

**Vestiges of *Cantares* and *Estorias* in the
Alfonsine Retelling of *Bernardo del Carpio***

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Introduction

As Alan Deyermond has pointed out, one of the principal characteristics distinguishing the medieval Castilian epic from that of other European traditions is the small number of extant epic poems (11): only three poems have survived, and none in its entirety. Despite this lack of conserved poems, there is a significant preservation of epic narratives in other literary forms, such as medieval chronicles and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century ballads.¹

The legend of Bernardo del Carpio is one of the numerous epic tales related in Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*, composed during the final decades of the thirteenth century. Before the *Estoria de España*, Bernardo's legend was included in Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon mundi* (1236) and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* (1243). Additionally, the beginning of the *Poema de Fernán González* (c. 1250) offers a brief account of the deeds of the hero (stanzas 127-44). Of these four texts, the *Estoria de España* presents the most detailed version of the life and deeds of Bernardo del Carpio, elaborating episodes taken from the Latin sources and introducing others that are not narrated in the earlier texts.

As Alfonso's chroniclers relate their version of the legend, they directly reference both Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada on numerous occasions.² Additionally, in four instances, all of which occur during episodes that are not present in the Latin versions of the legend, the chroniclers mention *cantares*, *fablas*, and *romances* about the hero, though no such compositions have been conserved in writing (Alfonso X 351, 371, 375). Furthermore, on numerous occasions, they refer to an *estoria* while describing the deeds of the hero. While in some instances the term *estoria* may refer to the *Estoria de España* itself (371) or to the Latin chronicles by Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (355, 370, 373), in others they are not traceable to any known source (354, 370, 371, 374).

In this paper I analyze possible traces that *cantares* and *estoria(s)* about Bernardo del Carpio have left on the Alfonsine retelling of his legend. In doing so, I discuss the

¹ This preservation of such materials in other forms may suggest that other epic poems did exist at one point, though they have since been lost (Deyermond 11). For overviews of the debate on the origins, formation, and corpus of Castilian epic poetry, see Faulhaber's classic article and Deyermond (99-103).

² For example, in their discussion of the battle of Roncesvalles, the chroniclers directly cite the conflicting testimonies of the two Latin chroniclers: "Pero dize el arçobispo don Rodrigo que Bernaldo sienpre souo en la delantrera o los françeses fueron vençudos asi como dixiemos. Mas dize don Lucas de Tuy que en la çaga firieron el et Marsil" (354).

account of the battle against Bueso, an episode that specifically mentions both *cantares* and an *estoria*; the description of the battle at Benavente, which references an unknown *estoria*; and the episode of the *tablado*, which is unique in the Alfonsine account, as it does not come from the Latin chronicles, nor does it mention any other now-lost source. Through a comparison of the narrative style and techniques of the Alfonsine *Bernardo* with those of extant Castilian epic poetry and legends, I will consider the influence that the Castilian epic in general and *cantares* specific to Bernardo may have had on the *Estoria de España*. Additionally, I will discuss how the chroniclers reworked epic material about Bernardo in order to incorporate it into their narratives. Although references to *cantares* and *estoria(s)* appear in other episodes, I believe these three particular cases provide us with a glimpse into the material utilized by the chroniclers to compose their account of Bernardo's legend.

The Alfonsine *Bernardo del Carpio*

The legend of Bernardo del Carpio is set during the non-successive reigns of Alfonso II and Alfonso III.³ During the reign of Alfonso II, Bernardo is born of the secret marriage between Jimena, the sister of Alfonso, and San Díaz, Count of Saldaña. San Díaz is imprisoned, Jimena is sent to a convent, and Bernardo is raised in Alfonso's court. At the end of this episode, the chroniclers briefly mention a different account of the hero's origins, told in *cantares* and *fablas*, in which Bernardo is the son of Timbor, the sister of Charlemagne, and San Díaz. Later, Alfonso, having no heirs, promises his kingdom to Charlemagne. Alfonso's vassals protest, and Bernardo joins forces with Marsilio, the Muslim king of Zaragoza, in the battle against the French. Charlemagne's troops are then defeated at the battle of Roncesvalles. After Roncesvalles, Bernardo is made aware of his lineage through a chess game. He then makes his first request for his father's freedom, which Alfonso refuses to grant.

This is the last episode specifically pertaining to Bernardo del Carpio that is set during the reign of Alfonso II.⁴ He is next mentioned in three sequential chapters set in the reign of Alfonso III, all of which discuss his participation in battles fought between Alfonso and the Muslims. The chroniclers then recount a battle fought between Bernardo and a French nobleman, Bueso. After the battle against Bueso, Bernardo refuses to serve Alfonso for one year, given the King's continuous refusal to free San Díaz from Luna. The next year, Alfonso holds his court in León. The Queen promises to ask Alfonso for San Díaz's freedom if Bernardo will participate in the game of the

³ Bernardo's legend is related in Chapters 617, 619, 621, 623 (all set during the reign of Alfonso II), 648-52, and 654-56 (set during the reign of Alfonso III, with the last chapter only mentioning his death).

