

11-1-2008

# The 1525 Cromberger Crónica del Cid: From Press to Lap

Anthony Cárdenas-Rotunno

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/laii\\_research](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/laii_research)

---

## Recommended Citation

Cárdenas-Rotunno, Anthony. "The 1525 Cromberger Crónica del Cid: From Press to Lap." (2008).  
[https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/laii\\_research/42](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/laii_research/42)

This Working Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Latin American and Iberian Institute at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Research Papers by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [disc@unm.edu](mailto:disc@unm.edu).

# LATIN AMERICAN INSTITUTE

Research Paper Series No. 47 November 2008

**The 1525 Cromberger *Crónica del Cid*:  
From Press to Lap**

Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno  
Department of Spanish and Portuguese  
The University of New Mexico



THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO  
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87131

Research Paper Series No 47 November 2008

**The 1525 Cromberger *Crónica del Cid*: From Press to Lap**

Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno  
Department of Spanish and Portuguese  
The University of New Mexico

© 2008 by Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno

The Latin American and Iberian Institute (LAI) at the University of New Mexico (UNM) is one of the nation's leading foreign language and area studies centers. More than 100 UNM faculty specializing in Latin American research and teaching are members of the Faculty Concilium on Latin America and are the primary constituency of the LAI.

The LAI's Research Paper Series and Occasional Paper Series provide refereed forums for the timely dissemination of research on Latin American topics. Authors also gain the benefits of comment and criticism from the larger research community if they intend to later submit their work to other publications.

Abstract for: The 1525 Cromberger *Crónica del Cid*: From Press to Lap

In light of the 800th anniversary and celebration of the *Poema de mio Cid*, this study takes into consideration the 1525 version of the Cid legend titled *Crónica del muy esforçado cavallero el Cid Ruy Díaz Campeador*, exemplar R/26575 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. It examines the relationship of woodcuts to text, the relationship of the 1525 version to other versions of the *Crónica del Cid* as these texts are generally known; and finally discusses notions of diffusion and canonicity as regards this particular work, suggesting that this work, along with other Cidian chronicles may have had more to do with what was known of the Cid than the canonical epic known as *Poema de mio Cid*.

## The 1525 Cromberger *Crónica del Cid*: From Press to Lap<sup>1</sup>

The focus of this study is the 1525 version of the Cid legend known by its title as *Crónica del muy esforçado cavallero el Cid Ruy Díaz Campeador* whose colophon states: “el qual se acabó a .xxii. días del mes de noviembre, año de mill & quinientos & veynte & cinco años. Fue impresso en Sevilla por Jacobo Cromberger Alemán y Juan Cromberger” (fol. 51v). It is exemplar R/26575 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and it extends 51 folios in length. It belongs to the group of Cid chronicles known as the *Crónica popular del Cid*, the other group known as the *Crónica particular del Cid*. For the sake of convenience in this discussion, I will refer to the 1525 version simply and exclusively as “*Crónica*.”

This study has three goals: 1) to discuss briefly and generally some of the physical aspects of our *Crónica* but especially the woodcuts and their relationship to the text; 2) to discuss our *Crónica*'s relationship to other versions of the *Crónica del Cid* as these texts are generally known; and 3) to offer a brief discussion of our *Crónica*'s potential diffusion and how it may be more canonical than the unique epic poem known as the *Poema de mio Cid* and whose 800th anniversary we celebrated in 2007, depending, of course, on how

---

<sup>1</sup>I wish to express my gratitude to the University of New Mexico for a Research Allocation Committee for financial support which permitted me to examine the Biblioteca Nacional R/26575 copy of this text. I also wish to thank two graduate students, Aaron Taylor and Sara Vicuña Guengerich, who both helped in securing the copy for me. Additionally, I extend my gratitude to the two readers of the LAII for their useful comments which have helped to improve this study. Remaining infelicities are mine alone.

one defines “canon.” The first goal of this study is intimately related to the other two in that it makes physically manifest, both by its actual size and in the way the woodcuts were employed, that it was produced for a larger, mass audience.

Comparably speaking, our *Crónica* belongs to the group of fourteen chronicles offering the same, relatively brief narrative. Our *Crónica*, for example, consists of only 51 folios or 102 pages. The *Crónica popular del cid*, on the other hand, was published only three times and is considerably longer. The 1593 Burgos version, for example, is slightly more than three times larger with a total of 177 folios or 354 pages. As regards the woodcuts of the various copies of the *Crónica popular del Cid* to which our *Crónica* belongs, as studied by José Manuel Lucía Megias, there are two types, as he himself explains:

Dos tipos de grabados son los que aparecen en las páginas interiores de la *Crónica popular del Cid*: 1) juegos de grabados referenciales, que al ilustrar imágenes estereotipadas (conquista y asedios de ciudades, combates singulares entre dos caballeros o el rey sentado en su estrado) permite su reutilización no sólo en textos pertenecientes a géneros diversos sino también en el mismo libro y 2) grabados específicos del contenido cidiano, centrados siempre en idénticos episodios. (725)

A generic woodcut, “grabado referencial” in his nomenclature, is one that could be used by the printer Jacobo and Juan Cromberger in a variety of works given the generic nature of the content. This type of woodcut was, in fact, used by

them in more than one work. There are eight of this kind in our *Crónica*. Of these eight, six are different as one appears to have been included three different times with our text. The specific woodcut, or, “grabado específico” in Lucía Megías terminology, on the other hand, was produced for scenes particular to the text. There are three of these. Following his lead (725 ), then, we can list the eleven total wood cuts in the following fashion:

Number of woodcuts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Chapter of woodcut	vii	xvi	xxii	xxiv	xxxvii	xxxix	xl	xliii	l	lvii	lxij
Type of woodcut	G <sup>1</sup>	G <sup>2</sup>	G <sup>3</sup>	G <sup>4</sup>	S <sup>1</sup>	G <sup>5</sup>	S <sup>2</sup>	G <sup>6</sup>	G <sup>3</sup>	G <sup>3</sup>	S <sup>3</sup>

Figure 1

In Figure 1, the letters “G” and “S” refer to the type of wood cut, “generic” or “specific” respectively. A Roman numeral preceding these letters indicates the chapter in which the woodcut appears, and the superscript number indicates different content in each group.

Of the generic woodcuts, it is the content of the third that appears again as the ninth and tenth woodcuts in chapters l and lvii. The one scene depicted in these three visually presents the head of a horse entering the frame to the far left, to the right of it two knights mounted, attacking with lances a prostrate figure partially below what must be his now riderless horse. The only difference in these three woodcuts of a battle scene is created by the horizontal frames set on either side. The chapters in which these three appear are 22, 50, and 57.

