1448 *Pedro Niño is wedded to his third wife, Doña Juana de Zuñiga, offering 300,000 maravedies*
- 1449 Pero Niño is 62 years old
- 1453 ***Battle of Constantinople – emergence of stable armies with new strategies***
Don Pero Niño dies and also Don Alvaro de Luna
- 1496 *Inés, daughter Pero Niño, dies*
- 1609 Fernando Niño, patriarch of the Indies, has the shield and border painted on Manuscript A: BNM, ms. 17.648, fol. 1r.

APPENDIX G: SYNOPTIC CHART

Appendix G

Synoptic chart - Mata Carriazo⁵

PROEMIO

Origen de la Caballería	Las Cuatro virtudes.
Los cuatro mayores príncipes	Del “Libro de Alexandre”.
Errores de los gentiles (29-34)	La Cueva de Toledo.
Gloria de los vencedores (35-43)	Caballeros ejemplares.
	El Milagro de la Palma.
	Condiciones de los Caballeros.
	Elogio de la Caballería.
Declaración del objeto del libro (44-46)	

PRIMERA PARTE

Linaje de don Pero Niño (47-71)	El Cuento de los Reyes.
Infancia de Pero Niño (71-73)	Doctrinas de su <i>ayo</i> .
Primeras armas de Pero Niño (73-83)	Gijón, Sevilla, Portugal, Galicia.
Proporciones y virtudes de Pero Niño (83-88)	
Boda con doña Constanza (89-95)	El amor y sus grados.
	Eneas y la reina Dido.
En la guerra de Portugal (96-98)	

SEGUNDA PARTE

Pero Niño contra los corsarios (99-138)	Aparejo de las galeras.
	Escalas de Gibraltar y Málaga.
	En las costas de Berbería.
	Marsella y el Papa Luna.
	Túnez, muy noble ciudad.

⁵ Mata Carriazo, Juan, *El Victorial Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940, xx-xxii.

Pero Niño contra los ingleses (139-287)
Historias de Bruto y Dorotea (142-177)

Ingleses contra franceses (177-183)

En el Canal de la Mancha (184-218)

Pero Niño entre los franceses (218-246)

Otra vez en las galeras (246-279)

Maravillas de Anglaterra (279-287)
Pero Niño regresa a Castilla (287-298)

La segunda expedición.
Condiciones de los ingleses
Destierro de Bruto.
Los hijos de Menalao.
El Consejo de Dorotea.
Bruto contra los ingleses.
Aventuras de Dorotea.
La hija del duque de Guyena.
El rey Richarte despuesto.
Pero Niño en Francia.
En la costa de Cornualla.
El sufrido caballero.
Batalla naval.
La Almiralla de Francia
En el Consejo Real.
Los hijos de Aduarte.
Locura del rey Charles.
Amores y torneos.
Entre Inglaterra y Flandes.
Encuentro con Arripay.
Diálogo con el viento.
Jornada de Jersey.
En el mar Poniente.
Las dos Bretañas.
Armese caballero.
La guerra de Granada.
Ante los muros de Ronda.
Romance de Setenil.

TERCERA PARTE

El último amor de Pero Niño (299-309)

Trabajo de los enamorados (309-314)

En el favor de la cortes (314-319)

Los Infantes de Aragón (319-327)

Los infantes portugueses.
Torneos en La Cascagera.
Declaración de amor.
La oposición del Regente.
Explicación con el Infante.
Destierro de Pero Niño.
Doña Beatriz en Urueña.
Perdón y bodas en Cigales.
La empresa de Plasencia.
Visita al rey de Aragón.
Muerte de Fernando I.
Alejandro en Utopía.
Intrigas y ambiciones.

Guerras civiles en Castilla (327-337)

La familia de Pero Niño (338-348)

Prisión de Juan Furtado.

Juan II en Montalbán.

La estrella de don Álvaro.

El torneo de Valladolid.

Pero Niño y el Condestable.

Intermedio granadino.

Pero Niño, conde de Buelna.

Don Juan el Niño de Portugal.

Últimas armas del conde.

Muerte de la condesa.

Fin de la Crónica.

APPENDIX H: NUMERICAL SCHEME BY CHAPTER

APPENDIX H

Numerical Scheme by Chapter

Proemio	12 brazos candelabros
4 príncipes	Cap. II.
3 personas en un Dios	7 artes liberales
4 cosas inquirir y catar	2 grifos
3 estados de gentes	Tierra en 3 partes
62 lenguas principales	Después de 3 días salió
4 virtudes cardinales	Cap. III.
7 artes liberales	4 tierras, 4 personajes
10 hombres - un centurión	Edad de Cristo
10 x 10 – 100 hombres	22 años + 12 = 34
1000 hombres	30 dineros de plata
6660 - legión	4 días se dará la villa
Cap. I.	Cap. IV
4 primeros capítulos	24 reyes
4 virtudes Cardinales	águila bicéfala
4 príncipes	3 redomas
4 naciones	7 ciudades de Jerusalén
4 lenguas	Cap. V.
3 virtudes Teologales	4 virtudes + 3 virtudes en almas
12 propósitos	40 años trabajo
7 años de trabajo	300 años godos
12 tribus de Israel	Cap. VI.

2 maneras de vencer	Cap. XIV.
3 hebreos	2 galeas
3 franceses	300 hombres
3 españoles	Cap. XV
3 vencidos	Cap. XVI.
Cap. VII.	Cap. XVII.
5 fuentes	14 meses
3 órdenes de caballería	10 años de Troya
3 adjetivos	Cap. XVIII.
3 cosas de defender	20 hombres
2 maneras de vencer	200 hombres
Cap. VIII.	mataron 4 ó 5
4 virtudes	3 años de crianza
5 días	50,000 florines
3 reyes españoles	Cap. XIX.
3 caballeros	Cap. XX.
23 años ambos mozos	Cap. XXI.
3 partes del libro	4 yerros
Primer Parte (hasta 1404)	14 años de edad
Cap. IX.	Cap. XXII.
Cap. X.	1393
Cap. XI.	14 años de edad
Cap. XII.	Cap. XXIII.
Cap. XIII.	15 años

Cap. XXIV.	4 grupos, 3 tipos de canción
1396 – Don Enrique	3 ejemplos
1º éxito en Sevilla	2 pares de adjetivos opuestos
Cap. XXV.	3 mujeres diferentes
2º éxito en Sevilla	15 años después
2 movimientos hechos	7 atributos DPN
Cap. XXVI.	Cap. XXXV.
Cap. XXVII.	30 hombres a caballo
3 mancebos	100 hombres a pie
1397	2 heridas, (saeta, lanza)
13 lenguas	Segunda Parte (1404-1409)
17 días tardaban	Cap. XXXVII.
Cap. XXVIII.	1404
Cap. XXIX.	2ª edad
15 estados de la gente	30 hombres
Cap. XXX.	2 millas lejos
Cap. XXXI.	500 caballeros
16 virtudes exteriores DPN	300 cristianos a caballo
Cap. XXXII.	Cap. XXXVIII.
9 virtudes interiores DPN	20 pabesados
Cap. XXXIII.	Cap. XXXIX.
27 años muere el hijo	2 velas vaxas
Cap. XXXIV.	2 millas
2 componentes de amor	20+ barcos de pescar
3 grados de amor	5 galeas

(1330)	2 horas
3 naos	2 galeas
Cap. XL.	2 años
Cap. XLI.	2 galeas
3 naos corsarios	2 ambos a dos
1000 moradores	Cap. LXVI.
Cap. XLII.	20 leguas
5 leguas	3-4 horas
10 días	20 leguas
Cap. XLIII.	Cap. LXVII.
Cap. XLIV.	1 hora
1 hora	media luna
10,000 moros	15 días
Cap. XLV.	5 naos
Una saeta	Cap. LXVIII.
Cap. LXII.	300 vecinos
Cap. LXIII.	3 horas
Cap. LXIV	2 naos
(1355)	(7 x 7)
Cap. LXV.	12 naos
3 galeas	12-13 días
(1405)	Cap. LXIX.
2 villas	Cap. LXX.
100 barcos	40,000 ingleses
150 casas	20,000 franceses

20,000 ingleses murieron

10,000 franceses

3 chapeles

Cap. LXXI.