⁴ He is, nevertheless, referenced in a later chapter (though still set during the reign of Alfonso II) as the chroniclers discuss Charlemagne's actions after Roncesvalles (355-57). However, the overall focus of the episode is Charlemagne, with Bernardo brought up with relation to the Tudense's account of Charlemagne's eventual defeat of the Muslims and Bernardo's accompaniment of the Emperor back to France (236), and the Toledano's rejection of such event (128-30).

tablado. He agrees, but the King refuses to grant the Count's freedom, and later exiles Bernardo. Bernardo then founds the castle of El Carpio, and begins to ravage nearby areas. Alfonso surrounds El Carpio, and battles are waged until Alfonso's men advise him to release Bernardo's father. He assents, and demands El Carpio in exchange for San Díaz's freedom, to which Bernardo agrees. However, the Count has already died. At this point the chroniclers reference songs about the hero, in which Alfonso orders his men to bathe and dress the Count, mount him on a horse, and take him to Bernardo. After meeting his father's corpse, Bernardo is banished by Alfonso. The hero then travels to France, where he is received by his uncle, Charles, though rejected by Timbor's son, his half-brother. Dejected, he returns to Spain, where he populates the Canal de Jaca, marries, and spends the remainder of his life.

“Et dizen algunos en sus cantares segund cuenta la estoria...”

As mentioned, within the Alfonsine account of the legend, there are only four instances in which the chroniclers directly reference *cantares* that would have pertained to Bernardo del Carpio. These refer to his half-French origin (Alfonso X 351, 375); to Bueso, whom the *cantares* claim to be Bernardo's cousin (371); and to the delivery of the body of Bernardo's father (375). Of these, the battle against Bueso and the delivery of Bernardo's father are the only two developed in detail. It is the battle against Bueso that is of interest for my present purposes.

Despite occurring in an episode centered on a conflict first between Alfonso's army and the French troops, and then between Bernardo and a specific opponent, the allusion to the *cantares* refers not to the confrontation itself, but rather to Bernardo's possible relationship with the Frenchman: after the chroniclers relate Alfonso's participation in the battle against Bueso's troops, they specify, “Et dizen algunos en sus cantares segund cuenta la estoria que este frances Bueso que so primo era de Bernaldo” (371). However, in spite of the narrow scope of the allusion to the *cantares* and the fact that their mention occurs through a reference to an *estoria*, I believe the connection to the *cantares* to be not nearly as limited as it first seems to be. Furthermore, I would postulate that additional traces of the *cantares* can be seen in the description of the battle against Bueso, including, perhaps, a vestige of the specific *cantar* or *cantares* that Alfonso's chroniclers mention.

As it is related in the *Estoria de España*, the encounter with Bueso immediately follows three successive chapters that present various battles fought between Alfonso III and the Muslims.⁵ In those chapters, Bernardo is a mere participant in the battles. While the chroniclers always mention that he fought valiantly, references to him tend to be brief, without any specific description of the combat. Instead, they refer to his participation in rather generic terms, stating that he fought and defeated the

⁵ Before their account of the battle against Bueso, the chroniclers narrate Bernardo's involvement with the battles at Toledo (360-70), Benavente and Zamora (370), and Polvorosa/Valdemora (370).

opposition, killing their leader and many others.⁶ The one exception within those three chapters is the description of a fierce Bernardo, who, like a hungry lion, wreaked havoc on his adversaries (370).⁷ However, even that particular description does not tell an actual combat between Bernardo and a specific opponent, and the overall focus of the three chapters is on Alfonso and his dealings with the Muslim invaders.⁸

When compared to the accounts of the above-mentioned battles, the conflict with Bueso is related in much different terms, with a style that perhaps reflects that of the sources used by the chroniclers in their version of the legend and, in particular, that of the *cantares* they mention. In this episode, the chroniclers give a fairly detailed account of the one-on-one combat between Bernardo and Bueso:

El lidiando assi unos con otros ouieronse de fallar aquel Bueso et Bernaldo; et fueronse ferir un por otro tan de rezio que fizieron crebar las lanças por medio; et desi metieron mano a las espadas et dauanse muy grandes golpes con ellas; mas al cabo uencio Bernaldo et mato y a Bueso. Los franceses, quando uieron so cabdiello muerto, desampararon el campo et fuxieron. (371)

While it is not a particularly long description, it certainly provides more specific details than do the preceding accounts of the battles with the Muslims. In those cases, even with the overall attention on Alfonso, the chroniclers do not feature any singular combat between the King and his adversaries.⁹ More importantly, in the case of the

⁶ “Et venciolos et mato y a aquel so senor dellos et a muchos de los otros” (370).