The rubrics for these chapters offer the introductory text for what one can find within the chapters and appear immediately above the wood cut.<sup>2</sup> Scenes and text appear in Figure 2 below:

Woodcut 3	Woodcut 9	Woodcut 10
¶ Capitulo .xxii. De cómo el rey don Alonso embió a la ciudad de Sevilla a demandar las parias que le devian & de las cosas que el Cid allá hizo.	¶ Capitulo .i. De cómo se fizo la batalla de los infantes de Carrión y el conde don Suer Gonçález con los cavalleros del Cid en que los cavalleros del Cid fueron vencedores.	¶ Capitulo .lvii. De cómo doña Ximena muger del Cid & todos sus cavalleros & gentes salieron de Valencia con el cuerpo muerto del Cid. E dieron la batalla al rey Búcar en la qual el fue vencido & veynte & dos reyes muertos & gente sin cuenta de los suyos así en la batalla como ahogados en la mar yendo huyendo.
		

Figure 2

These three manifestations of the same woodcut reveal a fairly accurate fit for at least a part of the content for their respective chapters. The content for Chapter 22, woodcut three, deals with the Cid collecting tribute from the emir of Sevilla for Alfonso VI and the skirmish he has with his Christian and Castilian archenemy, invidious of the Cid's bellic successes, García Ordóñez, who was fighting for the emir of Granada who in turn had decided to attack the emir of Sevilla. As a tribute-paying vassal of Alfonso VI, of course, the Cid

<sup>2</sup>All text for the 1525 *Crónica* is taken from my edition of this chronicle currently under publication consideration.

would be obliged to defend him against his enemies, even if they were Christians.

Chapter 50, woodcut nine, deals with the challenge by combat by the Cid's men against the Infantes de Carrión to avenge the perfidy they committed against his daughters, Elvira and Sol in the infamous account known as the "Afrenta de Corpes." Chapter 57 is a matter of Ximena, the Cid's wife, departing from Valencia after the Cid has defeated Búcar which the woodcut ostensibly illuminates. In sum, then, the generic woodcut constituting the third, ninth, and tenth makes a relatively adequate fit with the text it purports to illustrate. In the third and ninth repetition, greater specificity would have been added had it depicted a defeated moor lying beneath his rather than what appears to be a Christian in armor. A more appropriate woodcut for chapter 50 regarding the joust between the Cid's vassals and the Infantes de Carrión, however, might have been the generic woodcut used in Chapter 16 which follows and which deals with the jousting, the result of the challenge issued by Diego Ordóñez de Lara to the city of Zamora for the death of Sancho:

¶ Capitulo .xvi. De cómo don Arias Gonçalo armó sus hijos todos quatro & a si mesmo con ellos para salir al campo.



Figure 3

It portrays a jousting area with its limits distinctly cordoned off and two knights attacking each other with their lances, with the knight on the left transfixed by the lance of the knight on the right.

Generic woodcuts 1 and 9, or chapters 7 and 43 – Figure 4 below – form a consistent fit as well. Chapter 7 deals with the moment in which doña Urraca pleads with Sancho II to free Alfonso VI from prison after Alfonso has lost in a battle against Sancho in which it was agreed that whoever lost would also cede his kingdom to the victor. It presents a king on the right facing a noble woman on the left, visibly engaged in conversation for an effective correspondence between text and image. In the next woodcut, from Chapter 43, the rubric indicates that the Cid has left Valencia and gone to the courts in Toledo in which he will seek restitution from the Infantes de Carrión. The scene shows a king sitting on a throne on a dais surrounded by courtiers who could easily be witnessing some sort of pronouncement the king makes. There is no figure in the woodcut, however, recognizable as the Cid per se just as there are no figures recognizable as the Infantes de Carrión. The woodcut works, nevertheless, albeit in a very general fashion.

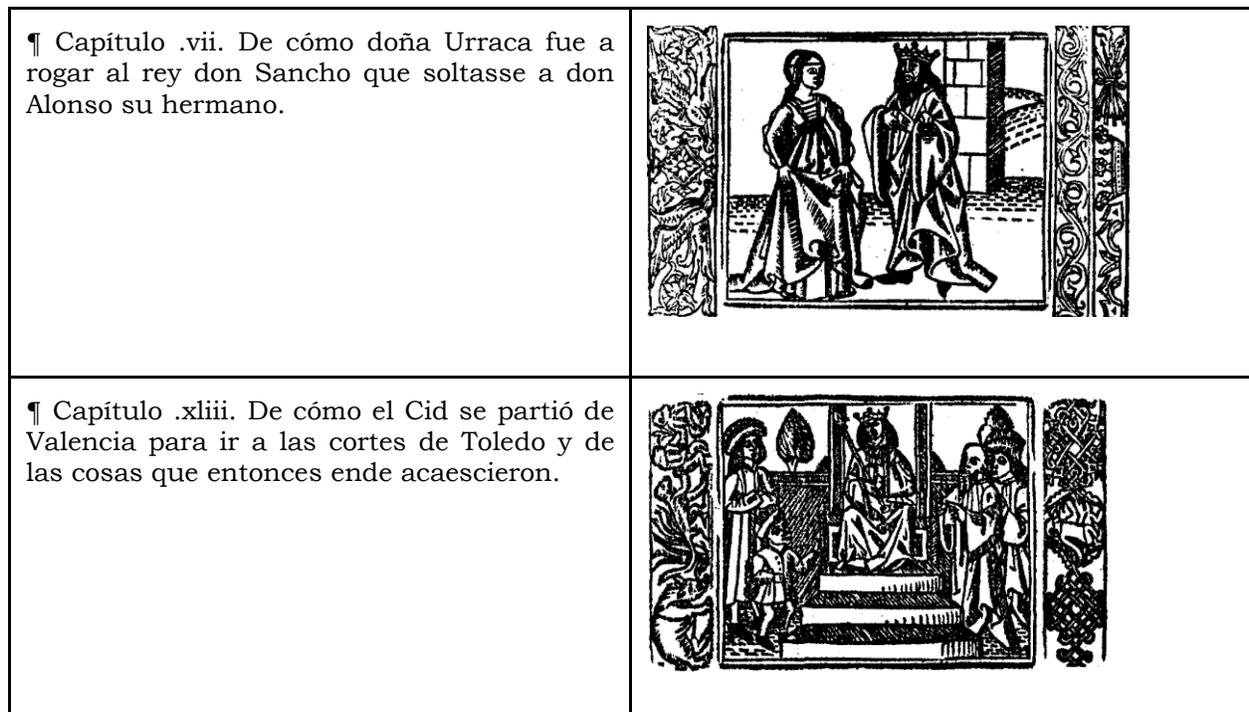


Figure 4

The final two generic woodcuts, numbers 4 and 6, respectively appear in Chapters 24 and 29. These form a perhaps looser fit between image and text. Chapter 24 treats of the conquering of Alcocer and the scene graphically displays Christian knights fighting Christian knights so the element of battle is preserved. Alcocer, however, was a town the moors possessed but no moor is depicted in the woodcut. But an even more lax correspondence is presented in Chapter 29 whose rubric indicates that the Cid was exiting Valencia with his forces to battle Búcar. The woodcut reflects what appears to be a Christian army moving toward a walled town. Were it more in sync with the text, one would expect a Christian turned away from the walled town rather than facing and seemingly moving toward it. Again no stereotypical Arab-looking figure

appears in either wood cut (see below):

