12-6-1974

The Numantian Theme in Spanish Literature

Jason M. Rogers-Rodriguez

NUMANTIAN THEME IN SPANISH LITERATURE

ROGERS-RODRIGUEZ

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87106

POLICY ON USE OF THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Unpublished theses and dissertations accepted for master's and doctor's degrees and deposited in the University of New Mexico Library are open to the public for inspection and reference work. *They are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the authors.* The work of other authors should always be given full credit. Avoid quoting in amounts, over and beyond scholarly needs, such as might impair or destroy the property rights and financial benefits of another author.

To afford reasonable safeguards to authors, and consistent with the above principles, anyone quoting from theses and dissertations must observe the following conditions:

1. Direct quotations during the first two years after completion may be made only with the written permission of the author.

2. After a lapse of two years, theses and dissertations may be quoted without specific prior permission in works of original scholarship provided appropriate credit is given in the case of each quotation.

3. Quotations that are complete units in themselves (e.g., complete chapters or sections) in whatever form they may be reproduced and quotations of whatever length presented as primary material for their own sake (as in anthologies or books of readings) ALWAYS require consent of the authors.

4. The quoting author is responsible for determining "fair use" of material he uses.

This thesis/dissertation by Jason M. Rogers-Rodriguez has been used by the following persons whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above conditions. (A library which borrows this thesis/dissertation for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.)

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE

8/1/72—500

This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE NUMANTIAN THEME IN SPANISH LITERATURE

Title

JASON M. ROGERS-RODRIGUEZ

Candidate

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN AND CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

Department

David T. Bunchitta

Dean

Dec. 6, 1974

Date

Committee

Raymond R. MacCurdy

Chairman

Jack E. Jones

J E White Jr.

THE NUMANTIAN THEME IN SPANISH LITERATURE

BY
JASON M. ROGERS-RODRIGUEZ
B.A., University of New Mexico, 1954
M.A., University of New Mexico, 1970

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Languages
in the Graduate School of
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
December, 1974

THE NUMANTIAN THEME IN SPANISH LITERATURE

BY
Jason M. Rogers-Rodríguez

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Languages
in the Graduate School of
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
December, 1974

THE NUMANTIAN THEME IN SPANISH LITERATURE

Jason M. Rogers-Rodríguez, Ph.D.
Department of Modern and Classical Languages
The University of New Mexico, 1974

Numantia, after years of heroic resistance, fell to the Roman legions in 133 B.C. The conquest of Numantia was so costly that it played an important role in the internal politics of Rome and thus it was singled out and received the attention of the Greek and Roman historians who recorded and analyzed the conquest and colonization of Iberia.

Centuries later, when Spain had developed a sense of national unity, the Hispanic chroniclers found in the history of Numantia an authenticated record of Iberian will to resist foreign domination and evidence of a courageous and virtuous national character. The Hispanic writers were pleased to find that the Roman historians had attributed the humiliating ineffectiveness of the Roman legions to a lack of morale and morality, while finding but one fatal flaw in the more primitive Celtiberians: a lack of political unity beyond limited regional loyalties.

Certain elements of the siege of Numantia are inherently dramatic and tragic, and thus lend themselves well to literary expansion. Moreover, certain philosophical aspects became associated with Numantia because of the patterns of classical thought contained in the works that mentioned the siege of the Iberian settlement. The stature and significance of Numantia grew with the passage of time so that by the end of the sixteenth century, when Cervantes made the first major literary use of it, it had become a legend which symbolically represented a wide range of philosophical and national considerations.

This study first traces the tramsmission of the history of Numantia and its transformation into a literary theme. It then examines the moral, political and esthetic implications of the Numantian plays and poetry which have appeared in almost every Spanish literary movement from the sixteenth century down to the present time.

CONTENTS

Introduction

Rome's ambition to conquer the world subjected the Iberian peninsula to intensive military campaigns in the second century B.C. to convert it into a tributary possession. The conquest had progressed satisfactorily until it reached the mountainous terrain of the northern fringes of the Central Plateau. Here the Romans met the nomadic bands from the north whose mobility and guerilla tactics checked the advance of the legions. Here the Romans also met the resistance of the sedentary hill peoples who were settled in strategic sites and were very reluctant to give up their way of life in return for Roman rule.

Two names, Viriathus and Numantia, emerged from this period and became symbols of Iberian resistance to Roman conquest. Viriathus was a chieftain who succeeded in unifying various tribal units into an army that dealt the Romans many severe blows. Numantia was a small Celtiberian settlement that withstood for years the efforts of Rome to conquer it.

The memory of Viriathus, and to a much greater extent, of Numantia, was perpetuated by the effects that the wars of conquest had upon the political and social structure of Rome. Roman and Greek historians of the time were not only fascinated by the character of Iberian resistance, but were aware of the role it played during an era of opposing political ideologies, an era of basic conflict that saw the replacement of the republican form of government by a monarchical form.

Centuries later, when Spain began to emerge as a political unit, the historical record of Spain's pre-historical past was turned to in the search for the foundations of national identity. Numantia was a natural symbol, an epic legend, of the Spanish attitude towards freedom, justice, life, death, and Spain's place in the universe.

Throughout this study I will use the term "theme" in reference to the subject of Numantia, that is, the combination of the history of the people of Numantia and the thought associated with the Roman conquest of Celtiberia in the second century B.C. The word "Numantia," after centuries of usage, came to signify more than the name of the city. It signifies a variety of integrated thought patterns which have been associated with it that can neither be derived from the elements of history and reaction to that history in isolation, nor can it be considered simply as the sum of those elements, for Numantia has meant and means something different to different ages, different countries, and different individuals. Theme in this sense is the equivalent of the German word Gestalt.

This study will first trace the historical record of Numantia to the point in time that it emerged as a literary theme. In Spanish literature the Numantian theme has been employed in various genres but chiefly in the drama. In the drama plots derived from history lend themselves well to the expression of contemporary social and philosophical preoccupations. The Numantian theme is unique in that it is one of the few historical themes whose usage has spanned the development of Spanish drama from the late sixteenth century to the present. There are important periods, for example, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when the theme was not used, but the lack of its

use can perhaps lend as much insight into the symbolic quality of the theme and the character of the theater of a period as its use.

CHAPTER I

The History of Numantia

The presence of the Roman legions outside the walls of Numantia in the second century before Christ was due to a chain of circumstances that can be traced back more than a thousand years when various peoples from the East began sailing the Mediterranean Sea motivated by a need to know what lay beyond the next inlet and by the rewarding trade that could be carried on with the less developed peoples to the West. Ancient traders established a base on the bay of Tunisia which was used by the Phoenicians and which later became the city of Carthage. By the third century B.C. Rome had evolved from a small tribe to the nucleus of a loose federation of various tribal entities when it became aware of the presence of another political power, Carthage, which was moving dangerously close to Rome's projected territorial boundaries. This confrontation of "presence" was the origin of the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.). For the most part it was a naval war, and Rome's victory gave her control of the offshore islands of Lipari and Sicily. But this did not establish equilibrium in the area. Three years later, in 238, Rome, operating from a position of superior naval strength, forced Carthage to give up the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

Since Carthage was the older and more advanced of the two civilizations, Rome's power politics was an affront to Carthaginian national pride. Carthaginion self-respect was at stake and they would have to resist by some means. Their solution was reasonable; they accepted the plan of Hamilcar Barca to develop the Iberian peninsula

in order to compensate for island territory lost to Rome. Colonization was initiated and continued under Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar. Hasdrubal's son, Hannibal, inherited the project, and the colonies began to flourish. Rome realized the value of the territory in Iberia and forced Carthage to accept a treaty which gave Rome all the land north of the Ebro River, a coast-line corresponding roughly to that of the modern province of Catalonia. Rome began cultivating friendly relations with the people of Saguntum, just north of the present city of Valencia and in Carthage's territory. Carthage became nervous. In 219 B.C. Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum and captured it. The Romans considered this attack upon an ally as an attack upon themselves and demanded that Carthage surrender Saguntum. Carthage had had enough of Roman intermeddling and defied Rome. Thus the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) broke out. While Rome sent armies to Sicily and Africa, Hannibal executed his daring plan of carrying the war to the heart of Italia by marching from Iberia through Gallia and over the Alps. The Gauls were eager to rid themselves of their Roman masters and joined Hannibal in great numbers. Hannibal stayed in Italia some sixteen years during which time he was generally victorious over the Romans, yet for some reason he never took advantage of the opportunity to capture the city of Rome.

During the Second Punic War the Iberian peninsula served as an important logistic base for Carthage's Italian campaign and thus Rome took a greater interest in it than before. Publius Cornelius Scipio was send as proconsul to Iberia in 217 B.C. This was a fateful appointment in that it intimately connected the Scipio family to the final pacification of Iberia four generations later when Scipio

Aemilianus destroyed Numantia. The first Scipio in Iberia defeated Hasdrubal's attempt to attack Italia in 215 B.C. and in 212 B.C. he captured Saguntum. He continued to expand Rome's holdings but was killed less than a year after his success at Saguntum. He was succeeded as proconsul by his son, also named Publicus Cornelius Scipio (236-183 B.C.), who was later given the honorary surname of Africanus. Scipio Africanus took Cartago Nova (Cartegena) in 209 B.C. and advanced the Roman territory south to the areas around Seville and Gades (Cádiz), thus completing the expulsion of the Carthaginians in 206 B.C. He then returned to Rome and convinced the Senate that they should attack Carthage in spite of the fact that Hannibal and his army were still in Italia. His victories forced Carthage to seek peace, but the Carthaginians later changed their minds and decided to make a last ditch attempt by recalling Hannibal to defend the city itself. This attempt was not successful, and Carthage was forced to accept a peach treaty which deprived it of all of Iberia and all its Mediterranean islands. Scipio's success in 201 B.C. gained for him the title of Africanus by which he is generally identified.

For the next fifty years Carthage busied itself setting up new markets for trade without making territorial claims. The revival of its commerce was so rapid that Rome again became concerned with its presence. The mercantile interests of Rome stirred up a cause against Carthage--"Carthage must be destroyed"--and thus they grasped at an excuse in 150 B.C. to send an army to compel the Carthaginians to emigrate to some island site outside the area of Rome's commercial activities. There was not enough room for both of these powers in Rome's Mare Nostrum. The Third Punic War started in 149 B.C., and two

Punica overthrew Hannibal. The Third Punic War saw Scipio defeated Hannibal's attempt to attack Italy in 217 B.C., and in 210 B.C. captured Saguntum. He continued to ravage Hannibal's holdings but was bitter less than a year after his success at Saguntum. He was succeeded as proconsul by his son, also named Publius Cornelius Scipio (236-183 B.C.), who was later given the honorary surname of *Africanus*. Scipio *Africanus* had carried war (*Carthaginem*) in 204 B.C. and advanced the Roman territory south to the areas around Saville and Cadiz (Gades), thus completing the expulsion of the Carthaginians in 206 B.C. He then returned to Rome and convinced the Senate that they should attack Carthage in spite of the fact that Hannibal and his army were still in Italia. His victories forced Carthage to seek peace, but the Carthaginian Senate changed their minds and decided to make a last attempt by recalling Hannibal to defend the city itself. This attempt was not successful, and Carthage was forced to accept a peace treaty which deprived it of all of Iberia and all its Mediterranean islands. Scipio's success in 201 B.C. gained for him the title of *Africanus* by which he is generally identified.

For the next fifty years Carthage busied itself setting up new markets for trade without acting territorial claims. The revival of its commerce was so rapid that Rome again became concerned with its presence. The mercantile interests of Rome stirred up a cause against Carthage--"Carthage must be destroyed"--and Cato truly prayed at in orations in 150 B.C. to send an army to compel the Carthaginians to migrate to some island site outside the area of Rome's commercial activities. There was just enough room for both of these powers in Rome's *Pax Romana*. The Third Punic War started in 149 B.C., and two

years later Scipio Aemilianus blockaded the port of Carthage, laid siege to the city, captured and destroyed it with a thoroughness intended to be permanent (Alfonso X, Crónica general: ". . . Cartago fue destroida la postremera vez de guisa que numqua cobro."), and converted the territory to a Roman province.

The defeat of Carthage also earned for Scipio Aemilianus (185-129 B.C.) the honorary title of Africanus. Since his adoptive grandfather also had this title the attempt is usually made to distinguish them by the further appendages of "the Elder" and "the Younger." The safest recourse is to identify the destroyer of Carthage by his family name, Aemilius. He was born in 185 or 184 B.C. His father, the Roman general L. Aemilius Paulus, gave him to the childless son of Scipio Africanus because he had produced no sons of his own. Thus by adoption he became the fourth-generation Scipio involved in the affairs of Iberia and for his final military victory he was granted a second honorary surname, Numantius, after his pacification of the peninsula in 133 B.C.

Out of the original Roman plan to expel the Cartaginians from their base in Iberia grew the idea of exploiting the mineral deposits of the region of Cartagena, and subsequently it was realized that other areas were also rich in metals. This realization led to a desire to acquire control of the entire peninsula. It was not difficult to subdue the peoples of the coastal regions, but as the Romans advanced inland they encountered ever heavier resistance on the part of the tribes of the central plateau who were reluctant to accept taxation without representation. The opposition to the Romans was general from 206 B.C. onwards as Rome turned its attention from the Carthaginizns to the conquest of the Iberians. The Iberian desire for independence was

constantly reinforced by the cruelty, greed and perfidy of the Roman governors whose policies were a reflection of the moral and political situation in Rome itself. The Romans found in Iberia an opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the conquered peoples.

An idea of the importance to the Romans of the conquest of Iberia can be obtained from the fact that a consul was generally present in the peninsula personally directing all operations. During the campaigns that brought about the fall of Numantia the last seven commanders in Hispania held the rank of consul. The office of the consuls had replaced the monarchy in the sixth century B.C. Two were elected each year by the Senate to serve for a one year term. Reelection of a consul was allowed after an interval of ten years. This annual tenure was insisted upon because the Romans, like the Greeks before them, feared the rise of a tyrant from within more than any threat from without. The consulship was the greatest dignity that the empire had to bestow. As heads of state they personally commanded the army, had supreme criminal and civil jurisdiction, were the chief executive officers of the Senate, and they generated laws both by introducing bills in the Senate and by direct decree. Each consul had the power to act with full powers, subject to the veto power of the other consul. The distance between the province of Italia and the province of Hispania caused some modifications in the system. The consul remaining in Rome became the governor of Italia and the one in Hispania became the governor of Iberia. Upon his return to Rome he would submit a report of his activities to his co-consul and to the Senate. There were instances when the acts of the peninsular consul would not be ratified. The office of pro-consul also gained importance since in the absence of a consul he acted in his

stead, an early-day viceroy. Also at times there was a relaxation of the one-year term limitation so that consuls could serve two years. A constant concern of the Senate was that, as Iberia was rich in resources and in army recruits, it could readily serve as a base for an ambitious leader to usurp power. The Scipio family was never free of this suspicion since it was politically ambitious and had come to consider Hispania as theirs. Partly for this reason, but also because Rome was involved elsewhere, the armies sent to the peninsula were not always up to full consular strength of approximately 150,000 legionaires. Even so the army which Rome sent and maintained in the Iberian peninsula was formidable--some 70,000 men plus a naval force to protect the coasts.

The consul Marcus Porcius Cato set the initial pattern of diplomacy in the peninsula when in 195 B.C. he visited Hispania and made treaties of peace with many Celtiberian settlements along the northern edge of the central plateau. Numantia was one of these. By 178 B.C. the general Sempronio Gracchus had advanced the border of Roman territory to a line that began at the midpoint of the Pyrenean border north of the present town of Huesca, moved southward and to the west through Siguenza and through the valley of the Henares river to the area around Madrid, them south to Toledo, then south to Cordoba and westward to the Algarve. He renewed the treaties with the Celtiberians who occupied the north side of this line. By these treaties the Iberians agreed to give up their nomadic style of life, build no new fortifications nor reinforce those already extant; and they agreed also to furnish men and silver as an annual tribute. In

return Rome was to respect their boundaries and interfere in no other way with their sovereignty. A period of some twenty-five years of relative peace followed, but the cumulative effect of sporadic violations of the agreements on the part of both sides plus the burden of the tribute brought a renewal of the conflict which, according to Polybius, spread like a forest fire. From 153 B.C. until the fall of Numantia twenty years later, Rome was not just involved with holding the line but also was making a serious effort to avoid the collapse of the whole province.