7-8 barcas

1 hora

200 vecinos

Cap. LXXII.

2 partes

Cap. LXXIII.

1 hora

Cap. LXXIV.

5 castillos

3-4 veces

3 nobles

3 galeas

2 valleneros

20 galeas

Cap. LXXV.

15,000 hombres

Cap. LXXVI.

4 islas

(2 grandes, 2 pequeñas)

4 cosas

1 caballero

Cap. XLVII.

2 hombres

una legua y media

Cap. XLVIII.

1, 500 de caballo

Cap. XLIX.

Cap. L.

4-5 casas

1 hora

2 ballesteros

5.000 a caballo

15 días

20 días

5 galeas

20-30 golpes

4 días

Cap. LI.

Cap. LII.

(1405)

3 galeas

Cap. LIII.

60 brazas

5 días

3 días

3,000 hombres

Cap. LIV.	2 torres
Cap. LV	50 leguas
1 hijo	3 balleneras
1 hija	Cap. LXXVIII.
15 años	3 días
12 años	300 personas
¼ parte del reino	40-50 canes
Cap. LVI.	20 cabalgaduras
¼ parte del reino	10 doncellas de paraxe
una leona	1 cavallero / damisela
Cap. LVII.	1 hora
Cap. LVIII.	Cap. LXXIX.
4 caballos	Cap. LXXX
1 corona	5 hijos legítimos
2 dueñas	5 hijos
2 doncellas	2 leguas
4-5 príncipes	3 naciones
Cap. LIX.	30,000 franceses
Cap. LX.	6,000 ingleses
2 hombres	2,000 hombres
2 torres	2 inconvenientes
Cap. LXI.	500 pipas de vino
6 caballeros	1,000 hombres
30 días de fiesta	12,000 hombre darmas
Cap. LXXVII.	2 ríos

1 caballero	12 casas de Franzia
1 hora	6 cavalleros
5 victorias	Cap. LXXXIV.
Cap. LXXXI.	3,000 veces
3 lastres de gente	7 x 7 invitación
18 años	7 X 7 benzedores
1, 800 navíos	7 hermanos
386 más que Troya	Cap. LXXXV.
8 meses	7 x 7 cavalleros
4 leguas	100,000 gracias
5 días	Cap. LXXXVI.
Cap. LXXXII.	2 años
1 caballo contra otro	3 ballaneros
10, 20, 30 o más	6 horas
2 o 3 salen	12 leguas
2 cavalleros	6 horas
2 contra él	600 hombres darmas
Morir ambas dos	4-5 brazas
Una semana	100 brazas
2 cavallos	400-500 leguas
1 yelmo	Cap. LXXXVII.
100 cavalleros	30 años furтарon
3, 4 carreras de justa	2 naos
3 veces gritaron	1 casa de Alemania
Cap. LXXXIII	2 balleneros

Cap. LXXXVIII.	50 caballeros
4 naturas	5 castillos fuertes
2 lugares criado	4-5,000 hombres
2 linajes	200 belas
Cap. LXXXIX.	2 leguas
1 més allí	4-5 hombres
2 años fuera	5 honrados
6 balleneros grandes	4 islas
120 velas francesas	10,000 coronas dexase
4-5,000 hombres	10.000 coronas repartir
7 leguas	10 años
4-5,000 hombres	12 lanzas
2 días	12 arcos
40-50 hombres	12 vozines
3 bateles	4 hombres
2 horas	5 o 6 blancas Franzia
60 paveses	10 marabedís
2 partes	10 coronas rescate
30-40 pasos	6 horas
1,000 hombres darmas	2 votos
2-3 veces	media noche
3,000 hombres de pie	5 votos diferentes
200 a caballos	1 anglés
1,000 hombres darmas	3 años dura (pexe)
50 hombres	1 serpiente

12 caballeros	3 caminos
3 años	3 leguas
1 ciudad	100 hombres darmas
1 día	3 horas
1 villanol	400 hombres darmas
media noche	2,000 hombres de cavallo
60 brazas	8-10,000 moros de pie
3er día	3 guardas del rey
(1407)	100 lanzas
60 hombres	300 todas
2 bestias cada uno	Tercera parte (1409-1436)
2,000 a caballo	Cap. XC.
2-3 vozines	un vasallo
3-4 hombres	Cap. XCI.
100 moros	2 hijas
1 doncel	11 años
20 pares de bueyes	3 años
1 lombarda	Cap. XCII.
Un par de bueyes	(1409)
3 horas después	4-5 caballeros
200 hombres darmas	2 señores
400-500 peones	2 doncellas
30 hombres de pie	1 hermano
4 horas	3-4 días
3-4 veces cayó	20-30 caballeros

medio año	(1422)
Cap. XCIII.	2-3 ballesteros
1,000 doblas	(1424)
3 días	(1425)
Cap. XCIV.	(1427)
Un año y medio	(1428)
3-4 vezes	1ª, 2ª, 3ª fiesta
Cap. XCV.	12 cavalleros
(1415)	12 apóstoles
1 hijo	100 cavalleros
Cap. XCVI.	12 cavalleros
3 cosas demandando	12 apóstoles
(1419)	50 años (Pero Niño)
14 años rey don Juan	(1429)
Cap. XCVII.	una legua
(1420)	5-6 hombres a cavallo
3 días	una legua y media
media noche	400 de caballo
(1420)	3,000-3,500 hombres
15-20 escuderos	4,000 hombres a pie
un paje	2,000 hombres darmas
un donzel	1,000 hombres a pie
(1421)	(1430)
una carta	5 años de tregua
200 hombres darmas	(1431)

100,000 moros	10-12 días
(1430 – junio)	2 días
30,000 moros a pie	un mes y medio
400 hombres darmas	70 años (Pero Niño)
8-10 ballesteros	15 años comenzó
80,000 moros	2 años y medio
150 hombres darmas	(1446)
1,000 pasos	60 años finó la condesa
30 pasos	70+ años (Pero Niño)
8 días	nobiembre 10, DPN dies
Un caballero Benalmao	
6 años (hijo DPN)	
14 años (hijo DPN)	
20 años	
30 años	
21 años	
media legua de Zigales	
25 años	
3 pares acémilas	
2 trompetas	
un escribano	
3ª vez	
1444	
8-9 años	
6-7 meses	

APPENDIX H

Numerical Scheme by Chapter

Proemio

4 príncipes
3 personas en un Dios
4 cosas inquirir y catar
3 estados de gentes
62 lenguas principales
4 virtudes cardinals
7 artes liberales
10 hombres - un centurion
10 x 10 – 100 hombres
1000 hombres
6660 - legión

Cap. I.

4 primeros capítulos
4 virtudes Cardinales
4 príncipes
4 naciones
4 lenguas
3 virtudes Teologales

Cap. IV.

24 reyes
águila bicéfala
3 redomas
7 ciudades de Jerusalén

Cap. V.