⁷ “En todas estas batallas que el rey don Alfonso ouo con los moros, en todas fue el muy noble cauallero Bernaldo, sobrino del rey don Alfonso el Casto, et andaua en ellas brauo et esquiuo assi como leon fambriento, faziendo grandes mortandades et grandes dannos en ellos” (370). This particular description of Bernardo is an elaboration of one included by Lucas de Tuy: “Habet secum famosissimum militem Bernaldum, qui in istis preliis tamquam leo fortissimus se gerebat” (245).

⁸ As evidenced by the following passages, the primary focus of these three chapters tends to be Alfonso’s deeds, and not Bernardo’s: “Et cuenta aqui la estoria que tan grad espanto auien ya deste rey don Alffonso los moros ...” (370); “Pues que esta batalla fue vençuda, tornose el rey don Alffonso a Toro muy onrrado et con grandes robos et grandes ganancias et muy alegre” (370).

⁹ While it is Alfonso who defeats Ores at Benavente, the chroniclers only relate that “Et en llegando, firio luego en ellos, et uencio el rey don Alffonso al rey Ores, et moriron y muchos moros; et con ellos mato y el rey don Alfonso a aquel Ores rey de Merida” (370). In other cases, the chroniclers detail Alfonso’s participation in battles, though they tend to do so without describing a one-on-one combat, placing emphasis, instead, on the deeds of the entire army. When highlighting the King’s actions, they do so without featuring any singular combat. Consider, for example, the description of the battle involving the Muslims from León, who were led by Ymundar and Alchanter:

Et el luego que uio que lo tenie guisado, salio, et fue a ellos, et assi como llegaron, mando luego ferir en ellos. Et tan de rezio los firieron, que los moros como uinien camino et yaquanto desacabildados, non se pudieron componer pora la batalla. Et el rey don Alffonso et sus compannas, firiendo en ellos todos muy de coraçon, mataron ende muchos; et los otros arrancaronsse del campo et fuxieron. Et el rey yua empos ellos,

battle against Bueso, after the initial mention of Alfonso's participation in the battle with his troops, the overall focus shifts, first to Bernardo's supposed relationship with Bueso and then to his individual battle with the Frenchman.

Once they have turned their attention to Bernardo, the chroniclers' description of the combat against Bueso reflects that of other one-on-one battles between a hero and his adversary, which hints that the Alfonsine description of the confrontation may have stemmed from the *cantares* mentioned. If we compare, for example, the account of the combat between Martín Antolínez and Diego González in the *Cantar de mio Cid* with that of the battle between Bernardo and Bueso, we note that the language used to describe the two combats is similar. In each case, the two opponents meet and strike each other with such fierce blows that both of their lances break, after which one or both of the battlers seize their swords, and continue to strike until the enemy has been defeated. In the case of the former, the poet relates:

Martín Antonlínex e Dia Gonçalez firiéronse de las lanças,
tales fueron los golpes que les quebraron amas.
Martín Antonlínex mano metió al espada,
(relumbra tod el campo tanto es linpia e clara),
Diol' un golpe, de traviesso'l' tomava... (vv. 3646-50)

In the case of Alfonso's *Bernardo del Carpio*, the chroniclers report, "et fueronse ferir un por otro tan de rezió que fizieron crebar las lanças por medio; et desi metieron mano a las espadas et dauanse muy grandes golpes con ellas" (371). Although the language used in the two accounts is not identical, the similarities between the descriptions found in an extant epic poem and those in the Alfonsine text are marked. Such parallels in language suggest that, in their account of the battle against Bueso, the chroniclers' reference to the *cantares* may extend beyond the datum regarding the hero's lineage to include the actual description of the combat between Bernardo and Bueso.

Despite the similarities between the depictions of the one-on-one combats included in the *Estoria de España* and in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, they alone are not enough to suggest that the chroniclers were necessarily relying on now-lost *cantares de gesta* for their account of the combat. It could very well be that they had knowledge of the genre, and incorporated epic language into their version of the battle. However, if we look more closely at the description of the one-on-one confrontation between Bernardo and Bueso, we can see possible remnants of an assonant [é-o] rhyme scheme. Describing the battle, the chronicle reads: "et fueronse ferir un por otro tan de **rezió** que fizieron crebar las lanças por **medio**... mas al cabo uencio Bernaldo et mato y a **Bueso**. Los franceses, cuando uieron so cabdiello **muerto**, desampararon el campo et **fuxieron**" (371). While there are two clauses between "lanças por medio" and

matando quantos alcançaua; de guisa que los pocos que ende escaparon fueron ende por mal cabo. (369)