As the Romans advanced northwards in the western half of the peninsula, Hispania Ulterior, they entered into the territory of the Lusitanians. These people were basically of Iberian stock, that is, of the indigenous stock which had become settled in the peninsula before the arrival of the Celts in two emigratory waves during the tenth and eleventh centuries and again during the sixth century B.C. As in the rest of the peninsula these people were not united beyond the tribal unit. They lived by keeping herds of sheep in the mountains and by raiding the inhabitants of the rich lowlands. Strabo (63-64 B.C.) described their lives and customs:

> Todas las tribus de la montaña viven de manera sencilla, beben agua y duermen sobre el suelo desnudo. Los hombres llevan el pelo largo, como las mujeres. . . . Comen de preferencia carne de cabra; a su dios de guerra le sacrifican un macho cabrío y asimismo los prisioneros con sus caballos. Organizan sacrificios en masa (hecatombes) de toda especia, como los griegos. Les gustan también los desafíos, tantos gimnásticos como en armas y a caballo, y se ejercitan en el pugliliato, en el tiro y en la lucha de bandos. Dos tercios del año viven de bellotas, que secan, machacan, muelen y convierten en pan a fin de tener provisiones. También tienen cerveza. Les falta vino pero, si alguna vez logran poseerlo, lo beben pronto, organizando

> para ello una fiesta de clan. . . . Cuando están embriagados bailan una danza en círculo, al son de la flauta o el cuerno, durante la cual saltan y se arrodillan.[1]

The Lusitanians had been involved in the Second Punic War on the side of the Carthaginians. They became a potent force in the middle of the second century B.C. when Viriathus (hereafter referred to as Viriato) became their leader. He insisted upon resistance to the Romans because of their greed and their lack of good faith in observing treaties. Spain would like to claim Viriato but the opinion of most historians is that his birthplace was in the Serra da Estela between the Tagus and Duero rivers in present-day Portugal. The Romans referred to him as dux latronum, a leader of bandits. This term might refer to the raiding habits of his people which was customary during that age, and it also might derive from the Roman custom of labelling any enemy as thieves or bandits in a usage parallel to the Greek practice of labelling non-Greeks barbarians. In addition to his personal qualities Viriato had an advantage over the Romans in that he knew the terrain. His method was to attack by ambush, fight, disperse in apparent retreat, regroup and renew the attack after having dispersed or relaxed the Romans by the previous tactics. He also employed light cavalry units which frequently took the Romans by surprise because of the Lusitanian's ability to shift positions during the night. Appian records that at times Viriato's forces numbered ten thousand. Viriato inflicted heavy losses on the forces

---

1. Cited in Historia de España, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956), II, 119-120.

of the praetor Gayo Veilio in 147 and 146 B.C. Then Cayo Plaucio was defeated near Evora. He in turn was replaced by Claudio Unimano. The defeat of these and other Roman generals began to have repercussions in Rome. A mere tribal chieftan was holding up their plans for the neutralization of the peninsula. The consul Quinto Fabio Maximus Emilianus put great pressure on the Lusitanians at Evora, and Viriato moved on into the area of upper Castile. Other Roman forces began closing in on Viriato with the result that neither side was gaining. But later Viriato surrounded Servillianus in the mountains and forced him to agree to a peace treaty which recognized Viriato as amicus populi romani, a de facto recognition of his sovereignty in his territory. Appian reports that the Senate ratified this treaty, whereas Titus Livy reports that the Senate was outraged and did not ratify it. The Romans immediately broke the treaty and insisted upon a renegotiation. While negotiations were in process the Romans induced three of Viriato's aides to kill him as he slept. According to legend the Romans then treated these assasins as traitors and did not compensate them for their crime. After the death of Viriato in 139 B.C. the Lusitanians and the Celtiberians were never again able to mount a successful counterattack against the invader. Viriato, famous as a general, and the first individual Iberian hero, probably owed a great measure of his success to his unique ability to unite the Iberians in a common cause. This was difficult because the people were more accustomed to inter-tribal wars than to inter-tribal councils.

At the same time that the Romans were trying to subdue the Lusitanians in the west they were meeting equally fierce opposition in the central and eastern areas of the northern edges of the Meseta. The people of this region were a mixture of Iberian and Celtic stock. They occupied the hill country between the sources of the Tagus and the Ebro (Iberus) rivers. Their principal territory included most of the modern province of Soria and much of the neighboring provinces of Guadalajara and Teruel. They were made up of various tribes, the Belli, Arevaci, Titti and Lusones. Their Celtic ancestors were Indo-European-speaking tribes from the other side of the Pyrenees who had immigrated between 900 and 400 B.C. They established villages of rectangular clay and stone houses and evolved a culture of scattered forts (castros). They had horses and cattle and farmed the land. Their pottery, tools, and weapons indicate that their culture belonged to the advanced Bronze Age. Little is known about their social customs and religion.

The battles fought on the Meseta were of a different tactical nature in that Viriato led a wide-ranging offensive attack, whereas the Celtiberians tended toward a defensive war, striking out at the Romans from their castros, walled villages usually strategically located on hill tops. In part the harassment suffered by the Celtiberians was a result of Viriato's successes to the west. The Romans, generally the losers to the Lusitanians, vented their wrath upon the Celtiberians who at times had befriended the Lusitanians. In 153 B.C. the Romans took action to stop the fortifying of the walls of the city of Segeda. An army of 30,000 men was sent from Rome under the command of Quintus Fulvius Nobilior. The inhabitants of

Segeda were caught off-guard by the arrival of the Roman legions and fled to Numantia. Nobilior destroyed Segeda and marched towards Numantia. On the feast of Vulcan, August 23, he was ambushed by the Celtiberians who had amassed perhaps the largest force they were ever able to field, some 20,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 horsemen. The Romans suffered heavy losses and were able to gain control only after they had captured the Celtiberian chieftan. In that battle alone the Celtiberians lost 6,000 men.

Nobilior took another month to prepare his attack upon Numantia. This time he had the help of ten elephants and 300 horsemen sent by the king of Numidia, an ally of the Scipio family since the Second Punic War. The use of the elephants achieved the desired psychological effect. It appeared that Numantia would fall to the Romans that day, but a stone thrown from the walls struck an elephant causing it to go into a rage. The other elephants stampeded and completely disrupted the attack. The Numantians took advantage of the disorder and drove the Romans off. Losses on both sides were heavy, the dead Celtiberians numbered 2,000, the Romans, 4,000. Thus within a month the Celtiberians had lost 8,000 soldiers and the Romans as many as twice that number. Nobilior retreated and lost many more of his troops from the cold of the harsh Meseta winter.

In 152 B.C. the army which Nobilior turned over to his successor, Claudius Marcellus, numbered only 5,000 men, one-sixth of its original strength. Marcellus was a skillful diplomat and negotiated peace agreements with many of the Celtiberians. The Scipio faction was in control of the Senate at the time and it sent instructions back to Marcellus to make war, not peace treaties. Marcellus then returned

to the north from his base in Cordoba intending to renew the war. The Numantians met him asking that the old conditions, those first established by Gracchus, be reaffirmed. Marcellus found their request reasonable and reported back to Rome that the wars were concluded. Again the faction led by the Scipio clan was outraged and accused Marcellus of treason. However, no new army was sent and peace reigned from 151 until 143 B.C.

Service in the peninsula became very unpopular after the losses suffered by Nobilior. Those departing for duty in Hispania were given up as lost. During this period Scipio Aemilianus, then thirty-four years old, volunteered to serve in the command of Lucius Licinius Luculus who was leaving for Hispania in 151 B.C. This service, combined with the prestige of the family name, qualified him for the command of the campaign to destroy Carthage two years later.

The Third Punic War and the activities of Viriato diverted the attention of the Romans from Celtiberia. In 144 B.C. the blood brother of Scipio Aemilianus, Quintus Fabius Maximus Emilianius, gained the first and only real Roman victory over the Lusitanians. Viriato then involved the Celtiberians in the war by seeking their aid. The Romans retaliated by destroying the Celtiberian crops so that they would be of no aid to the Lusitanians. In 141 B.C. an army under the command of Quintus Aulus Pompeius with 30,000 footsoldiers and 2,000 horsemen attacked Numantia. The battle was fought on the sloping plain to the east of the settlement. The outcome was not decisive, and Pompeius moved his troops to attack the fortress town of Tiermes. The 4,000 defenders gathered there inflicted severe losses upon the Romans, and Pompeius called for a retreat to the south. He returned to Numantia

the following spring determined to take the city by siege. His plan was not well engineered--his attempt to change the courses of the rivers was beyond his capabilities. At this time Megara, possibly a Lusitanian, was in command of the Numantians. Pompeius was determined to maintain the siege through the winter if necessary but the arrival of fresh troops not acclimated to the hardships of the upper Duero valley forced him to winter in the south. Before leaving he accepted the offer of the Celtiberians for peace, an indication of the Celtiberian's strong desire for peaceful coexistence in the peninsula and their continued gullibility in the face of so many treaties broken by the Romans in the past.

The Senate did not ratify the treaties but sent Popillius Laenus back to Hispania in 138 B.C. to renew the conquest of Celtiberia. Following precedence he spent the warm months unsuccessfully attacking the fortress towns of the north and then wintered in the south. In the spring of 137 B.C. Caius Hostilius Mancinus took command of the Roman army and again camped outside the walls of Numantia. By this time the Roman army was so demoralized that it fled in panic on hearing rumors that the various tribes of the area were banding together for an attack. Mancinus found himself in the embarrassing position of having his army of 20,000 surrounded by a Celtiberian force of only 4,000 men. Again the Celtiberians let the enemy free after agreeing to the usual terms of peace.

The Senate found the treaties made by Mancinus disgraceful and unacceptable. Three successive consuls were sent to Hispania but all of them carefully avoided Numantia. They busied themselves in the harassment of weaker settlements, more for the satisfaction of reprisal

than for strategic reasons. An indication of the spirit of the times can be gained from the treatment of Mancinus who had been stripped of his consular rank. By order of the Senate, probably at the instigation of Scipio Aemilianus, Mancinus was brought under arrest to Numantia by the consul Lusius Furius Philon and, stripped of his clothing and bound hand and foot, he was left outside the walls. The Numantians refused to become involved in the scheme and the Romans were forced to retrieve Mancinus.

The losses in Hispania caused a political crisis in Rome resulting in the reelection of Scipio Aemilianus as consul in spite of the fact that ten years had not elapsed since his previous term. The statute was avoided through the legal fiction of setting the law aside for one year. Scipio was a strong man during a weak period and was thus an initiator rather than a follower of precedent. Rather than take an official army which would restore the forces in Hispania to consular strength, he took a private army which he personally raised. He also established a private guard about his person which later served as the model for the imperial guard used by the emperors who came after the disintegration of the consular form of government. Scipio left for Hispania in late January or early February of 134 B.C. He travelled by land and arrived in Tarragona in March. There he found the remnants of the Roman legions which had survived the previous campaigns against the Celtiberians and the Lusitanians. Tarragona had been the main base of Roman operations in the peninsula since the Second Punic War. It provided both a good harbor and a good natural fortress and had been originally developed by the Etruscans as a trading base. Its coastal

location, now known as the "Costa Dorada," provided a pleasant retreat from the rigors of the Meseta.

When Scipio took charge of the attack upon Carthage some sixteen years earlier he had found that the army was in a low state of morale and that it had taken to all sorts of luxuries and vices. History was repeated in Tarragona. Scipio's first task was to restore morale and discipline. He got rid of a great number of camp followers of both sexes, and he sent away a great number of merchants who were making luxury items available to the Romans. He ordered the removal of servants, beds, cooking utensils, perfumes and the like (it is said that among the discarded items were 20,000 hair-plucking tweezers). Scipio prescribed a strict regimen of diet and a demanding code of conduct. He led his troops through a rigorous training period of digging trenches, refilling them, carrying water and stones, and maneuvers. By the time he was joined by his personal army he had put together a fighting force of some 60,000 men. He did not march to Numantia until the fall of 134 B.C. His first concern was to deploy his forces in such a manner that the Celtiberians would be deprived of the fall harvest and cut off from any aid from the outlying areas. About 10,000 men were garrisoned outside Numantia. Present among them were the troops and elephants of Yugurtha, the Prince of Numidia, who had been sent as a gesture of continuing friendship between the Scipio family and its old ally in Northern Africa. The Celtiberian forces within the city numbered about 4,000 fighting men and 60,000 women, children and other non-combatants. Scipio treated the small Numantian fortress with the greatest of respect. He never attacked it directly but immediately upon his arrival began to implement his plan of cutting

city off from any sources of supply and communications. He put his men to work digging trenches around the base of the hill on which Numantia stood and erecting fortified towers. The Duero and the Merdancho rivers which flow past Numantia were barricaded and blockaded in such a manner that the Numantians could no longer use them as access routes to the other side.

After eight months Scipio's plans and patience paid off. Only once did the Numantians break out of the enclosure. In desperation Rhetogenes and a small band of men fought through a barricade and escaped to seek help from the neighboring villages. One village, Lutia, remained free enough of Roman control to be able to consider helping the Numantians. The next day it was surrounded and taken by the Romans, and the hands of all the able-bodied young men were cut off, by order of Scipio, as an example and a warning against any further partisan cooperation. With the loss of this last source of hope the Numantians had no other choice but to surrender. An embassy was sent to negotiate the terms of surrender with Scipio. It returned with Scipio's reply that only total surrender, that is, the surrender of all weapons as well as the surrender of the city, would be acceptable. For the Celtiberians this was a serious affront as they considered the possession of arms and the integrity of their pledge as sacred. They decided to fight to the last man rather than surrender without honor. First they sustained themselves by eating animal hides and leather articles. Later they were forced to eat the recently dead. When they could hold out no longer they sent word to Scipio that their defense of the city was over. Appian of Alexandria, a historian of the second century A.D., who was thought

to have access to some eyewitness accounts still extant in his day but since lost, reports that Scipio directed the Numantians to leave the city. Some survivors asked for another day in which to kill themselves rather than surrender. Scipio assented and those remaining were either sold into slavery or selected for the ceremonies of the triumph in Rome. Another version of the last day of Numantia, a version more popular in Spanish literature than Appian's, has it that the Numantians perished to the last man so that no survivors remained for Scipio to conquer. The latter version probably had its origin in the imaginative mind of Lucious Annaeus Florus, a writer of the last part of the first century A.D., whose influence upon the Numantian theme in literature will be discussed shortly.

Scipio ordered the destruction of Numantia as he had done before in the case of Carthage. Thus in July of 133 B.C. the last stronghold that stood against Roman conquest of the peninsula was destroyed. Scipio spent a short time finishing up the pacification of the Celtiberians and then hurried off to Rome in order to arrive there in time for the elections in November.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORIES OF FLORUS AND APPIAN

Spanish scholars of the Middle Ages referred to many sources for their information about Numantia--Strabo, Poseidonius, Titus Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny, the Elder--but their principal sources were the histories of Florus and Appian.

The Numantian War is mentioned in Florus' _Epitome de T. Livio Bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo_, a rhetorical panegyric of the

greatness of Rome based on Livy's history, Ad urbe condita libri. The Epitome has limited value as history, but it was much used in the Middle Ages for the teaching of rhetoric in schools because of its polished elegance. Florus' style is that of a highly refined political commentator presenting the events of Roman history as marvelous occurrences. His intent was to stir the emotions of his readers as Pliny had done. The result, always highly rhetorical, is at times declamatory, sententious, yet his characterizations and development of interesting detail accomplish its purpose--the narration engrosses the reader.

Triumphus fuit tantum de nomine, Florus' closing comment on the Numantian War is an example of his art of dramatizing history in epigrammatic phrases. Florus did not omit some negative aspects of the Roman Republic such as the civil disorders and civil wars, and he confessed that certain wars of conquest, such as that of Numantia, were unjust. But his narration of the negative aspects of Roman history was outweighed by his glorification of universal conquest.