4 virtudes + 3 virtudes en almas

12 propósitos	40 años trabajo
7 años de trabajo	300 años godos
12 tribus de Israel	Cap. VI.
12 brazos candelabros	2 maneras de vencer ejemplos:
Cap. II	3 hebreos
7 artes liberales	3 franceses
2 grifas	3 españoles
Tierra en 3 partes	3 vencidos
Después de 3 días salió	Cap. VII.
Cap. III.	5 fuentes
4 tierras, 4 personajes	3 órdenes de caballería
Edad de Cristo	3 adjetivos
22 años + 12 de conquista son 34	3 cosas de defender
30 dineros de plata	2 maneras de vencer
4 días se dará la villa	
Cap. VIII.	mataron 4 ó 5
4 virtudes	3 años de crianza
5 días	50,000 florines
3 reyes españoles	Cap. XIX.
3 caballeros	Cap. XX.
23 años ambos mozos	Cap. XXI.
3 partes del libro	4 yerros
<u>Primer Parte</u> (hasta 1404)	14 años
Cap. IX.	Cap. XXII.
Cap. X.	1393

Cap. XI.	14 años de edad
Cap. XII.	Cap. XXIII.
Cap. XIII.	15 años
Cap. XIV.	Cap. XXIV.
2 galeas	1396 – Don Enrique
300 hombres	1º éxito en Sevilla
Cap. XIV.	Cap. XXV.
Cap. XV.	2º éxito en Sevilla
Cap. XVI.	2 movimientos hechos
Cap. XVII.	Cap. XXVI.
14 meses	Cap. XXVII.
10 años de Troya	3 mancebos
Cap. XVIII.	1397
20 hombres	13 lenguas
200 hombres	17 días tardaban
Cap. XXIX.	2ª edad
15 estados de la gente	30 hombres
Cap. XXX.	2 millas lejos
Cap. XXXI.	500 caballeros
16 virtudes exteriores DPN	300 cristianos a caballo
Cap. XXII.	Cap. XXXVIII.
9 virtudes interiores DPN	Cap. XXXIX.
Cap. XXXIII.	
27 años muere el hijo	
Cap. XXXIV.	

2 componentes de amor
3 grados de amor
4 grupos de 3 tipos de canción
3 ejemplos
2 pares de adjetivos opuestos
3 mujeres diferentes
15 años después
7 atributos DPN

Cap. XXXV.

30 hombres a caballo
100 hombres a pie
2 heridas, (saeta, lanza)

Segunda Parte (1404-1409)

Cap. XXXVII.

1404

APPENDIX I: NOTES ON APPENDICES

APPENDIX G

Notes on the Appendices

- (a) Rubio Tovar, Joaquín (ed.). *Libros españoles de viajes medievales* (selección), Madrid, Taurus, 1986, 39-41.
- (b) Díaz Roig, Mercedes. *El Romancero Viejo*, Madrid, Ed. Cátedra, 1985, 13-41.
- (c) *Crónica de don Pedro Niño, conde de Buelna, por Gutierre Díez de Games, su alférez*. La publica don Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, de la Real Academia de la Historia. Colección de las Crónicas y Memorias de los Retes de Castilla, 3, Madrid, Imprenta de Antonio Sancha, 1782, 2.
- (d) Llaguno Amirola, *Ibid.*, 2.
- (e) Llaguno Amirola, *Op. Cit.*, vii.
- (f) Llaguno Amirola, *Op. Cit.*, viii.
- (g) Llaguno Amirola, *Op. Cit.*, vi.
- (h) Vid. Llaguno Amirola, *Op. Cit.*, *Varones Ilustres de la Marina Española, Vida de don Pero Niño, primer conde de Buelna*, Vargas y Ponce, Joseph, Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1807; *The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the deeds of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna by his Standard-bearer Gutierre Díaz de Gamez (1431-1449)*, Trans. Evans, Joan, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928. *El Victorial. Crónica de don Pero Niño, por Gutierre Díez de Games*, ed. Iglesia, Ramón, Séneca, México, 1940.
- (i) *Le Victorial. Chronique de Don Pedro Niño, Comte de Buelna par Gutierre Díez de Gamez (sic) son Alférez (1379-1449)*. Trad de l'éspagnol d'après le manuscrit. Avec une introduction et des notes historiques par le Comte de Circourt et le Comte de Puymagre, París, Victor Palmé éditeur, 1867; *El Victorial. Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna, por su alférez Gutierre Díez de Games*. Edición y estudio por Juan de Mata Carriazo, Colección de Crónicas Españolas, I, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1940.

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CONCLUSIONES DE LOS CAPÍTULOS Y LOS OBJETIVOS EN ESPAÑOL

CONCLUSIONES DE LOS CAPÍTULOS Y LOS OBJETIVOS EN ESPAÑOL

I: CONCLUSIONES DE LOS CAPÍTULOS

Introducción

En primer lugar, para reconocer los diferentes niveles de significado bajo la variedad de colores en la tapicería que Díez de Games (de aquí en adelante, “Games”) empleó en el tejido del tapiz de “El Perfecto Caballero”, es importante comprender las técnicas, los temas y el motivo central asociados con la tradición narrativa historiográfica del momento. Además, también es necesario identificar las técnicas novelísticas que Games, eligió en la historia del conde de Buena. La estrategia de utilizar una metodología estructuralista para toda la narrativa caballerescas en *El Victorial* (de aquí en adelante, sólo *EIV*) ha sido un éxito a la hora de indagar en qué secciones el autor empleó determinadas técnicas y qué hechos históricamente verificables fueron incorporados al esquema caballeresco.

Capítulo 1: La Falsificación y la Transformación de la Historia

En el primer capítulo se revisan algunos métodos que historiadores y cronistas han empleado desde la Historia Antigua y que se han convertido en práctica común, las cuales han de ser estudiados y debatidos con la intención de comprender la naturaleza del material historiográfico usado en crónicas, archivos y documentos legales

Falsificación de los documentos históricos

En la introducción, se presenta una revisión del tratamiento tradicional del material historiográfico de Games. En esta sección se ha demostrado que, durante siglos, los documentos históricos estaban al servicio y control de los intereses e intercambios políticos y personales. Con un renovado enfoque en el contenido de *El V*, la relectura produjo la necesidad de dividir la entidad producida por Games en diversos apartados que ayudasen a enfocar el estudio.

Falsificación de la Historia en El Victorial

La segunda sección del Capítulo Uno es un compendio de descripciones no históricamente documentadas de las acciones de Pero Niño y del análisis de cómo Games abordó a la transformación de la documentación historiográfica encarnada en el Perfecto Caballero. Algunas técnicas resultaron ser evidentes. Tras el análisis, se han podido identificar las técnicas aplicadas por el autor, desde la menor intervención a la más elaborada ficción.

Estas técnicas, como se ve en la Figura 1.1 “La falsificación de la historia por Games a través de técnicas novelísticas”, están agrupadas, a su vez, en tres secciones. La primera, “*Omisión*”, se refiere a la falsificación y contiene dos categorías: “La simple omisión del hecho” y “El discurso del narrador”. La segunda sección, “*Alusión*”, se refiere a cómo el autor transformó los datos y presenta cuatro categorías: “Espacio y tiempo”, “Presencia añadida”, “Modificación de la imagen” y “Substitución de nombres”. La tercera sección, “*Transformación*”, se refiere a la manera más creativa y ficticia de usar los hechos

historiográficos y tiene tres categorías: “Diálogo añadido”, “Diálogo directo” y “Pura invención”.

La primera parte de la sección, “*Omisión*”, es un estudio de los hechos verificados históricamente pero silenciados sobre el conde de Buelna, “Simple omisión del hecho”. Obliga a organizar la vida de Pero Niño en una línea temporal, tal y como hizo Games. La variación de los datos confiere un segundo significado a la historia, como una elaboración del autor, y revela los estados en los que reconocemos normalmente al héroe épico. La segunda sección, “El discurso del narrador”, demuestra las diversas intervenciones del autor y lo introduce en varias subsecciones, que conforman la base del Capítulo Seis: “La responsabilidad del lector”.