“mato y a Bueso” that do not follow the [é-o] pattern, the instances of “medio,” “rezo,” “Bueso,” “muerto,” and “fuxieron” at the end of syntactic units perhaps hint at a now-lost *cantar* prosified by the chroniclers, whose assonant rhyme scheme was [é-o].¹⁰ When read together, the two clauses that end in “medio” and “rezo” form possible fourteen- and twelve-syllable verses, respectively, while the following three clauses that end in “Bueso,” “muerto,” and “fuxieron” form possible verses of sixteen, fourteen, and eleven syllables, therein reflecting the tendency of the medieval Spanish epic towards anisosyllabic verses.¹¹ Although it cannot be proven that the Alfonsine description of Bernardo’s one-on-one combat with Bueso came directly from a now-lost *cantar*, the case is made stronger when we consider that no syntactic restructuring of the Alfonsine narrative must occur in order for “medio” and “rezo” to form an assonant rhyme with each other, nor for “Bueso,” “muerto,” and “fuxieron.”¹²

It is additionally noteworthy that the clauses that relate the one-on-one combat between Bernardo and Bueso immediately follow the direct reference to the *cantares*, with only one clause separating their mention and the potential remnants of assonance.¹³ The placement of such a description directly after the allusion to the *cantares* may further suggest that their impact on the *Estoria de España* goes beyond the explanation of Bernardo’s relationship to Bueso. If we look at the episode as a whole, it is curious that reference to the *cantares* breaks up the account of the battle, with the information regarding Bernardo’s ties to his opponent separating the

¹⁰ The assonance is not disrupted by the presence of diphthongs in some of these words. Consider the following verses of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, whose rhyme scheme resembles that suggested by the Alfonsine account of the battle against Bueso: “Andarán mios porteros por todo mio reino, / pregonarán mi cort pora dentro en Toledo” (vv. 2962-63).

¹¹ Although some have argued for the metric regularity of the medieval Spanish epic (Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* 415), verses of an unspecified number of syllables is a defining characteristic of the Spanish epic’s versification (Gómez Redondo 21; and Montaner, in his edition of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, 309).

¹² Consider the above case of potential assonance in contrast with Menéndez Pidal’s reconstruction of the *Siete infantes de Lara*. In the case of the latter, significant amending of the chronicle’s language must, at times, occur in order to form verses that resemble those of epic poetry. Comparing, for example, the description in the *Crónica de 1344* of the first attempts at the *tablado* with Menéndez Pidal’s reconstruction of said events, we note the addition of words and phrases into the reconstruction, which provide the verses with the appropriate number of syllables. The *Crónica*’s account, as cited by Menéndez Pidal (*Reliquias* 195), states, “E el primero que y lanço su vara fue Garçi Ferrandez, e despues Ruy Velazquez e despues Muño Salido, el que bien cato las aves, e desi otros muchos de otras partes,” while the reconstruction reads:

Primero lanço su vara el conde Garçi Fernandez,
e despues lanço otrossi el bueno de Ruy Velazquez
e después Muño Salido, el que bien cato las aves
e desi adelant lançaron otros muchos de otras partes. (*Reliquias* 195)

¹³ “Et lidiando assi unos con otros ouieronse de fallar aquel Bueso et Bernaldo” is the intervening clause (371).

description of Alfonso III's deeds in the battle from that of Bernardo's defeat of Bueso. Furthermore, the chroniclers appear to describe two confrontations with Bueso, the first between Alfonso and the Frenchman, and the second between the latter and Bernardo, though it is only the second altercation that the chroniclers narrate in any detail. Employing similar terms to those used to describe the previous battles with the Muslims, they begin the episode relating that, upon hearing the news of Bueso's arrival with his troops, Alfonso gathered his army and set out against him, eventually battling Bueso at Ordejón, where many from each side were killed.¹⁴ The chroniclers then mention the *cantares*, through which they highlight the supposed relationship between Bernardo and Bueso, and finally they recount the confrontation between the two individuals. The difference in the kind of sources used by the chroniclers for the first part of the battle, that in which Alfonso participated, and for Bernardo's confrontation with Bueso may explain the break in the description of the battle, the repeated mention of a combat with Bueso, and the different styles in which the two parts of the episode are narrated. Acknowledging the resemblances between the first part, in which Alfonso is the primary focus, and the three previous chapters that relate the King's successful battles against the Muslims, we must consider the possibility that the account of Alfonso's involvement in the episode is a fabrication of the chroniclers, into which they incorporate language commonly used throughout the *Estoria de España* to describe the King's battles, while the account of Bernardo's individual battle with Bueso stems from a now-lost *cantar de gesta*.¹⁵

It has to be noted, however, that the chroniclers' citation of the *cantares* is an indirect one, since it occurs through their reference to an *estoria*: "Et dizen algunos en sus cantares segund cuenta la estoria" (371). The *estoria* mentioned might well have served as the primary source for the datum concerning Bernardo's family relations, in addition to providing the chroniclers with the information regarding the individual conflict with Bueso. However, given the nature of the presentation of the battle against Bueso, it is very likely that such *estoria* contained remnants of the *cantares*, thus