Statements in regard to the Numantian War such as, "Scarcely ever, if the truth may be confessed, was the pretext for any war more unjust," and, "Numantia, however inferior in wealth to Carthage, Capua and Corinth, in respect of valour and distinction was the equal of any of them, and, if one judges it aright, was the greatest glory of Spain," were particularly gratifying to later Spanish writers who identified with the Numantians. Ambrosio de Morales, for example, echoed Florus' sentiment when he exclaimed, "De tal manera, que aunque son sus historiadores de los romanos los que cuentan estos hechos, dan en ellos

tanta gloria a los nuestros, que si nosotros los excribiéramos, no nos la pudiéramos atribuir mayor.[2]

Florus's version of the last day of Numantia was widely accepted by the Spanish writers. Appian, who is thought to have followed the letter and the spirit of Polybius, reports that the Numantians surrendered to Scipio when the last survivors realized that they could hold out no longer against the hunger which eight months of siege had caused. Florus, perhaps as an exercise in rhetorical melodrama, reports that rather than surrender the Numantians drank a beer-like beverage and under its influence made one last sally.[3] They then gathered their belongings together and set fire to them in order to deny Scipio the booty. This done they killed their wives and children and then themselves so that there would be no remaining survivors to entitle Scipio to a Triumph in Rome.

APPIAN

Of all the ancient accounts, the Roman History of Appian (c. 95-165 A.D.) supplies the greatest amount of information on the Roman conquest of the Iberian peninsula. It is rich in names, dates, troop numbers, battle tactics, battle casualties, geography, topography, fortifications, and other details. Book VI, "The Wars in Spain," and Book VIII, "The Punic Wars," have survived relatively intact.

---

2. La Coronica General de España que continuaba Ambrosio de Morales (Alcalá de Henares, 1574), VII, 1.

3. Pliny, Natural History, XXXII.25.82, was the first of the extant historians to mention this beverage, caeliae.

These two books were probably based on Polybius' now lost books, and for this reason they are especially valuable. Many of the details of Appian's account have been corroborated by modern historiographical and archeological research by Menéndez Pidal, Adolf Schulten, and other scholars. The narration of events in the peninsula surrounding the fall of Numantia found in Chapter I of this study is a synopsis of Appian's account.

By modern standards Appian's narration of history is more in the style of a novel than of a history. In order to interest the reader he wrote a dramatic "you are there" description of tribes and tribal embassies, of trust and distrust, of good and bad faith, of demands for assistance and booty, of battles against insuperable odds, of deaths in the thousands, and of the destruction of cities such as Carthage and Numantia. Appian also used the novelistic device of having the historical personages speak, explaining the motivation for their acts or delivering the moral message to be derived from their experience. By Appian's time this was already a practice much in use and it continued even after the history of Numantia was being transformed into literature by Spanish writers.

Appian's account of the fall of Numantia was available to most of the early Hispanic historians, and along with Florus' version, shaped their conception of the Roman conquest of Iberia.

CHAPTER II

The Role of Scipio Aemilianus in the Formation of the Ideological Background of the Numantian Theme

Empire, the dominion of many territories and peoples under one rule, is the mark of organizational and military superiority. The destruction of Corinth proved the superiority of the Romans over the Greeks, the destruction of Carthage proved the superiority of the Romans over the Carthaginians, and the destruction of Numantia proved the superiority of the Romans over the Iberians. The wars of territorial expansion greatly changed the social structure and the political philosophy of Rome. Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, was one of the powerful and influential leaders who sought to solve the new problems of political evolution and maintain the superiority of Rome. His family was prominent in the faction that strove to maintain the oligarchical form of government in the face of pressure for a broader based representation of society.

The prolonged and costly campaigns in Celtiberia made Numantia a frequent subject of debate in the Senate.[1] Although Numantia's resistance was not unique it became the symbol of the contention between pursuing the conquest of Iberia or abandoning it. The final conquest of Numantia by Scipio Aemilianus linked the conqueror and

---

1. Adolf Schulten estimates that during the twenty-year period from 153 to 133 B.C., between 150,000 and 200,000 Romans were lost in the Numantian wars. The number of allies and mercenaries lost is not known, but it is supposed that they exceeded the number of Romans lost. Adolf Schulten, Historia de Numancia, tr. Luis Pericot García (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, S.A., 1945), p. 32.

the conquered to the extent that through the ages Numantia has been associated with the personality of Scipio.

The complex dynamics of the growth of the Roman Republic fascinated the political theorists and historians of the time, just as the subsequent grandeur and decline of the Roman Empire has fascinated modern historians. An extensive contemporary record of the events and personalities of the period exists. What we know of Scipio Aemilianus is largely due to his association with Polybius, the foremost historian and political theorist of the epoch. Polybius was a victim of the Roman subjugation of Greece during the Macedonian War. As a captive he had insight into both aspects of conquest--defeat and victory. He enjoyed a unique position from which to observe social structure since he had been a member of the Greek aristocracy and then was associated with the Roman oligarchy. Aemilius Paulus brought Polybius into his household to serve as tutor to his two sons. Tutor and Pupil, Scipio Aemilianus, became life-long friends. Polybius was with Scipio during the siege and destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. It is not known whether or not Polybius was present during the siege of Numantia, yet it is known that his History of the Numantine War was an extensive study of that subject and of Scipio Aemilianus. The loss of Polybius' history is somewhat mitigated by its indirect survival in the works of other historians, most notably in Appian's Roman History.

Scipio Aemilianus was a man of wide-ranging interests in all fields of knowledge. He gathered about him a group of scholars and artists--the "Scipionic Circle"--which included Polybius and Terence. Scipio was particularly interested in Greek culture and the blending of the better elements of Greek and Roman life.

The personality of Scipio Aemilianus was complex. By birth a member of the aristocracy, he was a conservative in matters of internal policy, and in external policy he became the spokesman for dealing harshly with any potential military or commercial rival. The territorial imperative was so strong in him that he easily raised the possibility of foreign competition to a cause for "just war." In the polemics of the day he stood for strength, discipline, and virtue. The opposition was accused of decadence, soft-living, and an unpatriotic willingness to compromise the traditional values of Rome in order to pacify the interests of the masses.[2]

Scipio was elected Censor of the Senate in 142 B.C., after receiving the title of Africanus. Using that office he expelled from the Curia and from the equestrian order all those whom he judged were not worthy of their rank. This kind of activity, in the Curia, in the Senate, and on the battlefield, earned for him the reputation of a stern moralist.

The sophisticated Roman social order that Polybius observed was an outgrowth of the tribal organization which had first permitted Rome to

---

2. It is interesting that José Ortega y Gasset, a particularly harsh critic of Roman civilization (he considered it a second-rate culture because the Romans tended to imitate rather than generate new ideas), admired the individual brilliance of Scipio Aemilianus. He wrote, "Es hacia el 150 antes de Jesucristo. Por primera vez hay en Roma un círculo selecto que se entrega con entusiasmo a la cultura griega, desdeñando la hostilidad de la masa tradicionalista. Este círculo es el más ilustre, el de más alta jerarquía social que hay en la república. Escipión Emiliano, el destructor de Cartago y Numancia, es el primer romano noble que sabe hablar en griego. El historiador Polibio y el filósofo Panecio son sus consejeros habituales. En su tertulia se habla de poesía, de filosofía, de nuevas téchnicas militares (la ingeniería admirable que han revelado las excavaciones de los campamentos numantinos). El tema de nuestro tiempo, 9th ed. (1923; rpt. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1967), p. 43.

become the dominant power in the Italian peninsula, and later the dominant power in the Mediterranean basin. During its formative stages Rome had placed great stress on individual participation in community affairs--wars. As the tribe became more secure and evolved to a settled community the interest of the equestrian class shifted to land-holding and consequently civil government. The consular form of government and the ceremonial public recognition of meritorious civil and military service reflected the value placed on participation in the affairs of state. It was a meritocracy of the select minority. The elevation of the Caesars to the status of gods, a development which came after Polybius's time, was the next step in the evolution of the system.

Polybius admired the Roman form of government which had permitted Rome to achieve its greatness and sought to determine the reasons why it had surpassed Greece. He wrote, "For who is so worthless or so indolent as not to wish to know by what means and under what system of polity the Romans, in less than fifty-three years have succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government--a thing unique in history?"[3] By examining the history of Rome he sought to determine the causality of political strength and weakness. His study led him to the conclusion that although factors of time, place, and circumstance influenced the supremacy of a society, the principal cause was attributable to the acts of its leaders. He expressly excluded the influence of the will of the gods, Fortune,

---

3. Polybius, The Histories, tr. W. R. Paton (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), I, 3.

and destiny. The word "Fortune" appears frequently in his writings, but an analysis of his usage reveals that he is not referring to the capricious goddess, Fortune, nor to some unidentifiable power supposed to bring good or evil to people. Rather he is using "fortune" as a symbol for "that which man has caused to happen."[4]

From the works of Polybius that have survived an underlying philosophy emerges that coincides with Scipio Aemilianus' efforts to maintain a strong ruling class so that the greatness of the nation would be preserved and extended. Scipio practiced what he preached. He volunteered to serve in Iberia under Lucious Licinius Luculus at a time when service in the peninsula was very hazardous. It was Scipio who volunteered to lead the attack against Carthage. It was Scipio who asked to be given the command of the army after so many generals had failed to subdue Numantia. Scipio practiced an exemplary life, and through the ages he came to represent the ideal model of valor, patriotism, austerity, disinterest, energy, prudence, talent, and vast culture well employed. His life, and Polybius' premise that superior leaders, not Fortune, produce superior nations,

---

4. "Indeed, that the success of the Thebans at that time were due not to the form of their constitution, but to the high qualities of their leading men, was made manifest to all by Fortune immediately afterwards. For the success of Thebes grew, attained its height and ceased with the lives of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; and therefore we must regard the temporary splendour of that state as due not to its constitution, but to its men. We must hold very much the same opinion about the Athenian constitution. For Athens also, though she perhaps enjoyed more frequent periods of success, after her most glorious one of all which was coeval with the excellent administration of Themistocles, rapidly experienced a complete reverse of fortune owing to the inconstancy of her nature." Polybius, The Histories, tr. W. R. Paton (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), III, 369.

suggest the Stoic ideal of the "Wise Man." There is good reason for this. Scipio, Polybius, and other members of the "Scipionic Circle," were Stoics. Many of the writers who later commented on the history of Numantia were also Stoics and thus Stoicism exercised considerable influence upon the development of the Numantian theme.

CHAPTER III

The Influence of the Fall of Rome on the History of Numantia

The concept of empire was a positive value during the times of the Greek and Roman historians who had included Numantia in their histories of the conquest of the Iberian peninsula. From their point of view the plight of Numantia was merely an accident in a war which had achieved the desired end. A new point of view emerged in the fifth century A.D., when the Roman Empire began to disintegrate. Paulus Orosius, a priest from the city of Bracara in the province of Lusitania, witnessed the entry of the Germanic tribes into the peninsula and foresaw the collapse of Roman order. He fled to Hippo, Africa, where he met St. Augustine around 414. He then proceeded on to Jerusalem and met St. Jerome. In 416, at St. Augustine's request, he wrote his Historiarum adversus paganos libri vii, an apology of Christianity designed to refute the accusation that the Roman Empire had begun to experience difficulties after its conversion to Christianity. His essay demonstrated through historical evidence that catastrophes had befallen mankind before the coming of Christianity.

The foundation of Orosius' understanding of history was the belief that all history was a continuum moving towards the fulfillment of God's plan for mankind. Since all of the events of the past influenced man's sutuation in the world little importance could be attributed to the affairs of any one nation. The achievements of a people had to be viewed from a global perspective: ". . . times and events which must be considered not merely from the point of view

of one city but by taking the whole world into consideration."[1] As a result of his universalist attitude Orosius minimized the influence of Roman civilization. He was also influenced by the lingering resentment felt by Christians who had not forgotten the persecutions of earlier times, and consequently he held Rome responsible for deterring the spread of Christianity. Additionally, Orosius' restatement of the history of Iberia was influenced by the regional tradition, first established during the Roman conquest, then continued during the colonial and provincial days, that the tribute exacted by the mother country was unjust. As the central government in Rome deteriorated, it was forced to return fewer benefits; hence, the tax became more objectionable. The revenues raised in the provinces were being used to pay off the Germanic tribes for the federations which temporarily kept them out of the city of Rome.

Orosius was of the opinion that the invasion of Iberia by the Germanic tribes could only be beneficial since they would relieve them of Roman tyranny:

> Spain has been invaded and has suffered slaughter and devastation, but this is nothing new. During the last two years, while the sword of the enemy raged, she endured no harsher treatment from the barbarians than that which she had formerly suffered under the Romans for two hundred years . . . . . Nevertheless, soon afterward, the barbarians came to detest their swords, betook themselves to the plough, and are affectionately treating the rest of the Romans as comrades

---

1. Libri v, 1. Irving Woodworth Raymond, trans., Seven Books of History Against the Pagans--The Apology of Paulus Orosius (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 205.

> and friends, so that now among them there may be found some Romans who, living with the barbarians, prefer freedom with poverty to tribute-paying with anxiety among their own people.[2]

It is difficult to reconcile Orosius' evaluation of the invasions as beneficial in view of the violence of the particular tribes present in Iberia at the time he fled, except in the light of the concept that the Roman Empire had at one time been God's instrument in preparing the world for the coming of Christ, but once that mission had been completed the Romans were to be supplanted by the Gothic people. This theory, which brings to mind the Spanish proverb, "No hay mal que por bien no venga," accounts for Orosius' general optimism, whereas other writers of the time viewed the fall of Rome, the Germanic invasions, and the attendant misery very pessimistically.

Orosius' repeated minimizing of the glory of the Roman Empire was based on persuasive arguments:

> It will then appear that whenever Rome conquers and is happy the rest of the world is unhappy and conquered. Should we therefore attach too much importance to this small measure of happiness when it has been obtained at so enormous an expenditure of effort? Granted that these times did also weigh down the rest of the world with misery and accomplish its ruin. If these times are to be considered happy because of the wealth of a single city was increased, why should they not rather be judged as most unhappy in view of the wretched destruction and downfall of mighty realms, of numerous and civilized peoples?[3]

Orosius frequently used the history of the events in the conquest of Iberia to illustrate the point of view of the attacked and conquered peoples:

---

2. Book VII.41.2, Raymond, p. 392.

3. Book V.1. Raymond, p. 205.

> Let Spain present her opinion. For two hundred years Spanish fields were drenched with her own blood. The country was unable either to drive back or to withstand a troublesome enemy that was persistently attacking on every frontier. Towns and country districts everywhere were in ruins. The inhabitants were crushed by the carnage of battle and exhausted by the famines accompanying sieges. Men killed their wives and children, and to end their own sufferings, ran at one another, cut one another's throats, and suffered wretched deaths. What was Spain, then, to think about her own condition?[4]

The argument against forcible conquest was further expanded by descriptions of the means that the Romans employed to achieve their ends with the least possible cost in lives and effort. Again, the events in Iberia, for example the histories of Viriato, were used to illustrate the dishonorable conduct of the Romans. The Senate's disapproval of the treaty of Mancinus with the Numantians was used to illustrate Roman perfidy:

> Grief compels me to cry out at this point. Why, Oh Romans, do you undeservedly ascribe to yourselves those great attributes of justice, good faith, courage, and mercy? Learn the true nature of these virtues from the Numantines. Was a display of courage required? The Numantines conquered by fighting. Was good faith demanded? Trusting others to act as they themselves would have acted, the Numantines concluded a treaty and set free those whom they might have killed. Was justice to be put to the test? The very silence of the Senate bore witness to that justice when these same Numantines through their own envoys kept demanding either an inviolable peace or else, according to the agreement made, the return of all those whom they had released alive. Was it evident that the spirit of mercy needed examination? The Numantines have given evidence enough by granting life to a hostile army and by not punishing Mancinus. Ought Mancinus, I ask, to have been surrendered? It was he who saved his defeated army from impending slaughter by shielding them under the cover of a peace treaty and it was he who preserved for better times the imperiled forces of his fatherland. If the treaty concluded did not meet with approval, why was the army set

---

4. Book V.1. Raymond, p. 208.

> free by this pledge, or, when the army came back, why was it received? When the return of the army was demanded, why was it not sent back? Or if any possible arrangement for saving the army met with approval, why was Mancinus, who concluded the treaty, alone surrendered?[5]

The details of the Numantian Wars as related by previous historians required little editorial revision on the part of Orosius to make them suit his purpose of disparaging Rome. The basic facts made the point:

> For a period of fourteen years Numantia, with only four thousand troops, not only had held her own against forty thousand of the Romans but even defeated and forced them to conclude humiliating treaties.[6]

Some of Orosius' comments, probably based upon surmise, are interesting because modern research has confirmed them. For example, Numantia has frequently been envisioned as a forbidding fortress with high walls, towers and turrets. Orosius described the settlement in the following manner:

> Numantia, situated on an eminence not far from the Durius River, was surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference. Nevertheless there are some who assert that the city was without walls and that its area was very small. The latter opinion is credible for this reason: although the Numantines enclosed the large space mentioned in order to take care of the feeding and protection of their flocks and also to provide satisfactory means for the cultivation of the land when hard pressed in war, they themselves occupied a small citadel fortified by its natural position.[7]

---

5. VI.5, Raymond, p. 215.

6. VI.7, Raymond, p. 219.

7. VI.7, Raymond, p. 220. Orosius was known to the bishop of Caesaragustus, therefore it is possible that he passed by the site of Numantia.