La sección dedicada al modo en el que Games transforma la narrativa historiográfica, “*Alusión*”, refleja su relación con el auténtico halago a la figura del héroe. En la sección de “Espacio y Tiempo”, el momento en el que Pero Niño, como un joven que ha de probar su valor antes de recibir las armas, es el producto del cambio en el modo de presentar los hechos históricamente datados, que demuestra la utilización del autor de las técnicas propias de los libros de caballerías. “Presencia añadida” se refiere a la batalla históricamente comprobada y a las escenas eliminadas en donde no se presentan los hechos reales, sino que el autor introduce a Pero Niño en su acción. Se han encontrado otros añadidos que se refieren a “Modificación de la imagen” y “Substitución de nombres”.

“*Transformación*”, la tercera técnica más utilizada por Games, es resultado de específicas técnicas utilizadas en novelas de caballerías y escogidas por el autor. Exalta las características virtuosas y las acciones del perfecto caballero encarnadas en Pero Niño. “Diálogo añadido” sucede en el momento más peligroso y crucial de la acción, reflejando

alguna de las siete virtudes. “Diálogo directo” se refiere a esas intervenciones realizadas por el autor sobre la obra de sus contemporáneos y al diálogo que Pero Niño utiliza cuando también se dirige a sus coetáneos. También es analizado en el capítulo de “La responsabilidad del lector”. “Pura invención” presenta los pasajes descriptivos a través de los cuales Games ha sido reconsiderado en la crítica literaria: aquellos sobre batallas, escenas románticas y, especialmente, las escenas palaciegas, una de las cuales es analizada en el Capítulo Siete: “Temas relacionados con la Clasificación”.

Capítulo II: Historia Literaria como Ficción caballerescas en “*El Victorial*”

Historia de caballerías como realidad

Después de reconocer la sorprendente cantidad de material ficticio en *El V*, ha sido necesario analizar por qué Games ha utilizado técnicas de ficción como “representación fiable” de datos históricos. Este capítulo está dividido en tres niveles de comprensión: “Ficción de caballería como realidad”, “El resultado de la Transformación de la Historia”, dividida en dos secciones relacionadas con la fusión y confusión de la historia: “La Confusión de la Historia con la Vida Real” y “La Fusión de la Historia y la Ficción”, y una sección que trata la narrativa de caballerías: “Referencias a las órdenes de caballeros”. La tercera sección es una observación de cómo el autor ha enfocado determinados temas: “Referencias a las órdenes de caballerías”. Este capítulo pretende explicar por qué Games planteó *El V* como tal.

Esta sección revisa los datos históricos como se enumeran en las crónicas y es un recordatorio de que la semejanza con la realidad es sólo una pátina de realismo. La intención

de esta introducción es presentar los capítulos siguientes de un modo apropiado como “representación fiable”.

El Resultado de la Transformación de la Historia

“La confusión de la historia y la vida real en El Victorial”

Esta primera sección, como la del Capítulo Seis, “La respuesta del lector”, comenta algunas percepciones de Pero Niño sugeridas por Games. Ha sido necesario antes de discutir acerca del siguiente concepto, la fusión de la ficción con la realidad en la mente de los lectores, pero también la imitación de la vida de otros héroes de caballería por parte de los propios caballeros.

“La fusión de la historia y la ficción”

Como análisis complementario y para demostrar por qué Games modificó algunas informaciones sobre crónicas de la realeza y por qué muchos de los materiales historiográficos han sido añadidos al *El V*, se presentan algunos ejemplos de inclusión de hechos históricos en literatura contemporánea y vidas de caballeros. El trabajo aporta la respuesta de la narrativa de caballerías ficticia, que subraya la aparente fiabilidad de los datos históricos.

Referencias a las Órdenes de Caballería

Existiendo históricas ordenes de caballeros en España, ninguna está asociada con Pero Niño. Una orden francesa es mencionada en *El V*, “la empresa del brazaletes”, a la que Pero Niño es invitado. Ahondando un poco más en el supuesto de la invitación en la narrativa en

El V, por la referencia de la carta enviada a Pero Niño por la orden, el conde de Buelna responde y la escena del banquete se revela como otra de las técnicas que Games ha empleado para subrayar el cumplimiento de un requisito de caballería asociado con los libros de ficción en la historiografía sobre caballerías disponible para el autor. La actual descripción de la batalla de siete contra siete lleva a investigar la posible utilización de la numerología hebrea en *El V*, igualmente tratado en la sección siguiente a este capítulo.

Referencias numerológicas en la caballería

El propósito de las referencias numéricas en El Victorial

Gran parte de la numerología de *El V* parece venir de material antiguo, tanto hebreo, como artúrico, así como de registros contemporáneos. En todo caso, por las tablas de números que aparecen en los capítulos, en el Apéndice, en el esquema de numeración de capítulos, es claro que el material historiográfico creó un patrón a seguir. También parece que esta estructura básica de números es un elemento requerido en la narrativa caballeresca que Games no pudo dejar de seguir.

Observaciones generales

Los números usados en los capítulos que veíamos en la tabla numérica y en las descripciones parecen romper en ocasiones con los recursos bíblicos, el material artúrico y las leyendas folclóricas. Como consecuencia, la deducción sería que más de un autor puso una mano en la organización, o incluso en un nuevo orden en *El V*.

Número siete

Comenzando con el escudo de armas de la familia de Pero Niño, siete flores de lis en un campo de oro, se muestran una serie de referencias que aparecen en grupos de tres y de cuatro, que se presentan como siete. El apéndice del esquema numérico de los capítulos desvela una serie de tres y de cuatro grupos asociados con la explicación de la Biblia o manuales de princesas y caballeros.

Otra referencia al siete se encuentra en la batalla de siete contra siete, mencionado dos veces en *El V* y las siete virtudes encontradas en la descripción de Pero Niño (Cuatro cardinales y tres teológicas) demostradas a través de la caracterización del personaje y en una estructura formal en las sucesivas victorias durante las aventuras. El elemento central del caballero bueno frente al caballero malo se demuestra en cómo Pero Niño se asocia con estas virtudes.

Capítulo III: Desarrollo histórico de la narrativa caballerescas peninsular

Desarrollo histórico de la narrativa de caballerías

La existencia de diversos elementos historiográficos encontrados en *El V* no son, al contrario de lo que consideran muchos expertos, verdaderos, históricamente hablando, tal y como entendemos hoy en día. La situación de cómo, durante siglos, muchos críticos literarios e historiadores han tenido dificultades para clasificar *El V*, ha llevado a organizar temáticamente algunos ensayos, Capítulo IV, V y VII para entender mejor cómo Games percibe este “*Tratado*”.

Para empezar, es necesaria la revisión del significado de la narrativa historiográfica comentada por críticos e historiadores, y es necesario focalizar en los elementos comunes reconocidos en los supuestos “trabajos históricos”. El descubrir que *El V* es una especie de cuerpo historiográfico ayuda a clarificar el conjunto de narrativas que son similares en *El V* durante el siglo XIV, XV e incluso XVI. En “El conjunto común de narrativa” la Figura (3.1) ha sido añadida para hacer referencia a esto, al igual que los capítulos siguientes. Además, también muestra el conjunto común de géneros que Games tiene a su disposición y que empleó para elaborar detalles del conde de Buelna.

Este modo de trabajo es necesario para entender la complejidad de *El V*, y también para entender cómo el autor ha recorrido el material historiográfico disponible y asimismo para preguntarse si es cierto que el autor ha buscado crear el “*tratado*” más fiable posible. *El V* como reflejo de la narrativa historiográfica de estos siglos ayuda a focalizar la comparación de la obra con los diferentes elementos encontrados en anteriores crónicas y en otros libros de caballerías.

El Victorial en la narrativa de caballerías

El Victorial comparado con libros de caballerías

Antes de comparar *El V* con el *Amadís*, *Zifar*, *La conquista de Ultramar* y con los romances relacionados con la Figura de “El desarrollo histórico de la Narrativa de Caballerías (3.2)”, se ve que *El V* pretende moralizar el género de la narrativa de caballerías. La relación de la dimensión moralizante y didáctica con el esquema general historiográfico es el siguiente paso para analizar *El V* en la narrativa de caballerías.