¹⁴ "El rey don Alfonso, luego que estas nuevas sopo, llevo su hueste et grand poder, et fue contra el, et fallaronse, et ouo el rey don Alfonso su batalla con ell en Ordeion, que es en tierra de Castiella cercal castiello que dizen Amaya, et murieron y muchos de cada parte" (371). The sequence of events related by the chroniclers resembles that found in other episodes, in which Alfonso learns of the invasion, gathers his troops, and battles his opponents. Compare the previous passage with the following, which narrates Alfonso's confrontation with the Muslims of Toledo: "Mas el rey don Alfonso, luego que lo sopo, fue contra ellos et ouieron su batalla en ribera de Duero; et fueron uençudos los moros et perdieron y quanto trayen, et murieron dellos CCCC et XL..." (369).

¹⁵ I refer to the now-lost material as a "*cantar de gesta*" based on the Alfonsine inclusion of the term *cantares* in the episode. With such statement, I am referring only to the possibility of a now-lost *cantar* that would have related Bernardo's deeds in the battle against Bueso. The extension and other characteristics of that *cantar*, and whether it would have only related Bernardo's exploits against the Frenchman or would have included other deeds of the hero may only be hypothesized, and are inconsequential to the issue at hand. For the principal hypotheses regarding the nature of the *cantar* or *cantares* pertaining to Bernardo, see Entwistle "The 'Cantar de Gesta' ... I-II" and Franklin 99-117.

explaining the potential vestiges of assonance, which the Alfonsine chroniclers reproduced in their account of Bernardo's one-on-one combat against Bueso.

Furthermore, the reference to the *estoria* could possibly serve to explain the break between the instances of potential assonance. Without the intervening clauses, the lines demonstrating an [é-o] assonant rhyme would read as follows:

et fueronse ferir un por otro tan de rezio
que fizieron crebar las lanças por medio;
mas al cabo uencio Bernaldo et mato y a Bueso.
Los franceses, quando uieron so cabdiello muerto,
desampararon el campo et fuxieron.

The details of Bernardo and Bueso grabbing their swords and continuing to strike each other could be the result of the Alfonsine chroniclers' elaboration of the combat (as, of course, the entire account of the episode may be). However, since Alfonso's chroniclers state that they knew of *cantares*, at least through an *estoria*, it is possible that, once the former had been incorporated into the latter, details were added to elaborate the account of the confrontation with Bueso.¹⁶ Therefore, through its description of the conflict between Bernardo and Bueso, the Alfonsine account displays vestiges of now-lost epic material, which might well have been influenced by similar one-on-one confrontations found in other epic poems, such as the above-cited combat from the *Cantar de mio Cid*.

“Et cuenta aqui la estoria de como en esta batalla fue Bernaldo muy bueno” and the episode of the *tablado*

As they do through the account of Bernardo's confrontation with Bueso, Alfonso's chroniclers give a further indication as to what information would have been contained in the source material they were manipulating through their retelling of two other episodes of Bernardo's legend, the battle at Benavente and the episode of the *tablado*.

The second of Alfonso III's four battles against the Muslims in which Bernardo participated is that against Ores, King of Mérida, at Benavente. After they narrate the battle, the Alfonsine chroniclers specify, “Et cuenta aqui la estoria de como en esta batalla fue Bernaldo muy bueno, et lidio y muy de rezio” (370). This is the only mention of Bernardo in the description of the battle. While the majority of Alfonso

¹⁶ Whether this process occurred through the oral transmission of both the *cantar* and the *estoria* or whether either was, at some point, written down is unknown to us. Although it is undoubtedly a topic that merits further investigation, the question of whether the *estoria(s)* cited by Alfonso's chroniclers were learned compositions or oral stories (or, perhaps, both) is beyond the scope of this paper. What is of interest, in this case, is the material that would have been presented in such *estoria* and how it would have been incorporated by the chroniclers into their retelling of *Bernardo del Carpio*. For more on the hypothesized nature of the *estoria* or *estorias* cited by the chroniclers, see Entwistle, especially “The ‘Cantar de Gesta’ ... I-II” 314-17 and “The ‘Cantar de Gesta’ ... III-IV” 451, and Horrent 476-77.

III's battles against the Muslims related in the *Estoria de España* are taken from the *Chronicon mundi* and *De rebus Hispaniae*, the battle against Ores is not, which indicates that "cuenta aqui la estoria" is not referring to either of the two Latin chronicles.¹⁷ Despite the generic reference to Bernardo's fighting, which gives little clue regarding any details included in such *estoria*, an allusion to the battle in a later episode does give some indication regarding what the *estoria*'s account of the battle at Benavente would have involved.