Orosius's account of the capitulation of Numantia follows that of Florus. Exhausted by hunger and aware that there was no hope for survival, the Numantians turned to the warming effects of the brew called caelia:

> They drank this potion after their long fast and as soon as it took effect presented themselves for battle. The struggle raged long and fiercely and even jeopardized the safety of the Romans. Had they not been under the command of Scipio, the Romans would have proved by fleeing that they were fighting against the Numantines. When the bravest of their men had been killed, the Numantines withdrew from battle, but they returned to their city with ordered ranks and not as fugitives. They were unwilling to receive the bodies of the slain offered for burial. With their last hope gone and only death awaiting them, they became desperate and set fire to their besieged city. Each died either by sword, by poison, or by fire. So the Romans gained absolutely nothing from their victory except their own security; for when Numantia had been overthrown, they did not consider that they had defeated the Numantines but that they had escaped from them. The fetters of the victor held not a single Numantine, so that Rome saw no sufficient reason for granting Scipio a triumph.[8]

The Roman and Greek writers who preceded Orosius had not attempted to divert attention from the inequities of the Roman conquest of Iberia. In the case of Numantia they had reported the disparity between the massive Roman force and the small Celtiberian fortress. They had analyzed the disproportionate battle casualties and the state of morale of the Roman legions. The difference, then, between the accounts of the former writers and Orosius was the shift of editorial perspective from the conqueror to the conquered. Universalist or no, Orosius became a polemicist when he treated events which had taken place in his native land.

---

8. VI.7, Raymond, p. 221.

The influence of Orosius' Historiarum upon subsequent Hispanic historians was considerable. They adopted Orosius' universalist approach and considered all history a continuum that included not only the creation, the history of the people of Israel, the great civilizations of the Near East, and the Roman Empire, but also the heroes of Greek mythology as personages and periods in the cyclical progress of man as he moved forward in the working out of God's plan.

Isidore of Seville (560?-636 A.D.), the leading prelate of Gothic Hispania, included Orosius' account of the history of Numantia in his Chronicon, a brief history beginning with the creation and ending with the year 616 A.D. Isidore was aware that he was taking part in a transcendental moment--the creation of a new nation that incorporated the military strength of the Visigoths and the culture of Rome. His writings evidence that kind of confidence that grows out of the conviction of being on the side favored by God. With pride he wrote about the history of Hispania, the arts, philosophy, science, and social customs. His Laude expresses his pride in the beauty and bounty of his land. Isidore's writings laid the foundation for the Hispanic sense of national identity. The history of Numantia was a part of that foundation.

CHAPTER IV

Castilian Chronicles of the Thirteenth Century

The native interest in the history of Hispania initiated by Orosius and Isidore was interrupted by the Islamic invasion in the eighth century. In the thirteenth century the history of Numantia reappeared in a context which set the pattern for its inclusion in subsequent histories. For the first time in Spanish historiography the Crónica General de España of Alfonso X included the pre-Roman and the Roman periods of the Iberian peninsula as integral episodes of the "fechos d'España." This new orientation with respect to the past reflected the scholarly secular interest in the political and cultural achievements of Rome, as well as a desire to reconstruct the linkage of national lineage as far back as historical records would permit. The idea of starting the continuum of national history from a pre-national starting point was unique in that it was motivated by national interests of identity rather than by an attempt to situate Spain in a phase of a cyclic plan of divine development. Ramón Menéndez Pidal analyzed the difference between the scope of the Crónica General de España and the works that preceded it:

> Hasta entonces la historia de España comenzaba propiamente en los godos; éstos eran los creadores o formadores de la nación, según la idea impuesta a la cultura medieval por la obra del romano San Isidoro, el panegirista oficial de la raza gótica. La parte más antigua de la vida de la Península se perdía en el mar de la historia universal . . . El arzobispo Toledano, que empieza situando la población de España dentro de la generación de Jafet, y hablando de Hércules y de Hispán, pasa inmediatamente a escribir, en lugar de una Historia hispánica, una Historia gótica, empezando con el origen más remoto de los godos fuera de España; y el mismo concepto domina en varias compilaciones de siglos posteriores, que comprenden la

> historia nacional bajo el significative título de Estoria de los godos. Claro es que el Toledano, aun obedeciendo a la tradición, reconocía su defecto, y quería subsanarlo escribiendo como obras aparte la Historia Romanorum, la Historia Arabum, etc. Alfonso X . . . se decidió to fundir, dentro de una historia general de España, el Cronicon Mundi, antes meramente yuxtapuesto, e intentó destacar la Península de entre ese conjunto universal.[1]

Alfonso X became king of Castile in 1252 and five years later he became a candidate for the emperorship of the Holy Roman Empire, the loose federation of German principalities which was considered a continuation of the Frankish kingdom formed by Charlemagne in 800. Alfonso X had commented on the desirability of the institution of empire in the Siete Partidas, a work which he had begun in 1251 while still a prince. In Title I, Law I, Segunda Partida, he states:

> Imperio es gran dignidad, noble, e honrada, sobre todas las otras que los omes pueden auer en este mundo temporalmente. E conuino, que vn ome fuesse Emperador, e ouiesse poderio en la tierra, por muchas razones. La una, por toller desacuerdo entre gentes, e ayuntarlas en vno; lo que non podria fazer si fuessen muchos los Emperadores, porque segund natura, el Señorio no quiere compañero. . .

Alfonso devoted considerable time and effort--more than twenty years of negotiations--to garner the necessary support but his bid for the crown of the sacrum Romanum inperium was unsuccessful (Rudolph of Hapsburg was chosen for the emperorship in 1275). Surely his ideal of "one-worldism," attainable through the Holy Roman Empire,

---

1. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, La Crónica General de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1938), pp. 132-33. "El Toledano" refers to Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (1170-1247). The chronicles which he started in 1243 provided the model and much of the material for the later Crónica General de España and the General Estoria of Alfonso X.

changed his ideological stance in regard to Spain's Roman past.

In the opinion of Ramón Menéndez Pidal the Crónica General de España was commenced in 1270 or shortly thereafter because it was in that year that Alfonso asked the Prior of Nájera and the chapter-house of the cathedral of Ávila for books which would increase his sources on the history of the Roman Empire.[2] The work continued from that time until 1280 when priority was given to the editing of the General Estoria. Thus the whole of Parte Primera of the Crónica General must be read with Alfonsós imperial aspirations in mind.[3]

In the thirteenth century it was hoped that the Holy Roman Empire would regain the political power and territorial unity once held by the Roman Empire. It was thought that an empire, unified by one government and by the Church, would do away with regional rivalry. But regional rivalry in the Middle Ages prevented the concept from becoming a reality. The only regions that had made token commitments to the concept were the German principalities. For this reason Alfonso X sought to strengthen his candidacy by demonstrating that he was an heir to the Roman Empire, an heir to the Gothic kingdoms, and a defender of the Faith. José Filgueira Valverde has provided a well-balanced analysis of the complexities of the task of integrating the Visi-gothic, Roman, and pre-Roman traditions, and how this integration is

---

2. Menéndez Pidal, p. 136.

3. The Parte Primera ends with the invasion of the Islamic armies. The Parte Segunda was written during the reign of Sancho IV. It begins with Pelayo and brings the history up to the times of Alfonso X. The Parte Segunda contains the legends of the Reconquest, El Cid, Fernán González, los Siete Infantes de Lara, etc.

reflected in the Crónica General. He also points out Alfonso's recourse to classicism to express his concept of universalism:

> El concepto de lo romano es la gran diferencia que separa al monarca de su maestro y al historiador de sus fuentes fundamentales. Para el Rey Sabio, la historia de España no comienza en lo gótico, sino en lo mítico primitivo y tiene en lo romano un desarrollo amplio y colmado. No menos de 340 capítulos se dedican a este "señorío" que ahora se equipara y aun se eleva, sobre otros que sufrió la Península. ¿Dónde está la motivación de este concepto nuevo en nuestra historia? San Fernando fue mero sucesor de la monarquía gótica tan adverso quizá a lo romano como a lo islámico. Los romanos habían sido para su historiador no los vinculadores de la dispersa étnica peninsular, no los dadores de un instrumento linguístico de cultura, sino unos opresores más--"Hispania misera incertis cruciatur" [Ximénez de Rada]. Pero Alfonso X, sin dejar de ser un monarca del tronco gótico, que tiene en ello su mejor ufanía, que escribe por mostrar la nobleza de los godos y que aspira a la dignidad germánica del Imperio, sabe de esta otra grandeza altísima del rey de Romanos. Se siente descendiente de los que resistieron heroicamente a los romanos y de los héroes romanos que los subyugaron. Sucedería en el Imperio a quienes exaltaron a Roma y a quienes derrocaron su grandeza. Y, sin expresarlo, concretarán en el romance--cultivado en la entraña del vulgarismo--esta síntesis trascendental de lo anhistórico primitivo, de la disciplina clásica y del vigor nuevo de las tribus bárbaras. En su intuición del papel de la romanidad en la historia de Europa, Alfonso X se adelanta a la época de los "primeros influjos" del humanismo, a las cortes literarias del XV.[4]

Thus the task of the scholars working under the aegis of Alfonso X was complex and delicate in that they had to maintain the tradition of Gothic supremacy while overcoming the tradition of treating Spanish history as having commenced with the Visigoths. They had to include the Romans as important contributors to peninsular and universal achievement, yet recognize the virtues of

---

4. José Filbueira Valverde, ed., Primera Crónica General de España (Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Ebro, 1966), p. 12.

the Celtiberian defenders while acknowledging the skill and might of the Romans as conquerors and administrators. The reconciliation and integration of these opposing ideological concepts of the historical past were accomplished in a variety of ways, some of them undoubtedly unintentional. The length and the scope of the Crónica General permitted an apparent ingenous ambivalence through the positive treatment of one phase of history at a time. Yet in many sections there is a close juxtaposition of opposing ethnic and political goals (for example, Romans vs. Celtiberians) indicating that there was an intentional design to examine impartially all aspects of an issue through the presentation of contrastive historical viewpoints.

The prologue to the Crónica General justifies the work on the need to preserve knowledge in written form so that the laws of God and the accomplishments of men which require so much effort to obtain will not be lost in times of indifference and laziness. History is important to the "fechos d'España" and thus it must be preserved in its entirety and not lost as in the case of the pre-Roman period. This knowledge will aid in the doing of "good" and the correction and punishment of "bad." The constant strife and great suffering of the peoples of the peninsula throughout the history of Iberia is briefly outlined and is again repeated frequently in the body of the text because the theme of the work is that the progression of suffering and disunity must be overcome by strength gained through mastery of the country. Good kingship will prevent further invasions:

> Et esto ficiemos por que fuesse sabudo el comienco de los españoles, et de cualyes yentes fuera España maltrecha; et que sopiessen las batallas que Hércoles de Grezia fizo contra los españoles, et las mortandades que los romanos ficieron en ellos, et los destruimientos que

> les ficieron otrossí los uvándalos et los silingos et los alanos et los suevos que los aduxieron a seer pocos; et por mostrar la nobleça de los godos et cómo fueron viniendo de tierra en tierra, venciendo muchas batallas et conquieriendo muchas tierras, fasta que llegaron a España et echaron ende a todas las otras yentes, et fueron ellos señores della; et como por el desacuerdo que hobieron los godos con so señor el Rey Rodrigo. .

The epoch relevant to the Numantian theme begins in Chapter XVI. The army of Carthage came and "començó a ganar la tierra e conquerirla, venciendo muchas batallas, tomando villas e castiellos por fuerça." They were followed by the Romans who were successful in dominating the world because they were tempered by battle and had acquired skill in conquest through that accumulation of knowledge prescribed in the Prologue:

> Las hestorias antiguas cuentan que por tres cosas fueron los romanos señores de toda la tierra: la primera por saber, la segunda por seer bien acabdellados, la tercera por sufrencia; ca ellos fueron homnes que sopieron los grandes saberes et ayudáronse bien dellos, e hobieron sabiduría por allegar grand haber pora acabar con ello lo que queríen, e sopieron tomar consejo a las cosas antes que viniessen, e facían sus fechos cuerdamientre, et con gran seso; otrossí ellos fueron los mejores cabdiellos del mundo et los que mejor sopieron traer sus yentes acabdelladas et avenidas; e cuando habíen guerra sabíen sofrir laceria más que otros homnes, et por esso conquiríen las tierras e sapoderaban dellas.

But in a shift so characteristic of the Crónica the commentator also points to another strategy employed by the Romans, the playing off of indigenous tribes against each other and against the Carthaginians: "Pero España no la ganaron de comienço por fuerça darmas, más por amistad que pusieron con algunos dellos."

In Chapter XXX there is an episode relating to "Cipion el Mancebo" that demonstrates the Romans did have some winning ways. The episode is historical and its elements of human interest and suspense have natural literary possibilities--possibilities which were used in

later Spanish literature though to no great advantage. The incident occurred while prisoners were being allocated for different purposes after the defeat of the forces of Carthage:

> Entre aquellos presos que tenie d'España, habia í una doncella niña e muy hermosa e de gran linaje, e porque era ya en tiempo de casar, el padre e la madre e los otros sos parientes puñaron en el haber, e prometieron a Cipion, quel darien gran algo por ella, y él otorgólo. E despues que gelo hobieron dado, envio luego por aquel que habie de casar con ella, que era homne de muy grand linaje e fuera desposado con ella ante que fuesse presa, e desque hobo ayuntado el padre e la madre e so esposo e los otros sos parientes, dióles la doncella e fizo que cassasen í luego amos en uno; e todo aquell haber que recibiera por ella diolo a ellos amos en so casamiento, e demas fizoles muchas honras a sus bodas. De guisa que por este fecho que fizo, todos los parientes del novio e de la novia quisaron que todos los mas e los mejores homnes d'España se vinieron pora él, e partieronse de Asdrubal, e fecieron que les tornaron muchas villas e castiellos e todo lo demás de la tierra, e algunas dellas por lit, pero la mayor partida por amor.

VIRIATO

The second-century B.C. Roman campaign against the Lusitanians and the Celtiberians is generally treated with considerable objectivity in the Crónica General. However, chapter headings and occasional editorial comments inserted into the recital of the facts convey the spirit of the Castilian Reconquest when a rigid military code and pundonor were important. For example, the title of Chapter XLII, De la traycion que fizo Sergio Galba a los de Luzenna, indicates that a subjective evaluation will follow. The facts recited are that Galba, twice defeated by the warriors of Luzenna, called them together for a peace conference and then killed all of the Celtiberians. The wording of the comment which follows leaves no doubt about the thirteenth-century Castilian's reaction to this

tactic: "Esta desleatad fue muy sonada por toda España, e dalli adelante se alboroçaron todos los espannoles contra Roma mas que numqua fizieran."

The resistance of Viriato and his Lusitanian guerilleros is related in Chapter XLIII. The chapter title picks up the tradition of considering Viriato an outlaw, derived from Latin usage as mentioned earlier in this study: De cuemo se leuanto el ladron Uiriato. The introduction to this chapter is interesting because it reflects both the old Roman custom (which fell into disuse as the Empire expanded, of reserving the waging of war for the upper class, the equestirans, and the Castilian class consciousness: "Tan grand era el omezillo [homicidio] que auien los d´Espanna con los romanos, que non tan solamientre los grandes omnes se leuantauan contra ellos, mas aun los otros caualleros menores, e los omnes de pie . . ."