El Victorial como prosa didáctica

También aparece en *El V* una revisión de los elementos de repertorios moralistas, relacionados con subestructuras folclóricas orales, romances, la épica juglaresca, leyendas cristianas, crónicas históricas y relatos históricos en los que se apoya el tema de la caballería. Así se demuestra, como conclusión, que no sólo es *El V* el trabajo más completo, ya que Games se ha basado en muchos más géneros contemporáneos, material histórico, narrativa caballerescas y propuestas morales que otros autores, sino el más complejo. A nuestro juicio, la complejidad del material caballeresco de Pero Niño en *El V*, junto con otras propuestas morales y directamente relacionadas, demuestra que debe haber varios significados tras lo declarado en el “*Tratado*” por Games.

Capítulo IV: Doctrina caballerescas

La introducción en *El V* resalta varios elementos de La Vulgata que señalan el deseo de Games de introducir material artúrico y que conduce a un análisis del modo en el que el autor utiliza los comentarios negativos hacía el ciclo artúrico para resaltar la prosa moralizante de *El V*. Un análisis de las estructuras caballerescas, religiosas y doctrinales puede acercarnos a un entendimiento mayor en cuanto al grado de ficción reside en la narrativa

La doctrina caballerescas

La revisión de la virtud, como veíamos en *El V*, introduce las principales descripciones de Pero Niño y Beatriz y también el tema de la Virgen María. El eco de la

Virgen se presenta inicialmente en el *Proemio* y se reitera a lo largo de *El V*, especialmente en las leyendas folclóricas y en momentos de dificultad durante la campaña marítima así como y en las batallas en tierra. En referencia a los elementos que mantienen en común los libros de caballerías con *El V*, el pasaje que subraya la ayuda de la Virgen convierte el “Tratado”, como Games lo concibe, en más que un simple manual de príncipes.

Valores morales

La doctrina moralizante de *El V* se refleja en momentos específicos en los que Pero Niño demuestra las siete virtudes que propone el *ayo* del *Proemio*. Dichos momentos de asociación de cualquier virtud son difíciles de enumerar en tanto que las características virtuosas del perfecto caballero que son encarnadas en Pero Niño resultan repetitivas en *El V*. Buscando una estructura, específica y clara, como en el *Proemio*, se puede ver que quizás el hecho de que no se encuentre revele que puede existir más de un autor.

Además, es importante notar que *no* se ha encontrado el manuscrito “original”. Parece que el primer manuscrito, “el original”, supuestamente iniciado por el abuelo de Pero Niño para presentar su historia, no está incluido, en *EL V*, sino se refiere a ello. Es destacable que el estilo de la primera parte donde se hace referencia al manuscrito iniciado por el abuelo de Pero Niño, está distanciado en el tiempo con el momento en que el conde de Buelna contrata a Games para continuar con la saga de la familia a fin de cubrir, hipotéticamente, las crónicas reales. La anteriormente comentada ruptura en las referencias numéricas encontrada en los capítulos, en consecuencia, podía también haber modificado una previa organización de las virtudes. Esta es otra conclusión que demuestra que más de una mano pudo haber participado en la construcción de *El V*.

“Las potencias del alma”

Como subestructura de las virtudes mencionadas, otros puntos centrales, como “armas y amor” y el excesivo uso de “Bienandanza”, llaman la atención. Estos conceptos coinciden con los puntos centrales del buen gobierno y del mal gobierno, y con el concepto clave oculto tras las acciones del buen caballero: el concepto de orden que se puede observar en muchos episodios de *El V*.

La visión cristiana de la vida del caballero

La referencia al tipo de diálogos y su frecuencia en Pero Niño revela la presencia de una visión cristiana a través de esos diálogos en esta particular narrativa de caballerías, que apoya la investigación en las siguientes dos secciones.

Referencias bíblicas

Indicaciones a referencias bíblicas, en el modo en el que aparecen en *El V*, parecen estar en orden. (Figura 4.1: Relación de Referencias Bíblicas). La propuesta de esta lista es declarar las referencias del texto y observar el orden para encontrar su asociación con algunos sermones o con otras narrativas de caballerías. Parece que las referencias bíblicas han sido escogidas por Games para ejemplificar las lecciones enseñadas a Pero Niño por el *ayo* en el *Proemio*. El énfasis en el manual moral de caballeros es evidente.

Los patrones alegóricos en El Victorial

Constatar que muchas de las frases bíblicas sirven como introducción a escenas morales podría atestiguar en *El V* un significado paralelo acompañando la visión de Pero

Niño como perfecto caballero. Por el contrario, es clara la intención de evitar, por parte de Games, las leyendas folclóricas que se encontraban en la caballería artúrica, para prescindir de pensamientos y consideraciones “contra natura”. Además, este concepto suele aparecer en episodios donde Pero Niño desarrolla las lecciones enseñadas por el *ayo*.

El discurso de Pero Niño

Sorprendentemente, una investigación más detenida en los momentos en los que Pero Niño moraliza revela un patrón específico empleado en los discursos moralizantes del personaje que se refleja en la Figura 4.4: “El Discurso de Pero Niño”. La completa clasificación de los tipos de discursos encontrados en *El V*, incluido en el conde de Buelna, está incluida en el Capítulo Seis.

Retrato alegórico del personaje

El recurso historiográfico del retrato alegórico del personaje aparece en *El V* de maneras diferentes. Games utiliza la comparación con animales, alguna vez con Pero Niño, y en otras, con otros personajes. En alguna ocasión, animales con una connotación iconográfica negativa se encuentran asociados con personajes con el papel del maligno. El león aparece en relación con Pero Niño o en relación con el *Apocalipsis de San Marcos*. Junto al uso tradicional de los animales, el hecho del empleo de unos elementos originarias de las leyendas folclóricas no ha sido ignorada por Games; así el nombrar la ballesta de Pero Niño, “La Niña”, como se hace en los círculos artúricos, y la insistencia en el tema de “las armas y el amor” o en el “héroe salvador”, común en la narrativa de caballerías.

Capítulo V: Modelos, Ritos y Simbolismo

La aparición de abundantes puntos claves compartidos por la narrativa histórica de caballerías y la ingente de prosa moralizante resulta intrigante. Como consecuencia de la investigación, el equilibrio entre el simbolismo moralizante y el simbolismo de caballerías, común en los libros de caballerías, parece servir para entender cómo Games percibe el “*Tratado*”. Una repetitiva serie de dicotomías confiere una función moralizante a *El V* (Figuras 5.1: Dicotomías Coralarias en apoyo del Leitmotiv de Orden/Desorden, 5.2: Dicotomías Coralarias en apoyo del Leitmotiv del Bueno/Malo y 5.3: Las Virtudes contra Los Vicios), las cuales son, de nuevo, variaciones de orden y desorden, buena y mala caballería, gobierno y caballeros, vicios y virtudes.

La necesidad de vicios y virtudes

Después de revisar una serie de episodios en los que las acciones de Pero Niño van en contra de la encarnación de los vicios y los defectos morales se revela que no sólo las batallas son necesarias para exaltar la posesión de las virtudes. El código moral expuesto por el *ayo* en el *Proemio* no siempre es perceptible, como Games ha descrito en muchos encuentros, justas, amor y batallas, en los que el drama envuelve el episodio en mensajes moralizantes.

Ritos establecidos en la caballería

Asumiendo la similitud de *El V* con los libros de caballerías, y que la prosa moralizante de verdad se encuentra en la relectura de los ritos establecidos en la narrativa de caballerías, se ha llevado a cabo una revisión de los ritos tradicionales. A pesar de que estos

ritos se hallan visto en simple prosa en los libros de caballerías, en *El V*, se muestran como instrucciones dadas a Pero Niño por el *ayo*. Complementando a la prosa moralizante, los ritos son diseminados durante *El V*, respetando el ritmo de maduración de Pero Niño, reflejo de los tres principales estados de la vida del caballero.