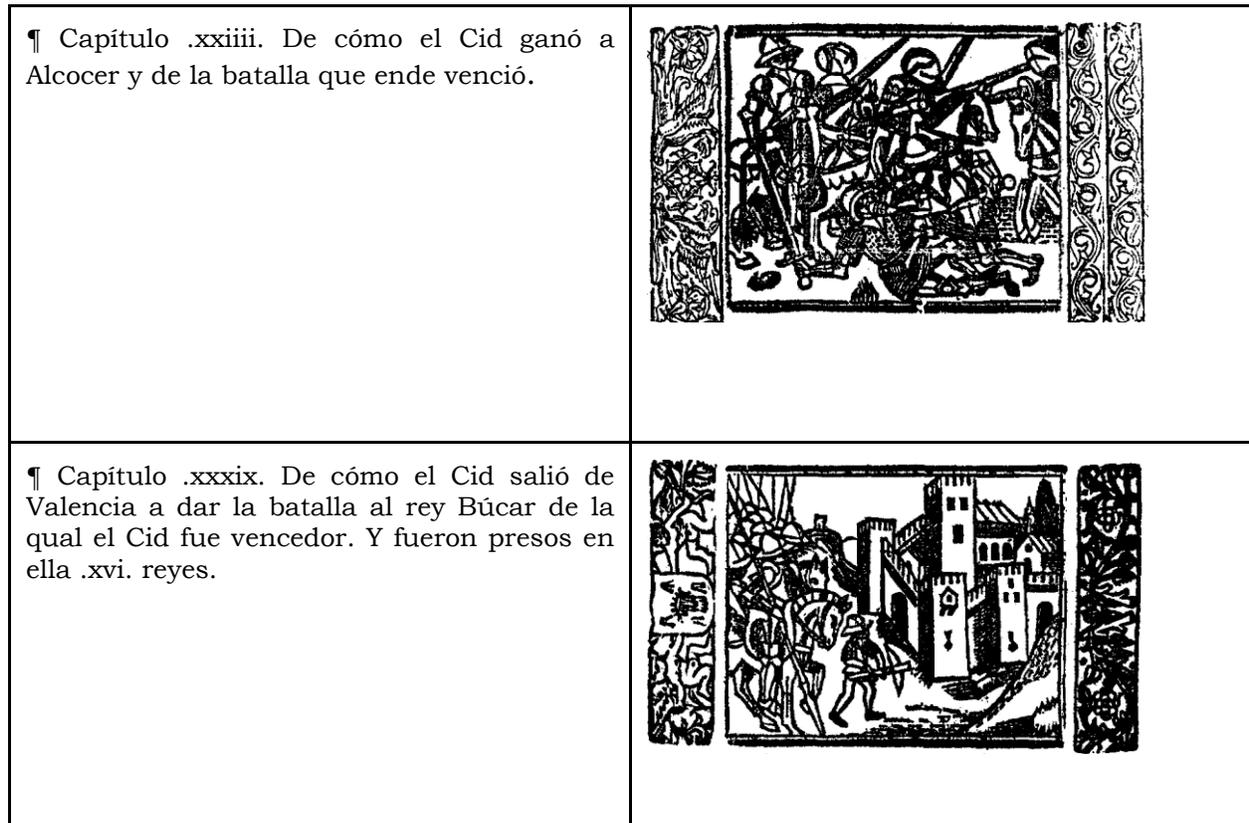


Figure 5

The remaining three woodcuts are specific to the text, and the first one represents the lion episode in the Cid legend in which the Infantes de Carrión, his newly acquired sons-in-law, Diego and Fernando González, show their true

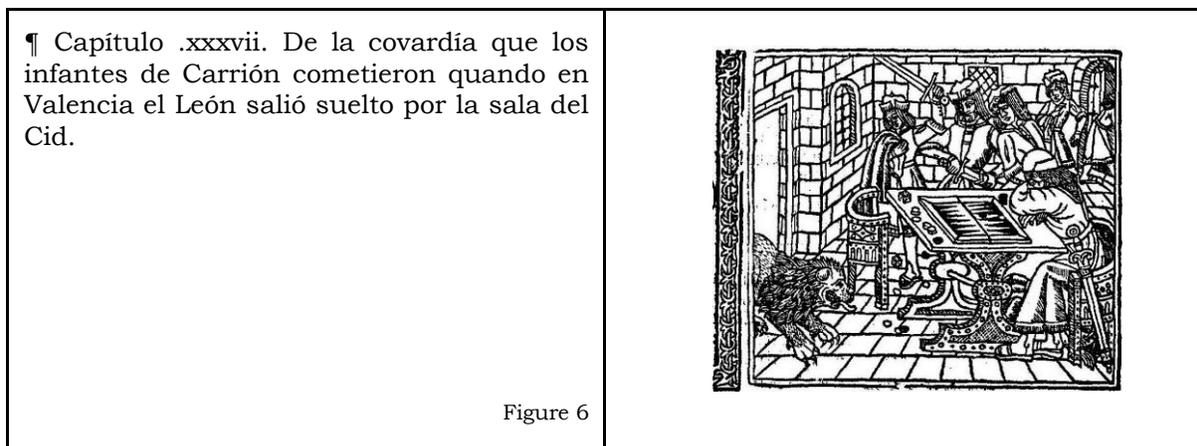


Figure 6

colors, the former by fleeing out the room and the latter by hiding under the bench of the dormant Cid.

The next specific woodcut illustrates the moment in which the Infantes de Carrión beat their wives in the oak grove of Corpes and shares tight correspondence between text and image as expected. In it two men lash two naked women. The one on the left uses a device resembling a cat-o'-nine-tails or a flagrum of some sort and the one on the right uses a belt, a cinch, perhaps as stated in the textual account: “E con las cinchas de las mulas en que ivan cavalgando les dieron tantos açotes que las pensaron matar, . . .” (34v).

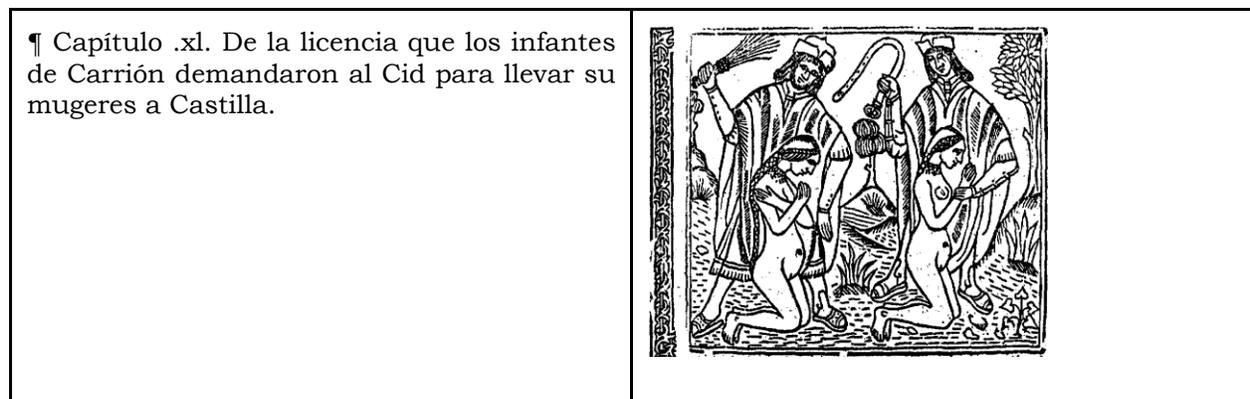


Figure 7

Another minor difference is that the text states that the Infantes de Carrión “desnudaron las hasta quedar en camisas” (34v) but in the woodcut they are totally naked with no chemise in sight.