Viriato is a shepard turned highwayman: ". . . e despues tenedor de caminos, et desi ayunto muy grand gente e començo a fazer mal descubiertamientre por las tierras, robandolas e destruyendolas todas." Viriato's use of the booty from these activities is then described in a manner differing from the legend and previous chronicles which treated him as a Robin Hood figure, living austerely himself and distributing the spoils among his people: "Este Uiriato era omne muy ligero e much esforçado, e quantas riquezas ganaua escondielas todas por los montes en las cuevas." When the history of Viriato is again taken up after an interruption in Chapter XLIV he is again referred to as "aquel ladron." This is repeated in Chapter XLV, which deals with "Çamora," by again referring to him as "el ladron."

The "mal" that Viriato was committing, the raiding of other tribes and the harassment of the invading Romans, is considered as negative behavior with no attempt to relate it to the context of the times. The ineptness of the Roman generals is not evaluated but is merely recited in the chronological sequence of Roman misfortunes:

> . . .enuiaron sobrel yeuzes e consules; y el yencio los unos e mato los otros . . . Entonces uino . . . Neyo Uevilio . . . e matol Uiriato todos los mas de la hueste . . . Despues desto enuiaron . . . Neyo Plaucio . . . que encabo fue uençudo . . . e matol los mas omnes que traye; y el fuxo del campo. E despues enuiaron a . . . Claudio Unimano, e troxo muy grand huest, e uinie sennaladamientre por uengar a los otros romanos e quando lo sopo Uiriato, lidio con e e uenciol, e troxol peor que a los otros . . . E luego . . . enuiraron Fauio . . .

The repetitive succession of Roman misfortune is brought to an abrupt conclusion by inserting in Chapter XLIV, after the narration of the events of "Çamora" has begun, a brief account of Viriato's death, but no mention of Roman complicity is made:

> Uiriato, aquel ladron que do suso oyestes, guerrero con los romanos catorze annos, e debaratoles muchas huestes, e mato muchos omnes onrados dellos. Encabo mataron le los sos a traycion, aquellos en que se el mas fiaua; e cuydaron auer de los romanos gualardon, mas ellos non gele quisieron dar por la traycion que fizieran en matar so sennor.

NUMANTIA

The Crónica General shares in the ancient tradition that Numantia was located on the site subsequently occupied by Zamora. In Chapter XLIV it is stated that ". . . enuiaron los de Roma . . . sobre los de Numancia, a la que llaman agora Çamora . . ." This confusion probably arose from the fact that the diocesis of Zamora was at one

time denominated "Numancia." Over the years the rival claims between the two regions did much in spreading an awareness of the history of Numantia.

The Crónica General closely follows Appian's account of the Numantian Wars. There is a great deal of sympathy for the Numantians but at the same time objectivity is maintained.

The episode of the cruel treatment of Mancinius, the former consul whose treaty with the Numantians was not ratified by the Senate on the grounds that it was an affront to Roman honor, redounds to the credit of the Numantians. The writer recognizes, as in the Prologue and subsequent chapters, that the Romans had high standards which enabled them to gain dominion over others but that the Numantians on this occasion showed themselves to be the more manly:

> Y esto fazien porque ellos los romanos tenien que ningunos omnes no auien en si mas sennaladamientre estas quatro cosas: justicia, e lealdad, e fortaleza, e mercet. Pero en este fecho, segund cuenta la estoria, mas las ouieron los de Çamora que ellos; la una por que guardaron naturaleza de sennorio, en que fizieron derecho e lealdad; la otra que fueron firmes en el pleyto que pusieron con los romanos, e no quisieron cambiar del; e otrossi se mostraron por de mayor mercet que ellos quando les dieron aquel para justiciar e nol quisieron matar, podiendo lo fazer con derecho. E por que mantouieron bien estas quatro cosas, fincaron en paz con los romanos ya quanto tiempo.

At this point the narration of the events surrounding Numantia is interrupted by the insertion of Chapter XLVI which describes the destruction of Galicia thereby leaving Numantia dramatically alone to face the next Roman assault:

> A poco tiempo despues desto uino a Espanna un cabdiello de Roma que auie nombre Bruto, e fue derechamientre pora destroyr Galizia por ell ayuda que fizieran a los de Luzenna quando desbarataran a Sergio Galba, segund de suso yuestes. E los gallegos cuemo no estauan aprecebudos de guerra, nos uuiaran a guisar de caualleros e darmas; pero salieron a

> ellos assi cuemo sestauan, e fueron fasta sesenta mil omnes a pie, e lidiaron con los romanos, e fue la lit muy ferida sobieament; encablo fueron uençudos los gallegos, e murieron y cinquaenta mil omnes dellos, e fueron presos seys mil, assi que no escaparon ende mas de quatro mil que fuxieron. E por esta manera gao Bruto toda Gallizia, e tornola al sennorio de Roma.

The persistence of the Roman attack upon Numantia is treated as being motivated by a sense of shame (desonra) over their set-backs at the hands of the Numantians and the resultant need to "uengar dellos." Scipio's mission appears to be almost singular:

> . . . fizieron consul a uno que auie nombre Cipio, que era nieto dell otro buen Scipio ell Africano de que suso oyestes ya contar, y enuiaron le a Espanna, sennaladamientre para conquerir e ganar Çamora.

Even though the besieged Numantians were greatly outnumbered they held an advantage because of an attribute once possessed by the Romans: "E cuentan las estorias que en aquel tiempo no auie en la cibdat mas de quatro mil omnes de cauallo bien armados pora guerrear; mas estos eran tan usados darmas e de guerra que ningunos omnes no lo podrien mas seer." In battle outside the walls the Romans were saved only because of the alternate threats and promises of reward made by Scipio to prevent them from fleeing in fear. As a result of Scipio's leadership the Celtiberians were finally contained within the walls. Scipio took this as a favorable sign: "E Scipion, quando esto uio, fue muy liedo; ca touvo que Dios le auie fecho mayor mercet e mayor bien que a ninguno de los otros que fueran enuiados contra los de Çamora." Neither Florus nor Appian refer to Scipio's response to his success. Orosius had transmitted a different impression of the Roman:

". . . Scipio had rejoiced and boasted that this victory had exceeded his expectations . . ."[5] This is another example of the evolution of the history of Numantia as it was brought forward in time by periodic retelling. Consciously or unconsciously the legend was made to fit the times.

The leadership of Scipio was crucial in the final battle. The Numantians made one last attempt to overcome the Romans and would have succeeded but for the fact that the Roman soldiers feared Scipio on their flanks more than the Numantians on their front:

> Mas Scipion, que era so cabdiello, començolos a traer mal e a denostallos, diziendoles que no eran omnes, pues que fuyen ante los uençudos e que tenien cuemo por muertos. E diziendo les estas palabras e otras muchas, e conortando los, fizo les tornar, e firieron en los de Çamora, e mataron a todos los meiores omnes a los que mas ualien darmas.

The Numantians then realized that they could no longer resist and returned in an orderly fashion ("non descabdelladamientre") to their fortress-city and brought about their own destruction:

> E desque fueron dentro en la cibdat, cerraron las puertas a dieron fuego a toda la uilla; e los unos se mataron con sus armas mismas, e los otros con poçon que beuieron, los otros quemaronse en el fuego. E de guisa se destruyeron entressi, que no escapo ninguno dellos, ni de quantas cosas buenas en la uilla auie, que todas se quemaron; assi que no fallaron los romanos ni sennal de ninguna cosa que pudiessen enuiar a Roma, sino segurança que numqua les uernie mal ninguno daquel logar, por que era todo destroydo.

The real and symbolic importance which the Celtiberians attached to Numantia is related in Chapter XLVIII: "Quando los espannoles oyeron que la cibdat de Çamora era destroyda, assi cuemo ya oystes, ouieron

---

5. Irving Woodworth Raymond, trans., Seven Books of History Against the Pagans--The Apology of Paulus Orosius (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 219.

todos muy grand miedo, assi que nos oso ninguno leuantar contra los romanos." Thus the Celtiberian resistance to the Roman conquest was broken and all that remained for Scipio to do before returning to Rome was to make peace with the remaining tribes. Before departing he asked one of the Celtiberian chieftains his opinion as to why the Numantians were finally conquered:

> Y entonces andaua ya con el un rey sennor dequella tierra que llaman Celtiberia, e auie nombre Tireso; e preguntol Scipion, rogandol quel dixiesse uerdat, por que tenie que fuera destroyda Çamora, o por que se pudiera mas deffender. E aquel rey, com era omne de buen seso, repusol en pocas palauras, e dixol que por desacuerdo se perdien las cosas, e por acuerdo se deffendien.

Tierso's statement concerning the harmful effects of disunity became one of the principal elements of the literature which grew out of the history of the fall of Numantia.

CONCLUSION

The Crónica General of Alfonxo X was never readily available to the public until the twentieth century, yet its importance as a source and as a model to subsequent court historians was great. The fact that it was written in Castilian was in itself very significant. In spite of the fact that the Crónica General was a restatement of previous chronicles it has an individual flavor and style of its own. It fixed and reinforced the following events and concepts relevant to the history of Numantia: the peninsula was taken by force; the Romans were able to rule the world because of the discipline and knowledge of the Roman rulers; the Romans were good fighters but in the provinces they were no match for the Celtiberians; the Romans were not to be trusted, their word was of little value because for them might meant right and the end

justified the means; the Numantians were not only outstanding warriors but also possessed noble characteristics--honor, a sense of justice, and compassion; Numantia was the key to Celtiberian resistance and thus the obstacle to Roman domination; disunity caused the defeat of the Celtiberians; the principal Roman weapon was hunger. Finally, the objective treatment of the conflict between the Romans and the Celtiberians was influential in shaping the attitude of subsequent Spanish historians even through they were more sympathetic towards their Celtiberian ancestors than to their Roman ancestors. The literature, especially the dramatic works, derived from the history of Numantia also reflect the objectivity and the frank admiration of Scipio found in the Crónica General.

CHAPTER V

Numantia in the Histories and Essays of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

MOSEN DIEGO DE VALERA

In 1481 the history of Numantia appeared in print for the first time in the Crónica abreviada of Mosén Diego de Valera (c. 1412-1482).[1] Valera rewrote the Crónica General of Alfonso X in an abbreviated form so that Queen Isabel could derive benefit from it in the limited time she had for reading. For the most part the sections of Valera's work that pertain to the history of the Roman conquest of Iberia follow the source closely. However, Valera inserted his own comments and occasionally added details to enhance the drama of his narration. Valera condenses the career of Viriato in the following manner:

> En este tiempo se levanto un pastor natural de Zamora llamado Variato [sic], el cual fue gran tiempo robador y tenedor de caminos y hizose tan rico y tan poderoso y llego a si tantas gentes que ubo de ser capitan de çamora contra los romanos y hubo con ellos muchas batallas de que siempre fue vencedor y al tiempo que el mas poderoso estaba mataronle a traycion los suyos, de que el mas fiava. Los que les pensando aver galardon por ello de los romanos fizieron les saber la muerte de Variato y la forma en que era fecha por servicio del pueblo romano y los romanos respondieron que ellos no acostumbraban hazer mercedes a los traidores, antes darles pena capital. Desque los

---

1. The full title is Crónica de España abreviada por mandado de la muy poderosa señora doña Ysabel reyna de Castilla (Sevilla: Alfonso de la Barrera, 1481). The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid holds the following incunabula: Sevilla, 1481; Burgos, 1487; Salamanca, 1493. There were at least five printings of the Crónica abreviada in Seville in the sixteenth century: 1517, 1527, 1538, 1552, and 1562. The edition of 1562 is quoted in this study because it was the closest in time and space to the later literary usage of the history of Numantia by Miguel de Cervantes.

> romanos supieron que Varioto [sic] era muerto enviaron sobre Çamora un consul . . .[2]

The popularity of Valera's work, evidenced by the frequent reprinting of it in Seville, gives rise to the possibility that Cervantes had access to it and used Valera's "Variato" as the name for his character, "Bariato," in La Numancia. Perhaps the sequence of Viriato--Variato--Varioto impressed upon Cervantes the elusiveness of historical data and gave rise to the Quejana--Quesada--Quijada sequence in the Quixote.

There is further evidence that Valera's work influenced Cervantes' La Numancia. In the final scene of the play the Romans enter Numantia to find that the defenders had set fire to the city and killed themselves in order to avoid capture. Suddenly an officer reports to Scipio that he has seen a lone Numantian boy in a tower. Scipio pleads with the boy to surrender. The boy, "Bariato," responds that he will not defame his people and then jumps to his death. Valera, exercising poetic license, relates the episode which denied Scipio the triumph in the following manner:

> E los Çamoranos en tan extrema necesidad puestos, determinaron de matar toda la gente de que no se podian ayudar de las armas, y pusieron fuego por muchas partes a la ciudad. Y los que quedaron salieron de gran mañana y dieron en la real de tal manera que mataron gran gente de los romanos y al fin todos los Çamoranos murieron y la ciudad ardio xxii dias en tal manera que no pudieron los romanos en ella entrar y desque entraron no hallaron en ella cosa biva salvo un moço de edad de xii años que se avia escondido

---

2. Part III, Ch. 17.

> en un lizillo y aquel solo llevaron a roma. Y como Scipion demandasse que le fuesse dado el triumpho a tan gran victoria devido, fuele denegado diziendo que el no avia vencido los numantinos mas ellos mesmos se avia vencido. Pero con todo esto no queriendo amenguarle su honor el senado mandava que bolviesse a çamora con aquel moço y lo pusiesse sobre una torre de la ciudad y le diesse las llaves della en la mano y se la tomasse por fuerça y que venido a roma lo recibirian con triumpho, y assi Scipion bolvio a çamora y hizo lo que el Senado mando y como el moço se vido sobre la torre, dexo caer las llaves que en la mano tenia y dixo. No plega a los Dioses que el triumpho que de mis antepassados tu no ganaste lo ganes por mi. Y assi dexo se caer de la torre y dio fin a sus dias, quedando Scipion sin aver el triumpho.[3]

The siege of Numantia is readily associated with the siege of Troy. Valera's invented episode of the Numantian boy is very similar to a scene in the final act of The Trojan Women, Seneca's dramatization of the fate of the captive women and children of Troy after the city has been taken and despoiled by the Greeks. Two acts of vengeance remain to be consummated: the destruction of Hector's son Astyanax, the sole heir to Troy's defeated royal house; and the sacrifice of Polyxena, daughter of Priam, as an expiation due the ghost of Achilles. Ulysses is assigned the tasks. He would spare the boy but for the fact that he believes that out of this family line would spring new contention between the Greeks and the Trojans--a future war involving his son Telemachus. A messenger reports the boy's courage as he symbolically represents Troy on the ruined tower:

> The little boy marched boldly to the tower
> Climbed to its summit, and there stood, his eyes
> Glancing this way and that, quite unafraid.
> There, in the grip of hostile hands, the boy
> Stood, as defiant as a lion's cub

---

3. Part III, Ch. 19.

Which, yet unarmed with formidable teeth,
Small and defenceless though it be, shows fight,
Snapping with rage and ineffectual jaws.
The crowd was touched with pity; even the leaders,
Even Ulysses. Tears were in the eyes of
All, except the one for whom they wept.
Ulysses called on the avenging gods
To accept the sacrifice, but while he prayed
And spoke again the sentence of the prophet,
The boy himself leapt from the tower's height
To fall, there in the heart of Priam's city.[4]

In Seneca's play the priest had ordered that the boy be hurled from the tower, in Valera's version the Senate had ordered that Scipio place the boy on the tower and forcibly take the keys to the city from him. In either case the vanquished people regained some degree of honor through the act of the youth.

The writers of the Crónica General had drawn a lesson from the fall of Numantia through the inclusion of the comments of the Iberian who said that the cause of his country's inability to withstand the Romans was Iberian disunity. The loss of Visigothic Spain was attributed to the same cause. Valera's abbreviated treatment of the history of the Roman conquest did not take up the subject of Celtiberian disunity. He did intimate that the problem of unity was ongoing by mentioning in the prologue addressed to Queen Isabel that the examples from history contained in his book would provide insight into the problems faced in governing "the many Spains" with so many provinces and such a great diversity of peoples. In this manner the Crónica abreviada reinforced the examplary-didactic tradition of the history of Numantia.