El significado de cada arma

Intuyendo que pueda haber un significado alegórico tras la utilización de las armas, se ha realizado una comparación de las descripciones de armas de un caballero en *El libro de la Orden de Caballería* de Ramón Llull y un artículo de Martín de Riquer de “*Las armas en El Victorial*” que puede ayudar a revelar si Games ha ocultado un significado tras las armas de cada batalla y demás escenas de enfrentamientos en *El V*. Sí lo que a veces parece intencionado es verdaderamente una descripción realista de Games o una coincidencia con la terminología del uso de armas. La única conclusión es que pudo haber un segundo autor que trabajara en las escenas de duelo y batalla. Además, el usual comentario moralizante y el tono característico de Games no iban acompañados de descripciones.

Capítulo XVI: La respuesta del lector

Diagrama de la respuesta del lector al autor (Diagrama de la página principal)

La respuesta del lector en El V y sus consecuencias

Después de leer *El V*, está claro que el narrador asume diferentes voces para comunicarse de diferentes maneras con el lector. El diagrama se ha presentado para

demostrar algunas técnicas empleadas por Games en la narrativa historiográfica concebida como “*Tratado*”, representando cada fila un modo específico de ver la narrativa historiográfica presentada por diferentes autores.

Diagrama de la respuesta del lector

El diagrama

Una división de tareas parece ser la mejor manera de ilustrar los diferentes tipos de narrador y revelar al narrador en cada rol asumido en *El V*. Como los lectores también forman parte de la narración historiográfica, se enumeran varios ángulos para descubrir todas las posibles técnicas que Games utiliza para concebir su “*Tratado*”. Las divisiones son: el tipo de autor/narrador; tipo de lector; tipo de intervención; tipo de respuesta de la audiencia y tipo de interpretación.

La idea de dividir la investigación en cuanto a la respuesta del lector en este diagrama se sustenta en varias razones. Principalmente, para identificar la razón por la que Games ha usado diferentes voces y cómo estos narradores son identificados en el texto. Al mismo tiempo, también, para averiguar por qué tantos historiadores y críticos literarios responden a la variedad y mezcla historiográfica en el material de caballerías de tantas maneras diferentes.

Tipos de autores

Después de comparar las intervenciones en *El V*, parece que Games ha usado la técnica de las tres voces, que se han presentado como 1) Gutierre Díaz de Games, el autor real, o principal 2) Gutierre Díez de Games, el portador del estandarte y 3) Gutierre Díez de

Games como autor introducido en información histórica extraordinaria como una voz en “off”.

Tipos de narradores (Fig. 6.1)

Analizando el texto parece que cada autor escoge un personaje en la narración. El verdadero autor torna el rol de “Narrador omnisciente”. El portador del estandarte que acompaña a Pero Niño en sus aventuras es el “Autor declarado”, nombrado como Gutierre Díaz de Games. El tercer autor es la voz desconocida en “off”, pero también un posible actor o un lector. Igualmente importante en la diferencia entre autores es la forma personal utilizada. El narrador omnisciente presenta la información en tercera persona, y frecuentemente comienza su papel con estas palabras: “El autor dice...”. El declarado autor, el portador del estandarte, es el testigo de Pero Niño en la vida virtuosa y narra qué ve en primera persona: “yo vi”. El autor desconocido se presenta en segunda persona: “como sabes”...

La función del discurso del narrador (Fig. 6.2)

El siguiente paso lógico es comparar el discurso de cada narrador para descubrir la función asignada a cada narrador en el esquema general de los tres libros de *El V*. Esta parte de identificación es interesante porque los contenidos moralizantes y las funciones tras cada episodio convierten *El V* en una obra mucho más conforme a un manual de caballeros de lo que uno puede esperar de una “crónica” o una “biografía”.

El narrador omnisciente muestra información adicional necesaria para que el lector pueda continuar la historia de Pero Niño y guiarlo a través de las leyendas folclóricas y los

eventos históricos. El narrador testigo es un eco de las leyendas épicas que Games utiliza para verificar todas las acciones de Pero Niño en primera persona. Su uso coincide con los episodios más polémicos de *El V* y también es el narrador que acompaña a Pero Niño y se convierte en el verdadero protagonista.

El narrador oral, que habla en segunda persona, recoge la función de dar lecciones, como el *ayo*, por ejemplo, mediante opiniones personales. Estas opiniones personales son las que hacen que *El V* sea único en esta faceta de Games de presentarse como un actor en el escenario, parando en medio de la obra para introducir un comentario humorístico, una opinión sobre la escena que va a suceder o alguna que ya ha ocurrido. Este elemento personal resalta la función de invitar al lector a vivir la historia de Pero Niño como una persona real tras la imagen moralista del perfecto caballero.

El discurso de Pero Niño (Fig. 6.3)

En el contexto de los narradores, en particular, un estudio separado del diálogo atribuido a Pero Niño parece el medio de defensa de sí mismo, así como también el modo de convencer a Beatriz para convertirse en su mujer. Sin embargo, los demás diálogos pronunciados por el personaje de Pero Niño en los tres libros; como doncel, capitán y después, conde, siguen, una vez más, el patrón que se presentó en el *Proemio* y como la consecuencia de las lecciones del *ayo*. Pero Niño se vuelve victorioso en cada batalla, representando alguna virtud. Pero Niño capitanea la lucha contra el vicio en forma de bestia, seas la bestia enemigo u oponente. Cada vez que el personaje mayor evoca a Dios, la Virgen María o se refiere a una lección dada por su *ayo*, gana la batalla.

Tipos de lector y respuesta del lector (Fig. 6.4 – 6.7)

Las categorías del lector están estipuladas por el narrador. El primer tipo de lector está asociado con el narrador omnisciente, autor escrito en tercera persona y distante de la historia. Se refiere a esos lectores que viven al mismo tiempo que Pero Niño. Esos lectores que tienden a creer que *El V* es una historia real y que el narrador es el autor real.

El segundo tipo de lector corresponde al portador del estandarte, el autor declarado, escrito en primera persona como testigo. Es el lector ocasional, quien lee *El V* con un interés particular a través de los siglos. Estos lectores podrían ser críticos literarios, historiadores o interesados en el tema del amor y las armas. Estos lectores relevan las acciones de héroe, creyendo que es real.

El tercer tipo de lector está asociado con el actor que usa la voz “en off”, el narrador oral que se dirige a la audiencia o al lector. Este lector busca principalmente entretenimiento y cree en la leyenda. Aquí, sin embargo, parece que los críticos literarios están divididos sobre quién es el autor y el propósito en el modo de dirigirse a la audiencia o al lector. El diagrama de la respuesta del lector se desarrolla básicamente como reacción a distintos intentos de clasificación tal y como varios críticos literarios los redactaron.

Una cronología de la crítica literaria (Fig. 6.9)

Como resultado de la valoración cronológica, se ha visto que los primeros estudios de *El V* están lógicamente centrados en la genealogía, la nobleza. Los críticos históricos y literarios empezaron un poco tarde en el último siglo, cuando los estudios comenzaron a diversificarse. No constituye, al respecto, sorpresa el encontrar que una edición de *El V* ha sido presentada como crónica, y que un conjunto de artículos lo presenten igual.

La complejidad de *El V* ha implicado una larga espera entre ediciones. Una segunda y esperada edición francesa ha recogido multitud de estudios en francés, aunque una edición alemana aún no se ha publicado. La primera edición inglesa ha sido reimpressa, pero no hay una edición portuguesa, a pesar de la unión de los familiares de Pero Niño con Portugal. La cantidad de narrativa historiográfica utilizada por Games demuestra que muchas áreas requieren un par de estudios en cada especialización. La mayoría de estos estudios, sin embargo, se han inclinado a clasificar *El V* como otra crónica o biografía a pesar del hecho de que Games declaró que su narrativa es un “*tratado*”.