Chapter 652 of the *Estoria de España* recounts that, in celebration of Pentecost, Alfonso III holds court in León, where "lidiauan y cada dia III toros et alançauan a tablados" (371). Bernardo refrains from participating in the *tablado* until the Queen, prompted by Orios Godos and Tiobalt, promises him that she will ask for his father's freedom; he agrees and is successful at the *tablado* ("calualgo estonces, et fue alançar al tablado, et crebantole luego"), though the Queen's request is denied by Alfonso (371-72). After Alfonso's denial, Bernardo, "llorando de los oios," personally asks the King to release his father (372). Alfonso again refuses, provoking Bernardo to launch into a heated recitation of all of the services he has done as the King's vassal. During his rant, Bernardo reminds Alfonso of the battle at Benavente, in which he gave Alfonso his own horse, after the King's was killed: "«Sennor, por quantos seruicios uos yo fiz bien me deuiedes dar mio padre, ca bien sabedes uos de quam bien uos yo acorri con el mio cauallo en Benauent, quando uos mataron el uuestro en la batalla que ouiestes con el rey moro Ores...»" (372). To close his rant, Bernardo challenges his monarch: "Agora pues que tantas uezes me lo auedes prometudo et ninguna non lo queredes complir, rieptouos por ende a uos et a todo uuestro linnage et a todos los que de uuestra parte son," which prompts Alfonso to banish him (372).

As mentioned, the reference to Bernardo in the chroniclers' earlier depiction of the battle at Benavente is extremely brief: they only mention that he fought well. Additionally, the overall description of the battle is limited. The chroniclers state that news arrives to Alfonso III alerting him that Ores, King of Mérida, has entered the Leonese King's territory and has surrounded Benavente. Alfonso then consults with his vassals and goes to Benavente, where he finds the Muslim troops. Regarding the actual battle, the chroniclers only describe that Alfonso enters the battle, fights many and defeats Ores, and that many Muslims perish: "firio luego en ellos, et uencio el rey don Alffonso al rey Ores, et moriron y muchos moros; et con ellos mato y el rey don Alfonso a aquel Ores rey de Merida" (370). There is no account of Bernardo's actions in the battle (only the blanket statement that he fought well), and certainly no mention of Bernardo coming to Alfonso's aid after the King's horse was slain.

The combination of the reference to "la estoria" in the narration of Benavente and the allusion to the same battle in the episode of the *tablado* suggests that there was, at one time, an account of the battle that was more developed than the *Estoria de España*'s version demonstrates. The more elaborate description of the battle against

¹⁷ The battles at Toledo, Zamora, and Polvorosa/Valdemora, as well as Bernardo's presence at or involvement in such battles, are documented by Lucas de Tuy (245-47) and Jiménez de Rada (137-38).

Ores would have been abbreviated by the Alfonsine chroniclers, thus creating a description whose narrative style resembles that of the accounts of the other battles between Alfonso III and the Muslims, which both precede and follow the account of Benavente.¹⁸ Thus, as in the case of the account of the combat against Bueso, the chroniclers adjust the description taken from their source material, therein creating an account of the confrontation that resembles other instances of Alfonso's battles. A vestige of the more detailed account then remains in Bernardo's diatribe against Alfonso, delivered after his participation in the *tablado*.

Given the trace of the *estoria* found in Bernardo's reference to the battle at Benavente in his outburst toward Alfonso, we must ask what other episodes would have been included in that source. Specifically, we must consider whether the episode in question, in which the allusion to the earlier-cited *estoria* is found, would have pertained to the same source material as did the account of the battle at Benavente.

The episode of the *tablado* stands out within the Alfonsine *Bernardo del Carpio* for three primary reasons. The first is that the episode is unique in the *Estoria de España's* version of the legend because it, along with only one other episode, does not mention a single specific source, nor is it traceable to any of the Latin chronicles.¹⁹ Although not all of these sources have been preserved, which means that we cannot know exactly what they contained or how closely they were followed, it is clear that Alfonso's chroniclers were manipulating some sort of source material for every

¹⁸ The battles fought at Toledo, Benavente, Zamora, Valdemoro and the Órbigo are all described in a similar fashion, with relatively little detail. The combat between either Alfonso or Bernardo and the Muslim adversary is never directly described, and the battles are all related in generic terms such as the account of the battle at Zamora: "Et Bernaldo ueno lugo y con muy grand hueste, et en llegando fue fuerir en ellos, et uenciolos et mato y a aquel so sennor dellos et a muchos de los otros" (370); and that at Valdemoro: "Bernaldo otrossi tomo estonces una partida de la hueste del rey, et fue contra aquella otra partida de los moros que yuan contra Poluorera, et falloose con ellos, et lidio con ellos en un vall a que dizen Valdemoro, et uenciolos; et mato y muchos dellos ademas" (370).