---

4. Seneca, Four Tragedies and Octavia, tr. E. F. Watling (Baltimore: Penguin Classics, 1966), p. 201.

ANTONIO DE GUEVARA

The vigorous growth of printing greatly increased the availability of the history of Numantia in the sixteenth century. Antonio de Guevara (1480-1545), the author of the widely popular Libro llamado relox de príncipes and Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea, wrote a lengthy version of the history of Numantia based on Florus' account, with some additional gruesome touches of his own invention. In his version of the fall of Numantia, for example, the besieged inhabitants, under the duress of hunger, become not just humans who are forced to eat the flesh of their fellow-men, but monsters who go into the human meat business full scale:

> Como a los numantinos se les acabasen los bastimentos y les faltasen ya muchos de los suyos, ordenaron entre sí y hicieron voto a sus dioses de ningún día se desayunar sino con carne de romanos, ni beber agua ni vino sin que primero gustasen y bebiesen un poco de sangre de algún enemigo que hubiesen muerto. Cosa monstruosa fue entonces de ver, como lo es agora de oir, que ansí andaban los numantinos cada día a caça de romanos, como los caçadores a oxeo de conejos, y tan sin asco comían y bebían de la carne y sangre de los enemigos, como si fueran espaldas y lomos de carneros . . . Escusado era que ningún numantino había de tomar a ningún romano la vida ni menos consentir que le diesen sepultura, sino a la hora que uno caía y moría, le tomaban y desollaban y cuarteaban, y en la carnicería le pesaban, de manera que valía más un romano muerto que no vivo y rescatado.[5]

Although Guevara had wide ranging humanitarian interests which influenced the political policies of Charles V, he was also particularly concerned with the lure of the sins of the flesh. Many of his essays and sermons are on the subject of the wiles of women,

---

5. Epístolas familiares, BAE, XIII, 79.

the importance of proper upbringing of daughters, the need for proper dress, and the dangers of perfume and cosmetics. He thus found the history of the inability of the demoralized Roman legions to conquer Numantia a particularly appropriate illustration of the need for moral vigilance.[6]

AMBROSIO DE MORALES

The Crónica General of Alfonso X had undergone three major revisions in the fourteenth and fifteen centuries. A new edition was planned by Florián de Ocampo (1499?-1555?), a chronicler in the court of Charles V. In 1544 Ocampo published the first four chapters of his work under the title, Los cuatros libros primeros de la Crónica General de España. In 1553 a second edition appeared with an added Quinto libro that brought the coverage of history up to the year 200 B.C. Death prevented Florián de Ocampo from completing his work, but it was continued by his successor to the post of court chronicler, Ambrosio de Morales. In 1574 Morales published the first part of his work under the following title: La Coronica General de España que continuaba Ambrosio de Morales natural de Cordoua, Coronista del Rey Catholico nuestro señor don Philipe segundo de este nombre, y cathedratico de Rhetorica en la Universidad de Alcala de Henares.

---

6. Ibid., p. 228. "Catorze años había que tenían los Romanos cercada a la gran Numancia en España, y no la podían tomar, y como el buen Scipión viniese de refresco y mandase de los reales Romanos echar las golosinas, y desterrar las rameras, y quemar los unguentos, a la hora la tomó, y aun asoló."

Prosiguiendo andelante de los cinco libros que el Maestro Florian de Ocampo Coronista del Emperador don Carlos V dexo excritos.[7]

Morales's Coronica is important for its influence on later literary adaptations of the history of Numantia because of its style and its strident patriotic tone found in certain introductory passages. There is no mistaking Morales' identification with the second century B.C. Iberians: "Tito Livio y Appiano Alexandrino . . . y otros sin ellos cuentan a boca llena las batallas que les vencimos, los capitanes que les matamos, las ignominias que con algunas vezes se nos rindieron . . ."[8] Morales constantly refers to the Numantians as "nuestros españoles." Of the Numantian War he remarks in his introduction to Libro VIII:

> Llega ya aquí la historia de España a lo más alto de gloria y fama que en los tiempos pudo subir, pues se ha de començar a escreuir la guerra de los Romanos con nuestros numantinos. . .[9]

It is passages such as this that have led commentators of La Numancia of Miguel de Cervantes to conclude that this chronicle of Ambrosio de Morales was his chief source.[10]

---

7. Alcalá de Henares: Iuan Iñiques de Lequerica, 1574. Subsequent citations are from this edition.

8. Prólogo, p. v.

9. Ibid., p. 121F.

10. Armando Corarelo y Valledor, El teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1915), p. 132-133, examined the possible sources of Cervantes' play and concluded: ". . . es muy verosímil que utilizase la última historia la de Morales, de reciente publicación entonces y de mucho crédito por la sabiduría y justa fama de su autor. Si comparamos la obra dramática con esta historia, veremos robustecerse esta conjectura: los nombres de los personajes, las ideas y razonamientos de Escipión, la embajada de los numantinos, todo coincide. Idéntico

The part played by hunger in defeating the Numantians is given its usual prominence. In one instance the manner in which it is stated gives hunger a vitality suggestive of personification and allegorization: "Fativagales ya la hambre a los Numantinos y ella les forço . . ."[11]

The use of the beverage caelia to overcome hunger and to warm the spirits of the Numantians is followed by the episode of the intervention of the Numantian women:

> Y que otra vez apretandoles mucho la hambre salieron de tropel para morir todos y que se mantuuieron algunos dias despues de los cuerpos de los que murieron de las heridas. Lo postrero que intentaron fue huyr como pudiessen. Mas estovaronselo sus mugeres, cortandoles y deshaziendoles todos los adereços y frenos de los cauallos de manera que fue imposible aprouecharse dellos. Y el gran amor que a sus maridos tenian les hizo que les impidiessen el saluar sus vidas.[12]

Later, as time was running out for the Numantians, "la hambre era ya incomportable porque quiendose mantenido algunos dias de cueros cozidos, ya comian carne humana . . ."[13]

In the narration of events a certain pattern of alternating obstinacy and humility on the part of the Numantians develops, a

---

es, asimismo, el curso y desarrollo de los sucesos, salvas las ingerencias de elementos imaginarios hechas por la poesía. Estrechando más esta investigación, debe asegurarse que la fuente inmediata de Cervantes no fue otra sino . . . la dicha Crónica de Morales."

11. Ibid., p. 133D.

12. Ibid., p. 134B.

13. Ibid., p. 134C.

vacillation between idealism and desperation. This historical aspect of the collective personality has literary possibilities for presenting both internal conflict and conflict imposed from without through the contrasting foil of the personality of Scipio.

Morales includes an episode of the life within the city which might have suggested other literary possibilities to the authors who followed him. Mancino, the ill-fated consul who was consistently the loser in his battles with the Numantians, decides to move his camp secretly, but by chance the move is discovered:

> Supose en la ciudad por esta ocasion. El dia siguiente era de gran fiesta para los Numantinos, y hazian en el muchos casamientos de sus hijas. Auia entre ellas vna muy hermosa y pediansela a su padre dos nobles mancebos. El con respecto y pensamiento de verdadero Español y Numantino les dixo que la daria al primero dellos que truxesse vna mano derecha que vuiesse cortado a alguno de los enemigos. Los dos mancebos encendidos con el amor y competencia en el, dos cosas harto poderosas en los animos de los moços, se fueron luego muy denodados al real de los Romanos por darse priessa a boluer con las arras que se les pedian.[14]

Signs, portents, and bad omens surrounding the election and departure of Mancino for Hispania, foreshadow the intervention of the supernatural. There are no similar occurrences in the besieged city, although the Numantians perceive their self-destruction long before they lose all hope.

Certain individual Numantians come to life in Morales's narration of the events that take place during the siege: "Auia entre los Numantinos vn hombre principal llamado Rhetogenes Carauino y este viendo en tanta fatiga su tierra determino buscarle como

---

14. Ibid., p. 125C.

pudiesse el socorro o morir procurandolo." Rhetogenes' determination leads to the episode in which a group of six Numantians break through the Roman barricades and go to the neighboring villages for help. Theogenes is also singled out:

> . . . vn principal Numantino que puso fuego a todo su barrio que era lo mas hermoso de toda la ciudad. Despues, el para morir como valiente tomo una espada e echo otra en el suelo conbidando a sus vezinos que se matassen con el y el que venciesse echasse al vencido muerto en el fuego. Assi mato muchos peleando y el como vencedor de si mismo se echo tras ellos en las llamas mas encendidas.[15]

Morales end his narration of the destruction of Numantia as follows:

> Assi parecio muerta con sus manos y nunca vencida la señalada entre todas las del mundo ciudad de Numancia, no pudiendo dezir Scipion con verdad que la vencio por su esfuerço y fuerça de los suyos sino quando mucho, que con perseuerancia hizo que Numancia se destruyesse a si misma. [16]

The belief that the Iberians could have repelled the Roman conquest if they had put aside their tribal differences and presented a united front is given special emphasis by Morales. The account of the Numantians' delivery of the village of Malia to Pompey in an early attempt to appease the Romans and maintain their status as a "Friend of Rome" is accompanied by a gloss in the margin which reads, "Discordias de los Españoles causa de su perdicion." This is later followed by the textual comment:

---

15. Ibid., p. 134C.

16. Ibid., p. 134C.

> Como auiamos de vencer los Españoles a los Romanos siendo nosotros mismos los que procurauamos nuestra destruycion? Nuestras discordias y particulares enemistades y aquella inclinacion natural de todos los Españoles a ver novedades, cansandose de estar siempre en vn ser, aunque sea muy bueno, nos hazia la guerra y nos quitaua de las manos la victoria de todos los Romanos que sin duda la alcançaramos con union y concordia.[17]

The theme of disunity is again taken up after Numancia has fallen. Morales cites Strabo as his source of the following episode:

> [Scipion] . . . pregunto a vn Español principal de la Celtiberia llamado Tyreso, que esfuerço auia hecho a Numancia primera inuencible y que truque y mudanç la auia hecho despues que pudiesse ser vencida? Tyreso, din dudar mucho le respondio. --Con la concordia se mantuvo y con la discordia perecio.-- que tanto como esto puede destruyr y assolar vna desconformidad. [18]

Morales devotes thirty-two folios to the events surrounding the Numantian War. Many other aspects--the geographical details of the site of Numantia (Morales visited it),[19] the nature of the fortifications, the size of the opposing forces, the Numantian code of honor which implied a concern for the ideal of fame, the personality of Scipio, the influence of Fortune--all of which are pertinent to the literature which appeared later, are to be found in Morales' scholarly chronicle.

---

17. Ibid., p. 124D.

18. Ibid., p. 135C.

19. Ambrosio de Morales, Las Antigvedades de las Civdades de España, fol. 104. This work was printed and bound with Parte Segunda de la Coronica General de España (Alcalá de Henares, 1577). Parte III appeared nine years later (Córdoba: Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, 1586).

Morales' conscious effort to present an objective account of history represents a turning point in Spanish historiography. Many subsequent histories also follow the same trends in scholarly tone, objectivity, suppression of imaginative fill and editorializing. These works can more clearly be categorized as history than literature. The paradigm of Spanish histories was written by Juan de Mariana (1536-1624) shortly after Morales completed the major portion of his work. Mariana worked on De Rebus Hispaniae between 1579 and 1584. After first circulating in manuscript form it was published in Toledo in 1592, and was well received in spite of the fact that it had a limited readership due to the decline of Latin in sixteenth-century Spain. Mariana translated his work into Castilian and published it in 1601 under the title, Historia de España.

Apart from other noteworthy features, the Historia de España is a good example of the efforts being made at the close of the sixteenth century to foster national pride. Mariana had received his doctorate at the University of Paris and had travelled extensively through Europe. During his travels he had become aware of a general anti-Spanish movement in the air, and he knew that certain Spaniards were particularly sensitive to Spain's decline from its previous imperial glory. In part De Rebus Hispaniae was written to remind the world and Spaniards of Spain's greatness. Patriotic pride and the desire to communicate it were not unusual among the Spaniards who had travelled outside of their country. A similar patriotic spirit is found in the contemporary heroic poetry of Fernando de Herrera and in the Numantian play of Miguel de Cervantes. Mariana was also motivated by

the challenge of creating a better history than those written by his predecessors. He explains his objective in the first chapter of the Castilian edition:

> Verdad es que siempre ha tenido falta de escritores, los cuales con su estilo ilustrasen la grandeza de sus hechos y proezas. Esta falta a algunos dió atrevimiento de escribir y publicar patraña en esta parte y fábulas de poetas más que verdaderas historias; y a mi despertó para que con el pequeño ingenio y erudición que alcanzo, acometiese a escribir esta historia, más aína con intento de volver por la verdad y defendella que con pretensión de honra.[20]

The size and scope of Mariana's history are impressive. Following convention he begins with Tubal, but with a Loor de España he brings history up to date by including the colonies in the New World:

> . . . por el trato y navegación de las Indias, donde han a levante y a poniente en nuestra edad y en la de nuestros abuelos penetrado las armas españolas con virtud invencible, es nuestra España en toda suerte de riquezas y mercaderías dichosa y abundante, y tiene sin falta el primer lugar y el principado entre todas las provincias. De allí, con las flotas que cada año van y vienen y con el favor del cielo, se ha traído tanto oro y plata y piedras preciosas y otras riquesas para particulares y para reyes, que si se dijese y sumase lo que ha sido, se tendría por mentira; lo cual todo, demás del interés, redunda en grande honra y gloria de nuestra nación; y dél resulta no menos provecho a las extranjeras, a los cuales cabe buena parte de nuestras riquezas, de nuestra abundancia y bienes.[21]

Mariana's comments on the battle of Lepanto and the celebration of the Spanish victory provide evidence of the efforts made to sustain national pride:

> En conclusión, esta victoria fue la más ilustre y señala que muchos siglos antes se había ganado, de gran provecho y contento, con que los nuestros ganaron renombre

---

20. Historia de España (1601; rpt. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1854; in BAE, XXX), p. 2. Subsequent citations are to the letter edition.

21. Ibid., p. 2.

> no menor que el que los antiguos y grandes caudillos en su tiempo ganaron; grandes fiestas y regocijos llegada la nueva se hicieron por todas partes.[22]

The history of Numancia is told with the same sense of pride.

The Historia de España serves as an example of the influence on the writing of history of the Ciceronian literary style of reconstructing speeches of historical figures. This style was also influential in the literature of the sixteenth century.[23] Paulus Orosius had employed the technique in order to enliven his history, but he had not used it in his reconstruction of the siege of Numantia.

The following is an example of Mariana's use of speeches. As described by Mariana, Retogenes Carabino, after breaking through the Roman lines, gathers the neighboring peoples together

> . . . en una junta de los principales que para esto se convocó, les rogó y conjuró por la amistad antigua y por el derecho de parentesco no desamparasen a Numancia para ser saqueada y asolada por el enemigo, que, encendido en coraje y en deseo de vengarse, no tenía olvidadas las injurias que ellos le habían hecho; considerassen que aquella ciudad solía ser el refugio y repara común de todos, y al presente, por la adversidad de la fortuna y por la astucia de los que la cercaban, más que por valor y esfuerzo, se hallaba puesta en extremo riesgo y cuita.[24]

---

22. Ibid., p. 398.

23. Alonso de Ercilla used the technique in La Araucana (I, 1569; II, 1578; III, 1589). Ángel Valbuena Prat says of these speeches, "Las arengas de los araucanos no siempre se atienen a la sobriedad de un pueblo bárbaro. En general, ellas, como las de los capitanes cristianos, obedecen a un sentido retórico de la época, renacentista, ciceroniano, a veces coincidente con las que aparecen en las obras históricas de un Mariana, por ejemplo." Historia de la literatura española (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1972), I, 803.