Capítulo VII: Temas afines con la clasificación de *El V*

A pesar del desarrollo de la clasificación en general, este capítulo se ha concebido como un acercamiento a cómo las críticas abordan la clasificación. Por otro lado, aceptando que Games declaró que *El V* es un “Tratado”, y en relación a cómo lo concibe como “Tratado”, se ha visto razonable comparar *El V* con el material de la historiografía al uso para entender qué narrativa de caballerías está más cerca de lo que el autor considera “Tratado”.

Consideración general

Una revisión de las características de la obra épica, *El Cantar del Mío Cid*, muestra el acercamiento utilizado por Games a la misma. (Fig. 7.1: Las Tribulaciones de *El Cid*). Otra comparación ilustra qué episodios de Pero Niño han sido escogidos por Games para corresponder con la narrativa general heroica.

El V como prosa moralizante

Como Games presentó su “tratado” *El V* en un estilo moralizante, es interesante comprobar cómo *El V* se asemeja al libro del *Caballero Zifar*. El uso de ejemplos parece asemejarlos y parece haber otro paralelismo entre la prosa didáctica en *El V* y la prosa moralizante ficticia del *Zifar*. Las similitudes sugieren que el punto en común de la narrativa historiográfica de caballerías es casi un requisito para cualquier narrativa de caballerías. Después de considerar la estructura del *Zifar*, se ha llevado a cabo otra comparación con la obra maestra del libro de caballerías, el *Amadís de Gaula*.

El V como libro de caballerías

Una comparación de *El V* con el *Amadís* muestra una temática similar no solo en la definición de Montalvo del *Amadís*, sino también en el formato básico de *El V*. Ambas narraciones tienen cuatro causas presentadas en el *Proemio*. La división de la narrativa en *El V* sigue la triple división presentada por Montalvo así como la prosa moralizante de ambos libros. Si uno imagina a Pere Niño llamado “Doncel”, o el *Amadís* con un nombre apropiado, como Alfonso Calderón, entonces la narrativa historiográfica de caballerías parecería incluso más similar.

Héroes Legendarios en El Victorial

A pesar de escoger una narrativa de caballerías antes que otras categorías de libros de caballerías o prosa moralizante para ilustrar las técnicas que Games utiliza, se ha seguido una búsqueda del sujeto común de las características que envuelven el siglo XIV hasta el XVI para situar a Games en una línea temporal. De este modo, si las características de *El V* son

comparadas con la épica legendaria temprana, como *El Mío Cid*, un libro de caballerías más tardío, como el *Amadís de Gaula*, y después una obra del siglo XVI como *El Quijote*, entonces quizás las similitudes hablaran por sí mismas. Las características, el tema o los puntos centrales que no están presentes podrían reflejar perfectamente qué aspectos del Humanismo han influido en Games.

Muchas de las características presentadas en las obras de caballerías del siglo XVI no aparecen en Games porque ya no convivía con ellas. Otra explicación es que esas características tardías no estaban en el plan de trabajo que Games tenía en mente.

Banquetes, viandas y agua

Una de las características de las aproximaciones tardías de la crítica literaria ha sido comparar un tema particular o con otras narrativas del mismo género. Un método para determinar la veracidad de las descripciones de Pero Niño de la sociedad descritas por el segundo narrador de *El V*, y que no serán encontradas en anuales de realeza o crónicas como borradores de narrativa historiográfica, sería escoger un tema tradicional y reconocible en los libros de caballerías para ver si Games ha seguido una dicotomía común de “espacio abierto” y “espacio cerrado”, y cómo ha tratado el tema de los banquetes, las viandas y el agua.

En *El V*, la dicotomía de “espacio abierto”, refiriéndose a los banquetes en el campo y “espacio cerrado”, refiriéndose a los banquetes en los palacios, sigue la descripción bien conocida por los libros de caballerías. Sorprendentemente, Games no sólo destaca las funciones prevalentes, sino también las opiniones políticas del tiempo en que vive, además de hacer una reflexión sobre cuestiones posteriores en el tiempo al personaje.

Las referencias a la búsqueda de agua, los ríos y los lagos no siempre dejan al lector pensando que existe una veracidad tras la narrativa historiográfica de caballerías tan importante como para que Games la incluyera.

Chapter VIII: Conclusiones de Clasificación

El autor declarado, Games, vivió en un tiempo en el que la narrativa de caballerías era muy común a otros géneros, tal y como lo reconocemos hoy en día y parece que muchos autores consideran el material común desde un enfoque individualizado. Además, dependiendo de lo que uno crea sobre *El V* como “crónica” o como “biografía”, se pone de manifiesto el concepto de “escrito” o “tratado”, tal como Games ha marcado dentro de la historiografía caballescica peninsular.

Partiendo del punto de vista de que se debería clasificar un trabajo definitivamente designado como “*Tratado*”, permite a la narración hablar por sí misma. El “*Tratado*” *El Victorial* no es como los *Tratados militares* de Alonso de Cartagena, y consiguientemente, no significa lo mismo para Games. Los ensayos incluidos en este estudio nos han acercado a la interpretación de la idea de “préstamo” de la narrativa historiográfica de caballerías. Igualmente importante es que se ha llegado a considerar que existen más niveles de significado de los que se habían considerado en estudios anteriores al nuestro.

II: CONCLUSIONES DE LOS OBJETIVOS

Introducción

Nos encontramos en una época en la cual decrece el espíritu caballeresco. La situación socio-política de España en el siglo XV refleja una pugna entre los nobles, a fin de consolidar su situación en el tiempo de las guerras de los Trastámara. *El Victorial* se sitúa, pues, en el final de una trayectoria caballeresca, empezada con las guerras de la reconquista. Éstas han dejado, desde el siglo XII, de tener tanta importancia en la sociedad y el caballero va camino de convertirse en un noble palaciego.

Asimismo, la trayectoria del género de la crónica, que se desarrolló y llegó a sentar sus bases durante el reinado de Alfonso el Sabio, también se encuentra en retroceso cuando Díaz de Games (de aquí en adelante Games) escribió *El Victorial* y un estilo de crónica más personalizada, con más elementos de ficción estaba cobrando auge.

Coincidiendo ambas trayectorias en su fase regresiva, las crónicas tienden a apelar a los gustos del lector. Entre estos gustos suele haber un anhelo del pasado caballeresco glorioso, un intento de resucitar la imagen del caballero. Games resalta la idea de Pero Niño como caballero ejemplar y moral. Aunque haya algo de fondo histórico en la crónica – siguiendo el patrón alfonsí – en el siglo XV ya se habían desarrollado los recursos técnicos de ficción, y los lectores ya estaban lo suficientemente acostumbrados a los varios géneros coetáneos, y, por tanto, Games podía presentar una obra histórica fictiva.

El Victorial (de aquí en adelante *El V*) refleja la percepción histórica de la época, que no coincide con los patrones seguidos hoy en día, los cuales se limitan a un criterio científico

del tiempo real y el espacio delimitado. En el siglo XV no se sigue una cronología real y exacta; los autores no tenían reglas fijas para citar las fuentes empleadas en la confección de la historia, ni tampoco se exigía una objetividad científica en la presentación de los hechos históricos. Estos hechos están presentados según los patrones aceptados en su época: es una narración delimitada en el tiempo por fechas específicas. No existe una cronología de los hechos históricos como hilo conductor de la narración, sino que los temas siguen un hilo conductor según algunos patrones greco-latinos e incluso retóricos de la época.

El espacio está desarrollado menos científicamente, menos limitado y exento de marcos claros como reflejo de los patrones greco-latinos de descripciones in situ. Una referencia al lugar de la acción seguido por otro lugar, con unas referencias vagas, e incluso, muchas veces, repetitivas en número, era suficiente para dar una idea general. Era lo preciso para continuar la narración. En la elaboración de *El V*, Games ha escogido un tema historiográfico y caballeresco. Echó mano de muchas fuentes históricas, reconocidas por los críticos literarios, para elaborar una crónica siguiendo el estilo existente en el siglo XV.