¹⁹ Every other episode in the *Estoria de España's* description of the legend except for one can be accounted for either through direct references to the sources, be they known or unknown to us, or through its inclusion in the earlier Latin chronicles. Bernardo's Leonese origin is documented in both Latin chronicles (Lucas de Tuy 234-35; Jiménez de Rada 126), while the chroniclers mention the *cantares* as they describe his half-French origin (351); the battle of Roncesvalles is presented in the two Latin chronicles (Lucas de Tuy 235-36; Jiménez de Rada 126-28); to begin the episode in which Bernardo learns of his parentage, the chroniclers cite an *estoria* (354); the battles fought at Toledo, Zamora, and Polvorosa/Valdemora are all documented in the two Latin chronicles (Lucas de Tuy 245-46; Jiménez de Rada 137-38); during the description of the battle at Benavente, the chroniclers again cite an *estoria* (370); as they relate the conflict with Bueso, Alfonso's chroniclers mention both the *cantares* and an *estoria* (371); Bernardo's rebellion and the establishment of El Carpio are included in the two Latin texts (Lucas de Tuy 245; Jiménez de Rada 137), and Alfonso's chroniclers also mention an *estoria* (374); as they relate the delivery of Bernardo's father, the hero's ultimate exile, and his journey to the French court, the chroniclers again mention the *cantares* (375). The only other deeds not attributed to any other specific source are those that follow Bernardo's departure from the French court, though their inclusion immediately following numerous references to the *cantares* may imply that the accounts of at least some of those exploits stemmed from the same *cantares* mentioned by the chroniclers.

episode of the legend, with the exception of that of the *tablado*. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that its inclusion in the Alfonsine account is solely the result of the chroniclers' invention, and more likely that the chroniclers were, in fact, relying on some unnamed source.

The second striking characteristic of the episode are the marked similarities between the events described in the Bernardo story and incidents from other Castilian epic tales. As described, Bernardo refuses to participate in the *tablado* until the Queen promises him that she will ask for his father's freedom. He agrees and is successful, though the Queen's request is denied by Alfonso. As a response, Bernardo verbally lashes out at the King, which prompts Alfonso to banish him. The incorporation of the *tablado* in this episode is reminiscent of its presence in the story of the *Siete infantes de Lara*. In the Alfonsine account of the *Siete infantes*, Gonzalo González's participation at the *tablado* results in the provocation of Álvaro Sánchez's anger, which leads to disastrous consequences (Alfonso X 431-32). Similarly, a significant result of the *tablado* episode in Bernardo's story is the fury of Alfonso III, leading to Bernardo's banishment and the ensuing battles between the hero and his king. The thematic similarities between the *tablado* episode in the *Siete infantes* and that in the Alfonsine *Bernardo del Carpio* suggest the incorporation of a well-known theme of the Spanish epic into the legend.²⁰

Deyermond has considered the influence of the *Siete infantes de Lara* on other Castilian epic poems and tales, and explained how the tale of the assassination of the Infante García and the vengeance taken by Sancha was reworked, "asimilándose la realidad histórica al patrón de *Los siete infantes*" (81). Although, as Menéndez Pidal has pointed out, any sense of "realidad histórica" is quite different with the legend of Bernardo del Carpio than with other epic legends, given that the legend "no nace, como las demás leyendas españolas, a raíz de un suceso histórico" (*Romancero tradicional* 145), Deyermond's proposed influence of the *Siete infantes de Lara* on

²⁰ Further suggesting that the *tablado* was a common theme of the medieval Spanish epic is its inclusion in the *Romanz del infant García*. Although the overall context is different in the *Infant García* than in *Bernardo del Carpio* and the *Siete infantes*, in the former, the *tablado* also leads to disaster, given its arrangement by Yennego Vela in order to kill the *infante*: "«yo se en que guisa podremos mouer razon dond ayamos achaque por quel mataremos. Alcemos un tablado en medio de la rua, et los caualleros castellanos, como son omnes que se precian desto, querran y uenire a assolazarse, et nos bolueremos estonces pelea con ellos sobrell alañar, et matarlos emos a todos desta guisa.»" (Alfonso X 470-71). Curiously, the mention of the *tablado* in the Alfonsine account of the *infante García* occurs at a point in the legend in which the chroniclers acknowledge a discrepancy between the Latin sources and the vernacular: "Pero dize aqui el arçobispo don Rodrigo, et don Lucas de Tuy que acuerda con el... Mas pero que assi fue como el arçobispo et don Lucas de Tuy lo cuentan en su latin, dize aqui en el castellano la estoria dell Romanz del inffant Garcia dotra manera..." (471). The chroniclers' allusion suggests that the *tablado* was included in the *Romanz*, further linking the overall theme of the *tablado*, and, even more specifically, of the *tablado* leading to catastrophe, with epic material.

other epic legends is applicable in the case of the episode of the *tablado*.²¹ In this instance, the tale of a rebellious vassal was elaborated in such a way that it parallels other epic models.²² The question then remains whether this elaboration was the result of the Alfonsine chroniclers' creativity or whether the episode stemmed from an unmentioned source.