24. Ibid., p. 70.

Mariana then reconstructs Retogenes' speech:

> ¿Por qué, dice, en tanto que las fuerzas están enteras y los romanos por tantas pérdidas rehusan la pelea y por malas mañas y astucias pretenden apoderarse de aquella nobilísima ciudad, vos, juntadas las fuerzas no quitaréis el yugo desta servidumbre, y echaréis de vuestra tierra esta peste común? ¿Aguardáis por ventura hasta tanto que cunda este mal y de unos a otros pase y llegue a vuestra ciudad? Pensad que esta llama, consumido todo lo que se pone delante, será forzoso que todo lo asuele. Por ventura ¿no conocéis la ambición de los romanos, sus robos y sus crueldades? Los cuales muchas veces habéis visto y oido que sin causa alguna, solo con deseo de extender su señorío, ponen asechanzas a la libertad y riquezas de toda España? Diréis que tenéis hecho concierto con ellos, y con esto os aseguráis. En que si no hubieran muchos ejemplos frescos y puestos delante de los ojos de la deslealtad, codicia y fuerza de los romanos, la destrución poco ha de Cauca y ahora la confederación de los numantinos con Mancino quebrantada injustamente son bastante muestra como ninguna cosa tienen por santa por el deseo de enseñorearse con todo. Mirad que si anteponéis ahora vuestro reposo particular a la salud común, la cual en gran parte depende del valor y esfuerzo de Numancia, no seais en algún tiempo forzados a quejaros por demás, ojalá yo me engañe, de haber perdido y desamparado lo uno y lo otro. Afuera pues toda tardanza y cobardía; en tanto que hay tiempo y que las cosas están en término que se pueden remediar, volved vuestros ánimos y pensamiento a procurar la salud de la patria. Juntad armas y fuerzas, cargad sobre el enemigo, que está descuidado, cercándole los vuestros por una parte, y los nuestros por otra, por frente y por las espaldas. Considerad que en nuestro peligro corre riesgo la salud, la libertad, y las riquezas de toda España.[25]

Mariana adds, "Con este razonamiento y con abundancia de lágrimas que derramaba, con echarse en tierra y a los pies de cada uno, tenía ablandadas los corazones de muchos . . ."[26]

---

25. Ibid., p. 70.

26. Ibid., p. 70.

Valbuena Prat mentions that this type of speech was representative of the epoch. We can go further and state that the length of the speech corresponds to the length of speeches in the theater of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It obviously lacks "realism" but, for its time, not verisimilitude.

Both Morales and Mariana had performed the task of the historian--they had told the story of past events based on facts ascertained by inquiry and research. Their style is convincing because they furnish the reader the sources of information and they comment on the reliability of those sources. In cases where the sources differ they present the conflicting evidence so that the reader can exercise his own judgment. However, both Morales and Mariana go beyond the simple presentation of events. They inject their personal emotions into their accounts of history and they draw moral conclusions from the course of events, thereby presenting both the particular and the general aspects of history. They also exercise originality of conception in the organization of events, and they exercise imaginative creativity in the recreation of details in the lives of persons who lived and acted within the framework of historical events. Their works thus contain the poetic quality and the imaginative scope associated with works of literature. Because of their combination of objective reporting and imaginative creativity the transformation of the history of Numantia begins with them. All that was needed to complete the process was the adaptation of historical narrative to literary plot, of narrative structure to generic literary structure, and of editorial commentary and ideological implication to elements which give literature range and profundity.

Miguel de Cervantes was the first writer to transform the history of Numantia into a work of literature. The close similarity between his play and Morales' chronicle resulted in a chronicle play, a hybrid of history and literature. In order to give full range to his expression Cervantes not only drew upon the history of Numantia, a history which by ideological association and accretion had become a nucleus of thought patterns-a gestalt--which encompassed many aspects of human experience, but also upon the poetic and dramatic conventions of his day, and upon his own life-view and the general life-view of sixteenth-century Spain. These conventions are the subject of the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER VI

The Poetic World of Sixteenth-Century Spain

I

Toward the end of the sixteenth century some aspects of the history of Numantia were used in romances in the erudite style, that is, ballads written in imitation of the popular poetry of the Middle Ages. These poems are interesting but they do not reflect the general character and quality of the poetry of the sixteenth century nor do they reflect the philosophical matrix of the chronicles in which the history of Numantia had been transmitted. Thus in order to understand the influence of poetry on the first major literary usage of the history of Numantia a review of the heroic and lyric poetry of the sixteenth century is necessary.

Spanish poetry of the last part of the sixteenth century evidences the presence of pressure to make the age heroic. The sources of this pressure were various: historical, political, social, religious, psychological, ideological and esthetic. There was historical pressure in that the Reconquest had conditioned the Spaniards to a certain restlessness to accomplish a mission, the attitude of "Let us ride" found in El poema de mío Cid. Momentum had been added to this tradition by the discovery of the New World. There were political pressures caused by the Spaniards' acceptance, after a period of adjustment, of their expanded role in world affairs forced upon them by their temporary union with the kingdoms of the Hapsburgs. There were social pressures arising from an economic situation which had not permitted

the fulfillment of the expectations of the majority of the population. There were psychological pressures because the Spaniards were already looking back to the time of the Catholic Kings and sensing that something had been lost in the intervening years. The introversion of Philip II, his four marriages and his difficulties in producing a male heir, heightened the awareness that the greatness of the House of Hapsburg was as transitory as that of the House of Avis of Portugal. Spain had been at the top of European power and psychologically it was difficult to accept the loss of that position. There were religious pressures to stamp out the Reformation before it destroyed Christianity. There were ideological pressures from the threat of the Turks to take over the Mediterranean and replace Western thought with Asian thought.

Apart from these considerations which heightened the search for heroic action was the pressure of the esthetic ideas stemming from the Renaissance and from the continuing flow of literary ideas from Italy. There was pressure to create in Spain heroic poetry in the classic mold.

Perhaps the strongest pressure of the era resulted from the basic conflict between faith and reason. Faith in the old institutions and anxiety to keep them fixed, pure, and up to their past standard of strength, on the one hand, and on the other, the recognition that there had been changes which called for new or modified institutions to meet the new realities.

Spain was not immune to, nor unaware of, the intellectual conflicts issuing from the Renaissance as evidenced in other countries by the writings of Montaigne, Machiavelli and Shakespeare. Rather, Spain

characteristically strove harder than other countires to maintain its traditions through the suppression of new ideas.

The traditional vision of Spain's idealistic goal is well summed up in the "Soneto al Rey Nuestro Señor" of Hernando de Acuña (1520-1580), addressed to Charles V:

> Ya se acerca, señor, o es ya llegada
> la edad gloriosa en que promete el Cielo
> una grey y un pastor sólo en el suelo
> por suerte a vuestros tiempos reservada.
>
> Ya tan alto principio en tal jornada
> os muestra el fin de vuestro santo celo
> y anuncia al mundo para más consuelo,
> un monarca, un imperio y una espada.
>
> Ya el orbe de la tierra siente en parte
> y espera en todo vuestra Monarquía
> conquistada por vos en justa guerra,
>
> que a quien ha dado Cristo su estandarte
> dará el segundo más dichoso día
> en que, vencido el mar, venza la tierra.

A somewhat different viewpoint is found in the poetry of Fray Luis de León, the most intellectual of the poets of the period. He was not unaware of Spain's continued efforts to achieve the goal expressed in Acuña's sonnet nor was he an escapist from the problems of the world. Yet when he imitated the classics he chose those works which expressed a turning away from activities which generated earthly fame. In his twelfth ode Horace had chosen events near in time, the Punic War and the Numantian War, to express his turning away from heroic deeds to other pursuits:

> Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
> Nec durum Annibalem, nec Siculum mare

Poeno purpureum sanguine, mollibus
Aptari cithrae modis.[1]

Fray Luis de León, in his imitation of this ode, updated the heroic events by reference to a Spanish hero of the past, "el de Vivar," and to more recent events-the Imperial war with France, the discovery of the New World and the Battle of Lepanto:

Al canto y lira mía
No dicen las escuadras, las francesas
Banderas en Pavía
Cautivas, ni las armas cordovesas,
Ni el nuevo mundo hallado
Ni el mar con turca sangre hora bañado.

Al son de trompa clara
Y con heroico verso a ti conviene,
Grial, cantar la rara
Virtud del de Vivar que par no tiene,
O con más libre pluma
Hacer de nuestros hechos rica suma.

He thus recognizes the heroic achievements of his country and indirectly sings their praises, but he turns to the contemplation of other values, measuring them against the rewards of conquest:

Mi musa no se emplee
Más de en la ilustre Nise, en su hermosura
Que el sol igual no vee;
En la luz de mirar, y en la dulzura
De voz que cuando suena
Alivia de dolor el alma y pena.

¿Por dicha habrá tesoro
Que a su rico cabello se compare
Aunque se junte el oro
Que el indiano suelo engendra y pare,
Y quanta pedrería
Ormuz a Portugal y Persia envia?

---

1. Quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, Obras completas, Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica, (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1951), V (Horacio), pp. 289-290.

¿Pues qué sentido os dexa?
¿Qué libertad no roba cuando inclina
Al beso, o falsa alexa
La boca hermosísima, y se indina,
Amando el ser forzada,
Y a veces ella os besa no rogada?[2]

The position of Acuña is frequently repeated in the heroic literature of the period. The turning away from that position, as in the case of Fray Luis de León, is also present in many of the writers of his time. There does not seem to have been any strong tension between the two positions. That was to come with the maturation of the writers who lived on into the next century and with the generation of writers that followed them.

The personification of rivers in classical literature was frequently imitated in Spanish Renaissance literature. Further examples will be cited later in a discussion of Cervantes' La Numancia, but the following excerpt from Luis de León's "Profecia del Tajo" will serve to demonstrate the practice:

Folgaba el rey Rodrigo
Con la hermosa Cava en la ribera
Del Tajo, sin testigo;
El río sacó fuera
El pecho y le habló desta manera:[3]

The river's prediction of Moorish domination follows.

The two aspects of life which provide the strongest stimuli to lyric expression are love and death. The struggle for love and the struggle against death also provide the best plot conflicts for other genres. The Latin and Greek literature available in Spain was steeped

---

2. Menéndez y Pelayo, p. 290.
3. Fray Luis de León, Obras, BAE, XXXVII, 618.

in love as a theme, but in spite of the tradition of the cancioneros presenting both courtly and sensual love, Íñigo López de Mendoza's polishing of the serranilla and imitation of the Greek and Roman classics, and Fernando de Rojas' influential neo-Platonic elevation of the beloved, death received more attention than love in Spanish literature until Garcilaso de la Vega made of love poetry a highly developed art form. The lyric poets who followed him in the sixteenth century--Fray Luis de León, Luis de Camoens, Fernando de Herrera, Lope de Vega--all built upon the foundations which Garcilaso had laid. The reemergence of love as a theme in poetry was paralleled in the other genres--the novels of chivalry, the pastoral novels, the Moorish novels and epic poetry. The theater, being a public spectacle and thus traditionally more subject to censorship based on notions of propriety, was slower to follow the example of the other genres in using love as an integral element of dramatic representations.

The lyric poets following Garcilaso de la Vega continued to be primarily interested in love lyrics, but as the century was coming to a close they also became interested in heroic poetry, poetry which tended to be highly anecdotal yet which employed well the techniques of lyric poetry. This tendency was due both to an increased patriotic sensitivity and to the influence of the classic models which these poets imitated, most notably Horace and Virgil. The ability of the poets of the late sixteenth century to produce both lyric and heroic poetry greatly influenced the dramatic poets who followed shortly after.

Fernando de Herrera (1534-1597), "el Divino," was the maximum representative of the Sevillian school of lyric poets and perhaps the one who came closest to his model, Garcilaso de la Vega, in turning

out fine love lyrics in the sixteenth century. Lope de Vega and Cervantes greatly admired his poetry. Fray Luis de León had translated ecologues of Virgil, odes of Horace, the Psalms, the Songs of Solomon, the Book of Job and had imitated the poetry of Petrarch and Bembo. Fernando de Herrera shared the same tastes and thus there are many thematic similarities in their works. Herrera's friend, Francisco Pacheco, gives some interesting information about his educational background and about his works, many of which have been lost:

> Leyó Fernando de Herrera con particular atención todo lo que la antiguedad romana y griega nos dejó en sus más corregidos ejemplares, y de los autores posteriores lo más; porque supo la lengua latina y griega con perfección, y las vulgares como los más cortesanos dellas; tuvo lección particular de los santos, supo las matemáticas y la geografía, como parte principal, con gran eminencia; no fue menor el cuidado con que habló y trató nuestra lengua castellana. Las obras que escribió son: las Anotaciones sobre Garcilaso; . . . la Guerra de Chipre y vitoria de Lepanto, del señor don Juan de Austria;[4] Elogio de la vida y muerte de Tomás Moro . . . demás desto, hizo muchos romances, glosas y coplas castellanas, que pensaba manifestar; acacó un poema trágico de los Amores de Lausino y Corona, compuso algunas ilustres églogas, escribióla Guerra de los gigantes, que intituló la Gigantomaquia; tradujo en verso suelto el Rapto de Proserpina de Claudiano, y fue la mejor de sus obras deste género; todo esto no solo no se imprimió pero se perdió o usurpó, con la Historia general del mundo hasta la edad del emperador Carlos V, que particularmente trataba las acciones donde concurrieron las armas españolas, que escribieron con injuria o envidia los escritores extranjeros; la cual mostró acabada y escrita en limpio a algunos amigos suyos el año 1590; en ella repetía segunda vez la batalla naval . . .[5]

---

4. This work survived, Seville, 1572.

5. Poetas Líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII, Adolfo de Castro, ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1966), BAE, XXXII, pp. xxi-xxii.

Herrera's motivation for writing a history of the events of Spain, a desire to refute foreign evaluations of Spain's participation in world events and to tell the "grandeza d'Espanna," puts him in line with those historians whose works were surveyed earlier in this study. The tradition continued long after Herrera.

Herrera expressed his patriotism in many heroic poems which reflect the same skills, the same honing and polishing and revision as in the lyric poetry. This heroic poetry, however, is purposefully grandiloquent and by nature topical; thus it now has more historical than literary interest. I believe it had great influence upon Cervantes at the time he returned from captivity in 1581, still flushed with pride in the victory of Lepanto which by then was ten years in the past. Some titles of Herrera's heroic poems are: "Por la vitoria de Lepanto," "A los que murieron en Africa con el rey don Sebastián," "Al señor don Juan de Austria, vencedor de los moriscos de las Alpujarras," "Al marqués de Santa Cruz, en la rendición de las Teceras." He was also a regionalist and wrote poems dedicated to Seville and "Al Betis."

Herrera's Sonnet LXXXI, "A Felipe," is interesting in that it contains the ideas that Portugal has rejoined, perhaps resignedly, the union and that Philip should pursue the infidel in Africa, an endeavor which had cost Portugal its king:

> Ya que el sujecto reino lusitano
> inclina al yugo la cerviz paciente,
> Y todo el grande esfuerzo de Ocidente
> Teneis, sacro Señor, en vuestra mano.

Volved contra el suelo hórrido africano
El firme pecho y vuestra osada gente,
Que su poder, su corazón valiente,
Que tanto fué, será ante el vuestro en vano.

Cristo os da la pujanza de este imperio
Para que la fe nuestra se adelante
Por do su santo nombre es ofendido.

¿Quién contra vos, quién contra el reino hesperio
Bastará alzar la frente, que al instante
No se derribe a vuestros pies rendido?[6]

These ideas, and the language in which they are expressed, will again appear in Cervantes' poetry and plays.

One of the most effective ways to add greater dimension to an event is to compare it to or associate it with another event of universally recognized importance. Herrera skillfully (although perhaps not convincingly for some mythologists[7]) accomplished this in the case of the victory won by Don Juan de Austria in 1570 in the region of the Alpujarras. The device of associating the affairs of mortal man with the affairs of the gods indicates how strongly these Renaissance neo-classicists were tied to the prevailing mode of imitating the classics. Luis de Camoens did much the same thing in Os Lusiadas and the critical dust has not settled yet. In Herrera's

---

6. BAE, XXXII, 320.

7. BAE, XXXII, 288. Adolfo de Castro's footnote comment: "Han notado, y con razón, algunos críticos la incongruencia que hay en esto de pronosticar Apolo en presencia del olimpo y en el acto de la celebración de la victoria alcançada por Marte sobre los gigantes, que había de llegar un día en que un mortal oscureciese sus glorias. Decía a este propósito un mi amigo, censurando el descuido de Herrera en una obra tan digna de alabanza eterna, que si Apolo tal cosa hubiera hecho, seguramente Júpiter lo hubiera enviado otra vez a guardar cabras a Admeto. Lo extraño es que Herrera, que, según se ve, excribió dos veces esta obra, no advirtiese el error en que había caído."

one hundred and forty line canción the "senado" of the Olympian gods is convened to celebrate the vicotry of Mars over the Titans. Apollo sings the praises of Mars (lines 41-65) but then warns that the glory of this victory will not be eternal but will be over-shadowed by a future event:

. . . . . .

Vendrá tiempo en que tenga
Tu memoria el olvido y la termine,
Y la tierra sostenga
Un valor tan insine
Aue ante él desmaye el tuyo y se le incline. (75)

. . . . . .