The final specific woodcut illustrates a miracle that is reminiscent of the many miracles found in Alfonso X’s *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: the conversion of

a Jew.<sup>3</sup> The episode it depicts occurs just before the now defunct Cid is finally entered. In the account, the Cid has been on display for nearly ten years in the church of the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena. The monastery's abbot has declared a celebration which leaves the interior of the church empty of people. A Jew who happens to enter finds the Cid's body alone, and speaks to it, saying: «A tu barva nunca llegó christiano ni moro. Yo llegaré a ti y veré que harás» (51r). As he approaches the Cid to perform the deed, the corpse reaches for his sword and withdraws about four inches of it from its sheath. The surprise, perhaps horror,

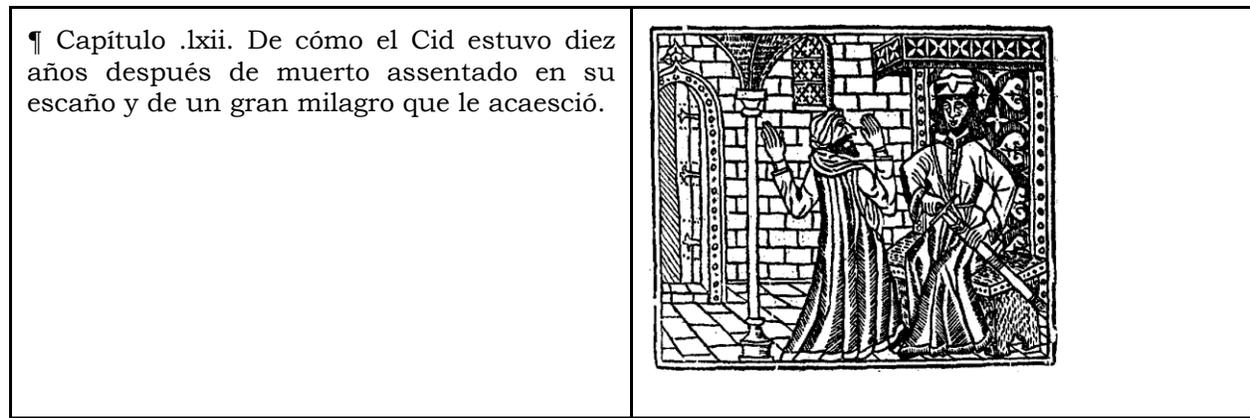


Figure 8

of the Jew is captured in this woodcut which depicts the seated corpse of the Cid with hand on sword and a bearded, long-robed character with turban, hands raised with palms outward and leaning back slightly. In this anecdote, the Jew converts to Christianity with the conversion owing, as implied, to the Cid. Thus, even in death is the Cid a propagator of the faith as one perspective

---

<sup>3</sup>See for example *Cantigas* 4,25,89, and 107.

would view his martial mettle<sup>4</sup>. As with the previous two specific woodcuts, the concert between the account and iconographic representation is telling.

Our *Crónica*, then, is typical for works of this period during which economically produced books, relatively speaking, enhanced profit. One way to minimize publication costs was to recycle generic woodcuts and to refrain from commissioning specific ones. Visually striking about these specific woodcuts, however, is that all three are more square than rectangular whereas the generic ones, with or without the framing bands on either side, are all more rectangular. The specific woodcuts appear to be seventeen to eighteen lines high whereas the generic ones are only twelve to thirteen lines in height. Not only do the specific woodcuts lack the framing bands that accompany the generic ones, but also the appearance of the characters in the specific woodcuts is less refined and more angular.<sup>5</sup> Also they present busier backgrounds in that they offer less blank space in their presentations than do the generic ones.

As José Manuel Lucía Megías makes clear in his study, “Las dos caras de un héroe: Las *Crónicas del Cid* en la imprenta hispánica,” and as previously stated, the Cid Chronicles fall into two groupings, one known as the *Crónica particular del Cid* and the other as *Crónica popular del Cid*.

---

<sup>4</sup>Felipe II pushed for canonization of the Cid (James A. Harrison 138; Rodríguez Puértolas 170n5 who references both L. Beszard and Ramón Menéndez Pidal).

<sup>5</sup>The same can be seen, for example, at least in one place in the 1488 *La vida & hystoria del rey Apolonio*, page c ij.. Compare also the Spanish *Aesop* of Zaragoza 1489 woodcuts on 115r and the less refined one on 116r (Burrus and Goldberg 172 and 176). These less refined woodcuts, in these instances, however, appear to be replacements for

The *Crónica particular del Cid* derives from the *Crónica de Castilla*, composed during the reign of Fernando IV, i.e., between 1295 and 1312, according to Carlos Álvar and Lucía Megías who also indicate the existence of 19 manuscript copies of this text, survives in only three, sixteenth-century printings (285-91).

The *Crónica popular del Cid*, on the other hand, derives from Mosén Diego de Valera's *Crónica de España abreviada* written in 1481 and first published in 1482 and an additional 10 times in the fifteenth century, and then another 10 times in the sixteenth (Álvar and Lucía Megías 422-23). The *Crónica popular del Cid* itself survives in fourteen printed editions, the first published in 1498, and the remaining thirteen in the sixteenth century (Lucía Megías 706-08). Valera's *Crónica de España abreviada* was published was printed 9 times before 1498. If we limit a publication run to 200 to 250 copies as surmised by the late Keith Whinnom (191)<sup>6</sup>, the *Crónica popular del Cid* would have had at least some 1800 exemplars which could serve as a source for its production. There were 19 manuscript copies of the *Crónica de Castilla* to serve as source for the *Crónica particular del Cid*, and based on textual evidence Álvar and Lucía Megías signal copy B, a fifteenth-century text, today ms. Esp. 326 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris) as the specific source. The greater preponderance of potential source copies for the *Crónica*

---

woodcuts lost in the set used to print these editions rather than woodcuts specifically commissioned for these texts.