Games utilizó las crónicas de aquella época, también refundiciones de leyendas épicas y tradicionales, históricas en origen, al igual que elementos de interés acerca del personaje o del tema que se va a tratar en el libro. Asimismo tejió unas anécdotas personales acerca de Pero Niño, y presentó leyendas tradicionales como parte de la estructura histórica base. Utiliza ambos recursos indistintamente en un intento de presentar la vida de Pero Niño. La tradición cristiana pesa mucho en el género literario en España en el siglo XV y Games se ajusta a esa tradición, con un fuerte trasfondo religioso ligado a temas caballerescos. No se despega de las lecciones caballerescas que se utilizan como hilo conductor para subrayar el comportamiento modélico de Pero Niño. No usa elementos fantásticos, ni intervenciones

misteriosas, que solucionarían los problemas que afronta Pero Niño y, por lo tanto, no presenta la crónica como un libro de caballerías, el cual utilizará el espacio y tiempo irreales. Es más bien la presentación de un manual de caballería con la vida de Pero Niño como hilo conductor y como ejemplo.

Sin embargo, Games sí empleó unas características de la nueva historiografía de la época que aderezan su libro. Estas características coinciden con algunos de los que se consideran elementos de ficción y que empiezan a aparecer ya en el siglo XV. Por lo tanto, el autor incluye algunos ingredientes de ficción en su “manual” y que han dado lugar a la posibilidad de encasillar a la obra como una crónica biografiada o biografía caballeresca.

Es evidente, entonces, que *El V, a caballo* entre el siglo XIV (representado por obras religiosas y crónicas más históricas y menos personalizadas con menos tradición novelesca) y el siglo XVI (con unos géneros mejor delimitados, una novela de características más definidas, la casi desaparición de la crónica alfonsí y una religiosidad más humanista, resultante del movimiento erasmista) – está situado en una “encrucijada” y constituye un género mixto o multiforme.¹

Si aceptamos que, en el siglo XV, existía una distinción entre lo que consideramos hoy en día la crónica legítima, que ahora sería historia, y el libro de caballerías, que ahora sería ficción,² y que la narrativa se llamaba o bien crónica o bien historia por igual, entonces podemos comprender que el subtítulo de *Crónica del conde de Buelna* pueda referirse a una ficción de un relato verídico. Recordamos que Games no menciona la palabra Crónica en el título – *El Victorial de los Cuatro Príncipes* - y es más tarde cuando los distintos editores añaden el género, según su manera de ver. También es conveniente aceptar que una historia

supuestamente verdadera y una anécdota ficticia podrían mezclarse y producirse una simbiosis entre las dos, de tal manera que el resultado sea creíble y agradable.

Conclusiones de los objetivos

La obra, *El V*, alberga una narrativa muy compleja que contiene varios tópicos subyacentes, que, a veces, parecen ajenas al tema principal: la vida militar del conde de Buelna. La selección de una metodología estructuralista adaptada, en mi opinión, resultó ser muy eficaz a la hora de conseguir los objetivos de esta investigación.

El primer objetivo:

En cuanto al primer objetivo, ordenar el material aparentemente inconexo y recortado, al aplicar una metodología estructuralista y apartar cada línea argumental, anécdota y elemento de la narrativa global, fue posible estudiar cada elemento por separado. Esta metodología me permitió entrever el mensaje inicial del autor.

De ese modo, cobra sentido la importancia del Proemio y el orden de la presentación de los elementos didácticos, que no pertenecen a la vida de Pero Niño. Se comprueba así que el autor realmente se dedicó más a escribir un manual del comportamiento de un héroe perfecto que una crónica al estilo real.

De hecho, la crónica contiene un comentario escueto de un treinta por ciento de hechos reales sobre Pero Niño, y no siempre presentados de una manera cronológica. Parece ser que el patrón de la leyenda de un héroe, basado en leyendas caballerescas de libros de caballería adquiere más importancia que el sujeto viviente y real del conde de Buelna.

El segundo objetivo:

El segundo objetivo se centra en examinar los recursos estilísticos para analizar cómo Games concebía su técnica: la de una crónica real o la de una de libros de caballerías. Por parte del autor, la manera de tratar la vida militar de Pero Niño ha sido más un encubrimiento que mostrar la realidad.

Al escrutar los recursos estilísticos seleccionados por Games, en el capítulo primero se han podido dividir las distintas maneras de tratar el texto en varios grados de veracidad. Globalmente, parece que hay una escasa mención de hechos reales incluidos en la crónica. Cuanto más polémico resultaba ser un acontecimiento, mayor era la utilización por el autor de recursos estilísticos con el fin de aumentar la importancia de Pero Niño frente a sus adversarios. Cuando Games quería convencer al lector de una característica opuesta a aquella reflejada en los anales reales, recurría a unos diálogos directos para inducir al lector a una imagen verosímil: un diálogo añadido. Así, el autor logró transformar la historia porque sus narraciones fictivas trascendieron infaliblemente dentro del contexto histórico.

El tercer objetivo:

El tercer objetivo se enfoca en calibrar la elaboración fictiva frente a la cantidad de hechos históricos en la reconstrucción cronológica de la vida del conde, para llegar a una clasificación de la obra. La colocación de varios capítulos, alterando el orden natural de una biografía, significa que la veracidad de los hechos no tenía relevancia al explicar unos eventos históricos.

En *El V* los arquetipos no provienen de los anales reales, sino más bien imaginarios de los libros de caballería elaborados sobre unos patrones específicos de su género. Parece que

los patrones de ciertos órdenes de caballerías: votos, justas, promesas y batallas - como la de los siete contra los siete - eran más importantes en el relato de Games que los hechos reales no mencionados, escondidos o ignorados.

Este hecho, en mi opinión, revela que al autor le interesaba más un esquema de narrativa caballeresca que de una leyenda épica, o incluso una novela sobre un personaje verdadero; tampoco parece que al autor le preocupara una biografía narrando los hechos correlativos de los anales contemporáneos, *El V* refleja un ideal aristocrático y tiene un final abierto y, en ese sentido, cae dentro del patrón de las crónicas de los siglos XVI y XVII.

El cuarto objetivo:

Dada la escasa información existente sobre Gutierre Díaz de Games, supone un auténtico reto desvelar al verdadero autor. Para acercarnos al cuarto objetivo, sin embargo, hace falta escrudiñar su estilo narrativo, el patrón que escoge el autor, los referentes que emplea y el razonamiento que utiliza a fin de determinar su personalidad.

Pese a que Games se declara alferez del conde, después de escrutar los hechos y de descubrir una paupérrima base de veracidad, uno infiere que el sobrenombre de alferez es otro recurso estilístico detrás del cual se esconde el verdadero autor. El énfasis en los filósofos clásicos, las reglas y pormenores cotidianos de índole caballeresca, la prosa didáctica y las alusiones a las relaciones personales que el autor introdujo en la elaboración de su guion, propician la interpretación de que el autor no es uno sino varios. Al parecer, el relato del Pero Niño cambia de manos, de filosofía e incluso refleja el cambio de estilos efectuado desde comienzos del siglo XV hasta mediados del siglo XVI.

Notas a las Conclusiones

¹ Guillermo Díaz-Plaja describió la *Crónica Sarracena* como una bra de “encrucijada”, pero prefiero situar *El Victorial*, de características semejantes, dentro de su encrucijada histórica, siendo multiforme como resultado de la misma. “Crónica Sarracena”. *Antología Mayor de la Literatura Española: Edad Media*. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1958.

² James Donald Fogelquist, *El Amadís y el género de la historia fingida*. Madrid: Porrúa, 1982, 9.