The final noteworthy element of the account of the *tablado*, its embellishment of the battle at Benavente, helps to address the above question. Despite no reference to an *estoria* during the description of the *tablado*, its elaboration of the account of the combat at Benavente suggests that the episode may have stemmed from the same *estoria* that was referenced in the previous report of Benavente. Along such lines, although the chroniclers do not include a direct mention of the *estoria*, they do include an indirect reference in their account of the *tablado*, through Bernardo's heated diatribe against Alfonso, in which he reminds the King of his actions at Benavente. The nature of the allusion, however, coming straight from Bernardo's mouth, essentially prohibits a direct citation, given that it is not the chroniclers who make the connection to the cited *estoria*; rather, it is Bernardo who refers to the incident. Therefore, it is plausible that the episode of the *tablado* stemmed from the same *estoria* as did the battle at Benavente, with Bernardo's indirect reference serving as the chroniclers' only mention of their source material. Thus, we are given another glimpse at what would have been contained in the sources manipulated by Alfonso's chroniclers.

Conclusions

Based on the above observations, we can arrive at reasonable hypotheses regarding some of the sources utilized by the Alfonsine task force in their retelling of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio: for their account of the battle against Bueso, the chroniclers relied upon a certain *estoria* that contained remnants of a now-lost *cantar de gesta*, though they amended the version of the combat by adding a section pertaining to Alfonso III's involvement; they were familiar with a now-lost *estoria* that related Bernardo's deeds at the battle of Benavente, including the aid he provided to Alfonso after the King's horse was killed, though they adjusted the actual account of the battle to narrate it in terms similar to those used to describe Alfonso III's other achievements against the Muslims; and although they do not directly cite any source in the episode of the *tablado*, Bernardo's allusion to the events at Benavente that would have been told in the now-unknown *estoria* suggests that the *tablado* might also have been included in such *estoria*.

²¹ Menéndez Pidal's affirmation does not necessarily imply that the legend has no base in historical figures. As Milá y Fontanals (227-29), Franklin (30-36), and Vaquero (479-80) have all pointed out, certain elements of the legend do appear to have stemmed from historical individuals.

²² For the legend of Bernardo del Carpio as one pertaining to the cycle of rebellious vassals, see Vaquero, especially 476.

Addressing the above hypotheses and the repeated role of a now-unknown *estoria* in such considerations, one wonders whether the confrontation with Bueso would have been related in the same *estoria* as the battle at Benavente and the episode of the *tablado*. The overall theme of the Bueso episode is distinct from those of the other episodes that also mention an unknown *estoria* (the chess game, the establishment and defense of El Carpio, and the battle at Benavente), which either directly or indirectly illustrate conflicts between Bernardo and his king. The Bueso episode, on the other hand, relates the invasion of a French adversary, and the actual mention of the *estoria* (and, through it, the *cantares*) refers to Bernardo's supposed relationship to Bueso and, therefore, his half-French lineage.²³ Therefore, it is possible that the *cantar* or *cantares* pertaining to Bueso were known to the chroniclers through an independent *estoria*. At the same time, the *estoria* referenced in the account of the conflict with Bueso could also be the same one alluded to in other instances. In the case of the Bueso episode, the double reference to the *cantares* and the *estoria* is curious, given that Alfonso's chroniclers do not mention an *estoria* in other instances when they reference the *cantares* (though they do mention both *fablas* and *romances*). Therefore, it is possible that the conflict with Bueso, originally related in a now-lost *cantar*, was absorbed at some point into the *estoria* or *estorias* that reported other deeds of the hero. If this is the case, the reference to the *estoria* with regards to Bernardo and Bueso's relationship highlights the merging of two distinct tales, that of Bernardo's conflicts with a French adversary and that of his struggles with Alfonso, into one *estoria*. The possible influence of other Castilian epic legends on both such tales, that of the *Siete infantes de Lara* and, perhaps, the *Romanz del infant García* on the episode of the *tablado* and that of the *Cantar de mio Cid* on the account of the battle against Bueso, as well as the possible prosification of a now-lost *cantar* pertaining to Bernardo and Bueso in such *estoria*, seems to favor the latter possibility.

²³ The allusion to the *cantares*, in this case, is thematically consistent with three of the four mentions of the *cantares* throughout the Alfonsine retelling of the legend, which refer to Bernardo's half-French lineage: the account of Timbor and San Díaz's clandestine relationship (355), the mention of Bernardo's family ties to Bueso (371), and his journey to the French court, where he tells Charles that he is Timbor's son (375).

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