<sup>6</sup>In all fairness to Whinnom's argument, he is referring to runs in the early sixteenth century and, as he presents it,

*popular* than for the *Crónica particular*, no doubt accounts for the greater number of different sixteenth-century editions for the *Crónica popular*, fourteen, than for the number of sixteenth-century copies of the *Crónica particular*, three (Lucía Megías 706-08). Differences of content aside for these two versions of the hero who is their focus, one can conclude, more than tentatively, that there were in the sixteenth century more than a thousand tomes, and perhaps as many as 3,000 or more, of the chronicle-version of the Cid legend to which the Spanish reading populace would have had access.<sup>7</sup>

When we compare the potential and probable diffusion of our *Crónica* compared with that of the unique, manuscript copy of the *Poema de mio Cid*, the impact of the latter text must have been minuscule by comparison. Both Francisco López Estrada (262-72) and Colin Smith (1979: 88-98) trace mention of the character of the Cid in Spanish Medieval and Renaissance literature which makes clear that the Cid legend was hale and hearty. In Smith's study "Sobre la difusión del *Poema de mio Cid*," however, it becomes patent that this sturdiness of the Cid legend is not particularly owing to the epic poem. This surmise is further supported by the dimensions of the only codex of the *Poema de mio Cid*, in light of Alberto Montaner's assessment in the prologue to his recent edition of the *Poema*: "éste no es un manuscrito juglaresco, como

---

the argument is supremely more complex than I present here and the whole notion of relying exclusively on numbers of copies is necessarily fraught with all manners of caveats.

<sup>7</sup>Again taking the smaller of Whinnom's estimates, 200 exemplars, and running it by the 17 editions of these two *Crónicas del Cid*, the total is 3400, more than three times what I offer in my argument.

pensaba M. Pidal [1914:77-78 y 93 y 1957:376-378], sino un libro de faltriquera para lectura privada” (cclxxxvii). This version of the Cid legend is now nearly bereft of oral dissemination as well. The argument for greater impact on Hispanic culture of the Cid chronicles is further emphasized. Regarding the *Poema* and the *Crónica*, then, it seems indisputable that the version of the Cid legend having a greater impact on the psyche of Spanish reading public from the fifteenth century onward has to rest with the *Crónica*. Because of this most plausible surmise, the time that the chronicle versions of the Cid be made available to critical scrutiny via reliable editions is long overdue. It nevertheless behooves us just as much to recall what Whinnom said in his cited article: “the only realistic criterion which we can usefully employ in defining our best-sellers is the number of editions through which they passed” (191) as it does to recall what Lucía Megías states: “Un libro no por ser reeditado en numerosas ocasiones debe ser considerado un libro más difundido que otro que haya tenido un número menor de ediciones” (“Las dos caras” 735) although here he does not seem to be thinking of 3,400 copies of a text verse 1 of another. Whinnom coincides with Lucía Megías when he announces the instance of the *Cancionero general de 1511* whose first edition had a run of 1,000 copies which means simply that one impression of 1,000 would count for four of 250 copies or five of 200 copies (191). In sum, then, and what is important to emphasize is that the impact of these chronicles as compared to that of the *Poema de mio Cid*, the argument stands that, barring

extenuating, certifiable circumstances, more editions with the number of copies produced with each edition, argue for greater circulation. In any case, the overwhelming number of the copies of these chronicle versions of the Cid and their impact cannot be ignored.

Yet, this is not to diminish the importance of the *Poema de mio Cid* if we examine Montaner Frutos's genealogy of the Cid legend (cccxxvi) which, if correct, makes the *Poema* the source for all subsequent manifestations of the Cid legend, albeit in chronicle form. His *stemma librorum* can be schematically reduced and presented in four major levels as follows:

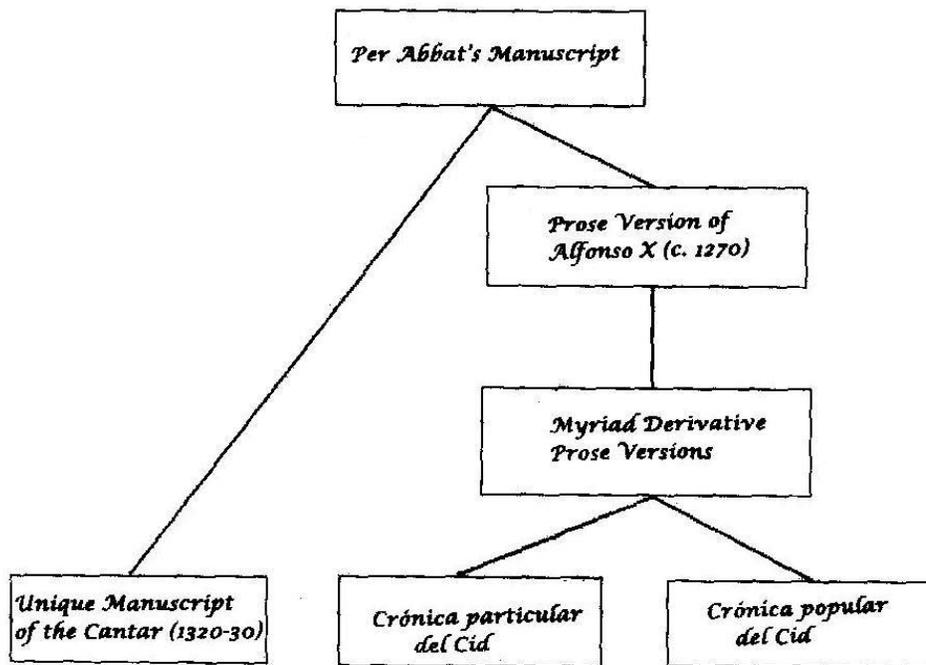


Figure 9

To elaborate the importance of the printed *Crónicas* and specifically our *Crónica* as regards the diffusion of the Cid legend, I turn to a book with a most

interesting title – *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*, by Irving A. Leonard. In it Leonard cites a document of 1540 which makes it irrefutably patent that one of the sixteenth-century books being sold specifically in the New World market was a work it identifies in its list only as “Cid Ruy Díaz.”<sup>8</sup> Which work or perhaps which printed *Crónica* version might this reference designate? Given that the document is an inventory left by Jacobo Cromberger at his death, given that Jacobo Cromberger held a monopoly on printed works that could be sold in the New World (Castañeda 675), given that the only Cid *Crónica* Cromberger had printed prior to 1540 is the 1525 version, and given that it was printed in quarto (Griffin 216) as opposed to folio size making it a smaller and more portable tome, one can only conclude that Cromberger’s “Cid Ruy Díaz” in his list is very likely his own *Crónica del muy esforçado cavallero el Cid Ruy Díaz Campeador*.<sup>9</sup>

The historical period in which our *Crónica* appeared undoubtedly accounts for its printing and its popularity. Fernando Carmona Fernández asserts that “[e]l Descubrimiento y la Conquista fueron simultáneos al *boom* de los libros de caballerías españoles” (12) and then adds that “[m]uchas novelas caballerescas incluyen la palabra «crónica» o «historia». No faltan los relatos

---

<sup>8</sup>The document is said to be found in José Gestoso y Pérez, *Noticias inéditas de impresores sevillanos* (Seville, 1924) on pages 86-99 according to 349n11 in Leonard.

<sup>9</sup>Actually, “Cromberger obtained from the king a monopoly not only in the printing business but in the sale of all books imported from Spain” (Castañeda 675). This means that the text listed in the document, while likely his own, could possibly have been any of the editions printed prior to 1540 and listed in Lucía Megías’s list: Sevilla 1509,

consagrados al Cid” (12). In all of chapter 12 (216-66) of his *History of Spanish Literature* George Ticknor, in the nineteenth century, presents evidence that corroborates Carmona Fernández’s quoted observations. José Amezcua considers “el descubrimiento de América” a “real hazaña caballeresca . . .” (29). In a sense, they are but a continuation of the deeds of the Reconquest from 718 to 1492 which must also fall into this category of “feats of chivalry.” Thus, the deeds of the Cid also deserve inclusion in this category. These detailed models served as an inspiration for adventurers in the New World whether they came from romances of chivalry or from the earlier epic or from re-castings of such as in the case of the two groups of the *Crónica del Cid* here considered. Jennifer R. Goodman ponders:

If imagination shapes human life, what, then, shapes the imagination? The question has long preoccupied philosophers. One contributing element is art. Many artists of our own day debate or deny their own function as shapers of the imaginations and the lives of their contemporaries. They prefer the classical formula that “art imitates life” to Oscar Wilde’s subversive inversion, “Life imitates Art.” (2)

As if to substantiate these musings, Leonard cites an anecdote in which a young and credulous Portuguese soldier participated in a campaign besieging a city in India. During moments of quiet, he would listen attentively to chivalric feats of daring read aloud by one of his fellow compatriots for the

---

Toledo 1526 (707).

entertainment of all. When it came time to attack the enemy, the young soldier threw himself into the fray with abandon only to be rescued by his comrades in arms at great risk to them and not without many wounds to himself. When reprimanded for his foolhardiness, his response was that what he had done was nothing compared to the daring he had heard of in the novels (26).

In another study titled “Catálogo descriptivo de libros de caballerías hispánicas,” Lucía Megias includes an exemplar of the *Crónica popular del Cid* published in 1509 in his list of chivalry books. Similarly, the earliest bibliography on books of chivalry, according to Daniel Eisenberg, that of Vicente Salvá published in 1827, provides a category for works described as “historias con algún fondo de verdad, aunque desfigurados con sucesos caballerescos” which according to the same Eisenberg incorporates “the chronicles of the Cid, . . .” (Eisenberg 17) without specifying if he means both the *Crónica popular* and the *Crónica particular* or if he means one or the other. In another study, “The Pseudo-Historicity of Romances of Chivalry,” Eisenberg proffers the thesis that books of chivalry, as a new type of literature, moved their authors to minimize their fictionality. Thus the authors of these chivalry works use a ploy in which they the authors present themselves as mere translators of some manuscript they had fortuitiously encountered. One need but recall the chivalry novel of all chivalry novels, *Don Quijote*, for corroboration of such a ploy. Eisenberg adds that printers who were trying to meet the public’s demand for chivalry works took advantage of works more or less

historical with a strong chivalresque quality, and he repeats inclusion of the *Crónica del Cid* (“Pseudo Historicity” 253n3) among these. It seems fairly safe to surmise that much of the settlement, “conquest” if one prefers, of the New World by Spaniards fell under the inspiration of legends of chivalry. When it comes to the legend of the Cid viewed as a chivalric work, one must ask, which one is more germane to Spanish soldiers than the *Crónica del Cid*, albeit the *Popular* or the *Particular*?

It is impossible to ignore the greater impact that the prose versions of the Cid – and I am concerned in this presentation particularly with the *Crónica popular* in the exemplar produced by Jacobo and Juan Cromberger in Sevilla in 1525 – had to have had on the Spanish peninsula and, as I have tried to show, the extra peninsular psyche from the sixteenth century onwards. Is it any wonder that Robert Southey’s, 18th-century translation of the Cid legend in his *Chronicles of the Cid*, published in 1808, does not resemble the *Poema* as much as it does other versions (Morely 5-6; Pritchett xxix)? It is these “other” versions – the chronicles of the Cid, the Cid in the romancero, the Cid in Golden Ages plays – that would have been more readily available to him than would have been the *Poema* which was only first published by Tomás Antonio Sánchez in 1779.

There can be little doubt, then, that if anyone in Spain and later, if anyone in the New World, thanks to the Crombergers, was going to come into contact with the Cid legend, it was going to happen through our *Crónica* rather

than through the *Poema de mio Cid* owing to historical facts of diffusion.

Perhaps nowhere better is the illusory nature “of a fixed and exclusive ‘canon’ ” (Guillory x) illustrated than in the Cid legend. Basing himself on Frank Kermode, Charles Altieri writes that “canons are essentially strategic constructs by which societies maintain their own interests, since the canon allows control over the texts a culture takes seriously and the methods of interpretation that establish the meaning of ‘serious’ ” (39). The point worth emphasizing here is that “canon” is not a natural fact and “[c]anons are based on both descriptive and normative claims; we cannot escape the problem of judging other’s value statements by our own values” (Altieri 40). The “canon” is what constitutes the reading list of university curricula, although, because it by its nature “canon” is exclusive, what is excluded must and does differ from curriculum to curriculum, albeit with an occasional exception. One such exception is the *Poema de mio Cid*. If one examines reading lists on the internet, from McGill University in Quebec, Canada, to the University of Wisconsin, to the University of New Mexico, and on to UCLA, the *Poema de mio Cid* appears right at the beginning of the lists.

But pursuing the definition of “canon” as presented by the *American Heritage Dictionary* reveals that it derives from “[Middle English canoun, from Old English canon and from Old French, both from Latin canōn, rule, from Greek kanōn, measuring rod, rule.],” and thus presents the idea of some sort of “standard.” Indeed, “canon” often refers to those works which form, as it

were, the foundation of Western Civilization or at least those works which have influenced it again because of their quality. Stated in another way, “[t]he literary canon of a country or a group of people is comprised of a body of works that are highly valued by scholars and others because of their aesthetic value and because they embody the cultural and political values of that society” (Twentieth-Century). As regards cultural values, John Guillory uses the phrase “cultural capital” which means in this context “access to the means of literary production and consumption” (x). Related to this, Whinnom states that “it is hard to suppress some feeling of unease about the quantity of critical attention lavished on works which patently held little appeal for contemporary readers – two glaring examples are *Tirant lo Blanc* and *La Lozana andaluza* – at the same time we consistently ignore or pay scant attention to writers and works which at one time everyone read with enthusiasm, I cannot help feeling that as *historians* we must be failing in our task” (189). I would be the last to say that the *Poema de mio Cid* held or holds little appeal for its readers. It is a fascinatingly well-constructed tale that lights the imagination of anyone who reads it. Since its apparition in printed form, the *Poema* has justifiably and continuously commanded the attention of numerous scholars. On the other hand, I must admit that prior to its publication and to the impetus provided it by don Ramón Menéndez Pidal at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century, the *Poema* was significantly limited in its diffusion in comparison to the exemplars of the *Crónicas del Cid*. If the Western “Canon” consists of

works that have influenced or had an impact on Western Culture, it seems failing one's task not to consider the works of the Cid legend which actually produced this impact prior to the beginning of the twentieth century. Perhaps this venture into the *Crónica popular del Cid* can serve as a catalyst for further study of the Cid legend manifested in these specific *Crónicas*.

## Works Consulted

- Afonso X, o Sábio. 1981. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Walter Mettmann, ed. 2 vols. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia. Vol. 1.
- Altieri, Charles. 1983. "An Idea and Ideal of Literary Canon." *Critical Inquiry* 10.1 (Sep): 37-60.
- The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Houghton Mifflin Company. <Dictionary.com <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/canon>>. [Downloaded 02 January 2008]
- Amezcuca, José, 1973. *Libros de caballerías hispánicas: Castilla, Cataluña, Portugal*, Colección Aula Magna 26. Madrid: Alcalá.
- Álvar, Carlos and José Manuel Lucía Megías, 2002. *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española: Textos y transmisión*, Nueva Biblioteca de Erudición y Crítica. Madrid: Castalia.
- Anonymous. 1966. *La vida e hystoria del Rey Apolonio (Zaragoza?, 1488?)*. Incunables poéticos castellanos XII. Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler.
- Burrus, Victoria A. and Harriet Goldberg, eds. 1990. *Esopete ystoriado (Toulouse 1488)*. Edition, Study and Notes by . . . Madison: HSMS.
- Carmona Fernández, Fernando, 1993. 'Conquistadores, utopía y libros de caballería.' *Revista de filología románica* 10: 11-29.  
<http://www.ucm.es/BUCM/revistas/fl/0212999x/articulos/RFRM9393110011A.PDF>. [Downloaded 3 December 2007]
- Castañeda, Carlos E. 1940. "The Beginning of Printing in America." *The*

- Hispanic American Historical Review* 20. 4. (Nov.): 671-685.
- Eisenberg, Daniel, 1975. 'The Pseudo-Historicity of the Romances of Chivalry', *Quaderni ibero-americaeni* 45-46: 253-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1982. *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age*. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta.
- Griffin, Clive, 1988. *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Guillory, John. 1993. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Harrison, James A. *Spain*. Revised and enlarged. Akron, OH: Saalfield, 1903.
- Landow, George P. "The Literary Canon." *The Victorian Web: Literature, History, and Culture in the Age of Victoria*. <http://www.victorianweb.org/gender/canon/litcan.html> [Downloaded 26 February 2008]
- Leonard, Irving A., 1949. *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- López Estrada, Francisco. 1982. *Panorama crítico sobre el Poema del Cid*. Madrid: Castalia.
- Lucía Megías, José Manuel, 1999. "Las dos caras de un héroe: las *Crónicas del Cid* en la imprenta hispánica." En *L'Épopée romane au Moyen Âge et aux temps modernes. Actes du XIV congrès international de la Société Rencesvals (Naples, 24-30 juillet 1997)*. Nápoles: Edizioni Scientifiche

- Italiane. 705-736.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2007. "Catálogo descriptivo de libros de caballerías hispánicos. X *Tirante el Blanco* ante el género editorial caballeresco." En: [http://parnaseo.uv.es/Tirant/Art.Lucia.html#N\\_1\\_](http://parnaseo.uv.es/Tirant/Art.Lucia.html#N_1_)[Downloaded 7 December 2007]
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2002. 'Leer el *Cid* en el siglo XVI'. En: *El Cid: De la materia épica a las crónicas caballerescas : Actas del Congreso Internacional "IX Centenario de la muerte del Cid", celebrado en la Univ. de Alcalá de Henares los días 19 y 20 de noviembre de 1999*, Carlos Álvarez Ezquerro, Georges Martin, Fernando Gómez Redondo, eds. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, Servicio de Publicaciones. 407-416.
- Montaner [Frutos], Alberto, ed., 2007. *Cantar de mio Cid*, Ed., prólogo, y notas de . . . Estudio preliminar de Francisco Rico. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg.
- Morley, Henry. 1883. "Introduction." *Chronicle of the Cid*. Robert Southey, trans. London: George Routledge. 5-8.
- Pritchett, U.S. 1958. "Introduction." *The Chronicle of the Cid*. Robert Southey, trans. Rene Ben Sussan, illustrator. New York, Heritage. xix-xxxiv.
- Rodríguez Puértolas, J. 1967. "Un aspecto olvidado en el realismo del *Poema de Mio Cid*." *PMLA* 82.2 (May): 170-77.
- Smith, Colin. 1980. "Sobre la difusión del *Poema de mio Cid*." In: Jean Marie D'Heur, Nicoletta Cherubini, ;Albert Maquet, Madeleine Tyssens, and Jacques Joset. *Etudes de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offerts*

*a Jules Horrent a l'occasion de son soixantieme anniversaire.* Tournai:  
Gedit. 417-27.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. 1979. *Poema de mio Cid.* 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Letras Hispánicas 35. Madrid:  
Cátedra.

Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism. Revising the Canon: Introduction.  
<http://www.endnotes.com/twentieth/century/criticism/revising/literary-canon/introduction?iprint=1>. [Downloaded 26 February 2008]

Whinnom, Keith, 1980. 'The Problem of the "Best-Seller" in Spanish Golden-Age Literature', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 57.3 (July): 189-98.

---

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO  
LATIN AMERICAN AND IBERIAN INSTITUTE  
RESEARCH PAPER SERIES

1. Guess, George M. "Bureaucracy and the Unmanaged Forest Commons in Costa Rica." December 1979.
2. Lupsha, Peter A., and Kip Schlegel. "The Political Economy of Drug Trafficking: The Herrera Organization (Mexico and the United States)." November 1980.
3. Gregory, Peter. "Employment, Unemployment, and Underemployment in Latin America." March 1981.
4. Levy, James, and Nick Mills, Jr. "The Challenge to Democratic Reformism in Ecuador." June 1981.
5. Gregory, Peter. "Legal Minimum Wages as an Instrument of Social Policy in Less Developed Countries, with Special Reference to Costa Rica." July 1981.
6. Díez-Canedo, Juan. "Undocumented Migration to the United States: A New Perspective." August 1981.
7. Sabloff, Paula L. W. "Caciquismo in Post-Revolutionary Mexican Ejido-Grant Communities." September 1981.
8. Gregory, Peter. "Economic Development and the Labor Market in Mexico." November 1981.
9. Earley, Stephen. "Arms and Politics in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, 1948-1981." May 1982.
10. Wessman, James W. "Peasants, Capitalists, and the State: Mexico's Changing Agricultural Policies and the 'Hungarian Project'." May 1982.
11. Conniff, Michael L. "Black Labor on a White Canal: West Indians in Panama, 1904-1980." May 1983.
12. Froehlich, Jeffery W., and Karl H. Schwerin. "Conservation and Indigenous Human Land Use in the Río Plátano Watershed, Northeast Honduras." June 1983.
13. Bales, Fred V. "Comparing Media Use and Political Orientation Among Squatter Settlers of Two Latin American Countries." June 1983.

- 
14. Sabloff, Jeremy A., Patricia A. McAnany, Bernd Fahmel Beyer, Tomás Gallareta N., Signa L. Larralde, and LuAnn Wandsnider. "Ancient Maya Settlement Patterns at the Site of Sayil, Puuc Region, Yucatán, Mexico: Initial Reconnaissance (1983)." January 1984.
  15. Santley, Robert S., Ponciano Ortiz Ceballos, Thomas W. Killion, Philip J. Arnold, and Janet M. Kerley. "Final Field Report of the Maticapan Archaeological Project: The 1982 Season." June 1984.
  16. Morris, Nancy E. "*Canto porque es necesario cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973-1983.*" July 1984.
  17. Sabloff, Jeremy A., Gair Tourtellot, Bernd Fahmel Beyer, Patricia A. McAnany, Diana Christensen, Sylviane Boucher, and Thomas R. Killion. "Settlement and Community Patterns at Sayil, Yucatán, Mexico: The 1984 Season." April 1985.
  18. Brajer, Victor. "An Analysis of Inflation in the Small, Open Economy of Costa Rica." June 1986.
  19. Ashley, John M. "The Social and Environmental Effects of the Palm-Oil Industry in the *Oriente* of Ecuador." October 1987.
  20. Hidalgo, Margarita. "Perceptions of Spanish-English Code-Switching in Juárez, Mexico." March 1988.
  21. Arnold, Philip J III. "Ceramic Production and Consumption in the Sierra de los Tuxtles, Veracruz, Mexico." June 1988.
  22. Gregory, Peter. "Undocumented Migration to the United States: Can the Flow Be Stemmed?" May 1989.
  23. White, Thomas U. "Mexican Immigrant Labor: An Alternative Analysis and Policy Proposal." November 1989.
  24. Lipski, John M. "On the Non-Creole Basis for Afro-Caribbean Spanish." February 1993.
  25. Lamadrid, Enrique R. "Treasures of the Mama Huaca: Oral Tradition and Ecological Consciousness in Chinchaysuyu." May 1993.
  26. Lipski, John M. "New Perspective on Afro-Dominican Spanish: the Haitian Contribution." May 1994.

- 
27. Tarver, Gina McDaniel. "Issues of Otherness and Identity in the Works of Izquierdo, Kahlo, Artaud, and Breton." April 1996.
  28. Craib, Raymond B., III. "Chinese Immigrants in Porfirian Mexico: A Preliminary Study of Settlement, Economic Activity, and Anti-Chinese Sentiment." May 1996.
  29. Bannister, Geoffrey J. "The Economic Context of the Mexican Crisis." September 1996.
  30. Elinore M. Barrett. "The Geography of Rio Grande Pueblos Revealed by Spanish Explorers, 1540-1598." May 1997.
  31. Clark, Charles. "The Delegation of Land Tenure in Tropical Petén, Guatemala." May 1998.
  32. Black, Chad T. "The Making of an Indigenous Movement: Culture, Ethnicity, and Post-Marxist Social Praxis in Ecuador." May 1999.
  33. Howe, Alyssa Cymene. "Re-Engendering Revolution: Nicaraguan Gay and Lesbian Rights and the Sex of Post-Sandinismo." May 1999.
  34. Medrano, Feliza. "*Ni chicha ni limonada*: Depictions of the Mulatto Woman in Cuban Tobacco Art." May 1999.
  35. Stocker, Karen. "*No somos nada*: Ethnicity and Three Dominant and Contradictory Indigenist Discourses in Costa Rica." June 2000.
  36. Eckmann, Teresa. "Chicano Artists and Neo-Mexicanists: (De) Constructions of National Identity." July 2000.
  37. Archer, Rachel Elaine. "Society, Culture, and Heroes: Depictions of Cuban Heroine Mariana Grajales Cuello, 1893-2000." July 2001.
  38. Burke, Nancy J. "Pre-Paid Phone Cards, *Cosas*, and Photos of the Saints: Transnational *Santería* Practices in a Southwest City." July 2002.
  39. Fiala, Robert and Susan Tiano. "Maquila Employment and Fertility in Mexicali, Mexico: A Study of the Dynamics of Productive and Reproductive Relations." June 2003.
  40. Rice, Roberta. "Channeling Discontent: The Impact of Political Institutions on Patterns of Social Protest in Contemporary Latin America." June 2003.

- 
41. Santley, Robert S. "Ranchoapan: The 'New Obsidian' City of the Tuxtlas?" June 2004.
  42. Ingram, Matthew. "Political Justice: Sub-national Determinants of Judicial Efficiency in Mexico, 1993-2000." June 2004.
  43. Kerevel, Yann. "Re-examining the Politics of U.S. Intervention in Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Nicaragua: José Madriz and the Conservative Restoration." November 2006.
  44. Avila, Theresa "Emiliano Zapata: Figure, Image, Symbol." July 2007.
  45. Cárdenas-Rotunno, Anthony J. "Fray Alonso de Benavides's *Memoriales* of 1630 and 1634: Preliminary Observations." July 2007.
  46. Gascón, Margarita "The Defense of the Spanish Empire and the Agency of Nature. Araucanía, Patagonia and Pampas during the Seventeenth Century." August 2008.
  47. Cárdenas-Rotunno, Anthony J. "The 1525 Cromberger Crónica del Cid: From Press to Lap." November 2008.

#### NAFTA/MERCOSUR WORKING PAPER SERIES

1. Alejandro Frigerio. "*La expansión de religiones afro-brasileñas en el Cono Sur: Representaciones conflictivas de cultura, raza y nación en un contexto de integración regional.*" July 2000.
2. B. Paglieri and P. Sanguinetti. "Institutional Issues and the Results of the Tariff and Non-Tariff Liberalization in Mercosur." July 2000.
3. Randall R. Parish, Jr. "Stability without Hegemony: Brazil, Argentina, and Southern Cone Integration." July 2000

#### OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES

1. Remmer, Karen L. "The Chilean Military under Authoritarian Rule, 1973-1987." March 1988.

2. Davidson, Russ. "A Description of Rare and Important Medina Imprints in the University of New Mexico Library." May 1988.
  3. Martz, John D. "The Military in Ecuador: Policies and Politics of Authoritarian Rule." June 1988.
  4. Torres, Victor F. "The Canudos War Collection." May 1990.
  5. Claire-Lise Bénaud and Oscar E. Delepiani. "OAXACA: A Critical Bibliography of Rare and Specialized Materials in the University of New Mexico's General Library." March 1992.
- 

#### SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

1. Davidson, Russ and Joiner, Carol. "Mexico in the UNM Libraries: A Guide To Special Materials and Older Works." Spring 1986.
  2. Kjeldgaard, Linda, editor. "Encuentro: A Columbian Quincentenary Quarterly". 1985 - 1989.
  3. Kjeldgaard, Linda, editor. "Encounters: A Quincentenary Review." 1989
  4. Landmann, Robert S., editor. "The Problem of the Undocumented Worker." Spring 1980.
- 

All research papers, occasional papers and special publications are available from the Latin American & Iberian Institute; 1 University of New Mexico; MSC02 1690, Albuquerque, NM 87131; 505-277-2961 for \$5 each. To comply with the ADA and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, these publications can be produced in alternative formats.