Y el fértil Occidente,
Cuyo inmenso mar cerca el orbe y baña
Descubrirá presente,
Con prez y honor de España
La lumbre singular de esta hazaña.

. . . . . .

La fama alzará luego
Y con las alas de oro la victoria
Sobre el giro del fuego,
Resonando su gloria
Con puro lampo de inmortal memoria.

Y extenderá su nombre
Por do céfiro espira en blando vuelo
Con ínclito renombre
Al remoto indio suelo
Y a do esparce el rigor helando el cielo.

. . . . . .

Traed, cielos, huyendo
Este cansado tiempo espacioso
Que oprime deteniendo
El curso glorioso;
Haced que se adelante presuroso.[8]

---

8. BAE, XXXII, 286-287.

To Herrera's credit and to the credit of the poetic art of the day is the complete absence of a versified narration of the event being praised. Only certain details, "aquel ramo de César," "El joven de Austria en la enriscada sierra," point to the protagonist but not to the event. In like manner Sonnet XXVII of Libro segundo, "Por la vitoria de Lepanto," identifies the event only through the title:

> Hondo Ponto, que bramas atronado
> Con tumulto y terror, del turbio seno
> Saca el rostro, de torpe miedo lleno;
> Mira tu campo arder ensangrentago;
>
> Y junto en este cerco y encontrado
> Todo el cristiano esfuerzo y sarraceno,
> Y cubierto de humo y fuego y tureno,
> Huir temblando el ímpio quebrantado.
>
> Con profundo murmurio la vitoria
> Mayor celebra que jamás vió el cielo,
> Y más dudosa y singular hazaña;
>
> Y di que solo mercíó la gloria
> Que tanto nombre da a tu sacro suelo
> El jóven de Austria y el valor de España.[9]

The framing device employed in Canción III, "Por la vitoria de Lepanto," is the deliverance of the Israelites from captivity in Egypt by passage through the Red Sea. Herrera frequently used the Old Testament in his heroic poetry both for thematic material and for language and style. This canción borrows heavily from the Psalms. It opens with the familiar "Let us sing unto the Lord:"

> Cantemos al Señor, que en la llanura
> Venció del ancho mar al Trace fiero;
> Tú, Dios de las batallas, tú eres diestra,
> Salud y gloria nuestra.

---

9. BAE, XXXII, 307.

The design of the Turk to oppress the Christian is described in Biblical imagery:

El soberbio tirano, confiado
En el grande aparato de sus naves,
Que de los nuestros la cerviz cautiva
Y las manos aviva
Al ministerio injusto de su estado, (15)
Derribó con los brazos suyos graves
Los cedros más excelsos de la cima
Y el árbol que más yerto se sublima,
Bebiendo ajenas aguas y atrevido
Pisando el bando nuestro y defendido (20)

This violation of the conquered is picked up again in a later stanza and is expressed in terms which more concretely communicate the primordial fear of one race losing to another:

Vinieron de Asia y portentosa Egito
Los árabes y leves africanos,
Y los que Grecia junta mal con ellos
Con los erguidos cuellos,
Con gran poder y número infinito, (95)
Y prometer osaron con sus manos
Encender nuestros fines y dar muerte
A nuestra juventud con hierro fuerte,
Nuestros niños prender y las doncellas
Y la gloria manchar y la luz dellas. (100)

The Turk is in a position to threaten Christiandom because "los poderosos pueblos me obedecen/ Y el cuello con su daño al yugo inclinan." He can thus arrogantly taunt, "¿Dónde/ El Dios de éstos está? ¿De quién se esconde?" But God has not abandoned his people, he sends a new Moses to deliver them:

Ocuparon del piélago los senos,
Puesta en silencio y en temor la tierra,
Y cesaron los nuestros valerosos,
Y callaron dudosos,
Hasta que al fiero ardor de sarracenos (105)
El Señor eligiendo nueva guerra
Se opuso el jóven de Austria generoso
Con el claro español y belicoso
Que Dios no sufre ya en Babel cautiva
Que su Scion querida siempre viva. (110)

The forces of the infidel are destroyed without compassion because they are contaminated with the lusts of Asia:

> Llorad, naves del mar; que es destruída
> Vuestra vana soberbia y pensamiento.
> ¿Quién ya tendrá de ti lástima alguna,
> Tú, que sigues la luna,
> Asia adúltera, en vicios sumergida?
> Quién mostrará un liviano sentimiento?
> Quién rogará por tí? Que a Dios enciende
> Tu ira y la arrogancia que te ofende,
> Y tus viejos delitos y mudanza
> Han vuelto contra tí a pedir venganza. (150)

The forces of the faithful are given the victory "Por la fe de su príncipe cristiano/ Y por el nombre santo de su gloria . . ."

The elevated style, the exalted language, the allusions to classical and Biblical themes, and the righteous patriotic stance of Fernando de Herrera expressed the life view of the age and were influential upon subsequent writers, especially those who chose the declamatory style to project their patriotic emotions.

Another facet of Herrera's poetry which was more fully developed by later poets was the poetic expression of melancholy, a sad awareness that time passes and leaves disillusion in its wake. This was a recurrent theme in the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega, who expressed it in personal terms, the loss of youth, the loss of love. Herrera expresses the concept in more classical terms through reference to cities of the past which were once great such as Troy and Carthage. Their ruins evoke a sense of the changes of fortune and the futility of life. The destruction of a city's fortifications, as in the case of Troy (Sonnet XXVII of Libro primero),

> El bravo fuego sobre el alto muro
> Del soberbio Ilion crecía airado,
> Y todo por mil partes derramado,
> Se envolvia confuso en humo escuro.

or the return to a city whose destruction is complete, as in the case of Carthage (Sonnet XXXVI),

> En tus ruinas míseras contemplo
> ¡Oh destruido muro! cuánto el cielo
> Trueca, y de nuestra suerte el grande estrago

are symbolic of the futility of defensive measures against corrosive forces over which man has no control. Later poets will use the ruins of the peninsular cities of Itálica and Numancia in the same context. Quevedo will expand the symbolic referent to "los muros de la patria mía."

In Elegía XI, Herrera personalizes the concept of "desengaño" by speaking in the first person. Between the introductory verses, "Estoy pensando en medio de mi engaño/ El error de mi tiempo mal perdido," and the closing verses, "Quien tan rastrera trae la esperanza/ Desespere llegar a tal estado/ Que aunque tenga de sí más confianza/ Al fin verá que en vano se ha cansado," he considers the destruction of Troy, the Islamic conquest of Spain and the destruction of Sebastian's army in Africa and is convinced that worldly ambitions are vain:

> Vuelvo los ojos, que el mejor sentido
> Alumbra, y hallo una pequeña senda
> Do paso humano apenas está esculpido.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Veo el tiempo veloz que se adelanta,
> Y derriba con vuelo presuroso
> Cuanto el hombre fabrica y cuanto planta.
>
> ¡Oh cierto desengaño vergonzoso!
> ¡Oh grave confusión de nuestro yerro,
> Claro enemigo, amigo sospechoso!

The works of Fernando de Herrera, Luis de Camoens, and, as we shall see, of Alonso de Ercilla, reflect the progressive influence of their humanistic backgrounds as they matured. The vision of life expressed in their works changes after experience has increased their ability to judge such worldly matters as overseas conquest and war. The mature works of Herrera reflect that he arrived at a philosophical conclusion about heroic action not unlike that of Fray Luis de León and Alonso de Ercilla. After much study Herrera moved from heroic poetry to lyric poetry, and from essays that justified the concept of "holy war" to an alignment with the thought of Thomas Moore and Erasmus that moral conduct is the prerequisite to obtaining God's support.[10] It will be seen that Cervantes, using the technique so characteristic of his genius, created dynamic tension in La Numancia through the opposition of heroic militarism and heroic humanitarianism in a single work.

---

10. Mary Gaylord Randel, The Historical Prose of Fernando de Herrera (London: Tamesis Books, 1971), has brilliantly traced the intellectual growth of Fernando de Herrera.

2

Epic poetry based on classical and neo-classical models came into its own in Spain in 1569 with the publication of the first part of La Araucana. Part II, containing an episode of the Battle of Lepanto, was published in 1578 and Part III in 1589. La Araucana was very popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[11] Many peninsular writers sought to share its success by imitating its form and style.

The life of Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1594) fits the pattern of the courtier who combined arms and letters that we have seen in the early chroniclers. At an early age he entered the court of Charles V as a page of Philip. His family was well-placed--his father was a member of the Order of Santiago, his mother was lady-in-waiting to Empress Isabel; his wife, before their marriage, was a lady-in-waiting to Queen Isabel de la Paz. At the age of fourteen Alonso accompanied the court of Flanders. Later he travelled through France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and other countries of Europe. In 1554 he was with Philip in London when news of the revolt of the Araucos arrived. He left from London and joined the fight in Chile. He returned to Spain in 1562.

---

11. For a listing of the editions of La Araucana see Cayetano Rosell's Introducción to Poemas Épicos, Vol. XVII of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1851), p. i.

Ercilla's later life was in character with the times. Just as Philip II and many of the intellectuals were to do, in spite of his social prominence and literary success, he turned to a life of contemplation which reflected the general disillusionment setting in upon Spain in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. He concludes his poem (Canto XXXVII) with the thought that his life had been spent in the pursuit of the wrong values. Thus Cayetano Rosell comes to the following conclusion:

> Créese con bastante fundamento que los postreros años de su vida los pasó don Alonso retirado en Madrid, ya con ánimo de consagrarse a la contemplación de las cosas divinas, arrepentido de haber hecho tanto caso de las humanas; ya para desahogarse a sus solas en quejas contra la fortuna, porque, después de haber prodigado su sangre en defensa de su patria, y servido lealmente a sus reyes en la corte, ésta le trataba con un desdén, que aun a despecho de su natural modestia parece que alguna vez él mismo calificó de injusto . . ."[12]

La Araucana tells of the Spanish conquest of Chile after the substantial pacification of Peru. The Araucos were the Celtiberians of the Pacific coast. Their resistance was the key to the defense of the region. Ercilla was caught between his duty to conquer these savages and his admiration of their determination to maintain their independence, defend their lands and preserve their honor. He labelled the motivation of Spain's determination to destroy the Araucos as "codicia" and "avaricia." Thus his stance was much like that of the Greek and Roman historians who commented upon the Roman conquest of Iberia. Ercilla foresaw the possibility of an adverse reaction on the

---

12. Ibid., p. i.

part of the reading public and met the expected charge with the following statement in his prologue:

> Si a alguno le pareciere que me muestro algo inclinado a la parte de los araucanos, tratando sus cosas y valentías más extendidamente de lo que para bárbaros se requiere; si queremos mirar su crianza, costumbres, modos de guerra y ejercicio della, veremos que muchos no les han hecho ventaja y que son pocos los que con tan gran constancia y firmeza han defendido su tierra contra tan fieros enemigos como son los españoles. Y cierto es cosa de admiración que no poseyendo los araucanos más de veinte leguas de término sin tener en todo él pueblo formado ni muro ni casa fuerte para su reparo, ni armas a lo menos defensivas, que la prolija guerra y españoles las han gastado y consumido, y en tierra no áspera rodeada de tres pueblos españoles y dos plazas fuertes en medio della, con puro valor y porfiada determinación hayan redimido y sustentado su libertad. [13]

By Ercilla's own account much of the poem was written on the battlefield. In the opinion of Rosell this spontaneous version would have been superior to the re-worked version completed in Spain:

> Escribióla entre el desosiego de los campamientos y el estruendo y riesgo de las batallas. No conocía entonces sino los modelos de la antigüedad, y cuando a su regreso a España vió la Jerusalen del Taso y trató de amoldar a aquella pauta sus inspiraciones, no consiguió más que debilitarlas: el estudio del poeta italiano, que antes le hubiera aprovechado sobremanera y acaso influido mucho en la perfección de su obra, concebida ésta y en gran parte realizada, solo sirvió para extraviarle.[14]

It should also be mentioned that Ercilla had a good working knowledge of Ariosto's Orlando furioso in addition to the classical epic poetry. La Araucana is written entirely in octavas reales, octaves of hendecasyllabic lines, the standard form for Renaissance epic poetry. La Araucana was a product of the poetic world of late

---

13. Ibid., p. 3.

14. Ibid., p. iii.

sixteenth-century Spain, the tradition out of which came the first extended poetic treatment of the Numantian theme by Miguel de Cervantes. Out of a like tradition came the Portuguese epic, Os Lusiadas of Luis de Camoens. We have seen some of the features of this tradition in the poetry of Fray Luis de León and Fernando de Herrera. Thus only brief mention of their presence in La Araucana is necessary.

Ercilla opens his poem with the following stanza:

> No las damas, amor, no gentilezas
> De caballeros canto enamorado
> Ni las muestras, regalos, y ternezas
> De amorosos afectos y cuidados;
> Más el valor, los hechos, las proezas
> De aquellos españoles esforzados,
> Que a la cerviz de Arauco no domada
> Pusieron duro yugo por la espada.

The stated purpose is serious, the deeds of brave men in war, not the love affairs and the recreations of the leisured. This seriousness was characteristic of the epoch, but it was being eroded by an ever increasing interest in the renewal of love as a poetic theme, a theme thought to be pagan. However, love, taken seriously, was in turn to become love taken lightly. This trajectory will be followed as we move into the Baroque. In the beginning stanza there are words, "cerviz" and "duro yugo" which are standard vocabulary items of the period. Throughout the poem there is a frequent resort to nautical vocabulary, "nave," "puerto," "mástiles," which betrays its dependence upon classical poets. There are rhetorical speeches in the mouths of savages which parallel the style of such writers as Juan de Mariana. There are frequent references to Fortune, "la mudable diosa," another classical tradition. Contrary to Aristotelian dictum, but not unusual for the epic style, are some digressions from

the main narrative--the insertion of the Battle of Lepanto and the episode of the love of Elisa Dido, the unfortunate founder of Carthage who was rejected by Aeneas.

Some critics are of the opinion that Ercilla reversed himself in regard to his notice in the first stanza when in Canto XV (the last canto of the 1569 edition) he acknowledged the role of love in life:

> ¿Qué cosa puede haber sin amor buena?
> ¿Qué verso sin amor dará contento?
> ¿Cónde jamás se ha visto rica vena
> que no tenga de amor el nacimiento?
> No se puede llamar materia llena
> la que de amor no tiene fundamento;
> los contentos, los gustos, los cuidados,
> son, si no son de amor, como pintados.
>
> Amor de un juicio rústico y grosero
> rompe la dura y áspera corteza;
> produce ingenio y gusto verdadero,
> y pone cualquier cosa en más fineza;
> Dante, Ariosto, Petrarca y el Ibero[15]
> amor los trujo a tanto delgadeza,
> que la lengua más rica y más copiosa,
> si no trata de amor, es disgustosa.

Rather than a reversal of his original intention to exclude subjects other than war, it would seem in the context of the whole work that he is pointing out that the bounds of humanity are broken in conquest, that enemies fail to see the humanity in each other, that they lack the human dimension which emanates from love.

The dedication of the poem to Philip II takes up many stanzas of the opening canto, a practice much in line with the tradition of the court chronicler serving as an advisor to the king. In time individuals with no court standing took up the practice of offering

---

15. The "Ibero" is assumed to refer to Garcilaso de la Vega.

unsolicited advice to the king. This 'vate' tradition will be discussed in connection with other literary works. Canto XXIV, "Dase noticia de la gran batalla naval, del desbarate y rota de la armada turquesca con la huida de Ochali," is also directed to Philip II:

> La sazón, gran Felipe, es ya llegada
> En que mi voz de vos favorecida
> Cante la universal y gran jornada
> En las ausonias olas definida:
> La soberbia otoman derrocada,
> Su marítima fuerza destruida,
> Los varios hados, diferentes suertes,
> El sangriento destrozo y crudas muertes. (XXIV, 1)

The description of the battle in the Mediterranean Sea is made plausible through an apocolyptical vision which transmits the news of the great event to Chile. The following stanzas demonstrate La Araucana's conformance to the pattern of heroic poetry of the time.

> Por nuestra armada al uno y otro lado
> Una presta fragata discurría,
> Donde venía un mancebo levantado
> De gallarda presencia y bizarría
> Un riquísimo y fuerte peto armado
> Con tanta autoridad, que parecía
> En su disposición, figura y arte
> Hijo de la fortuna y del dios Marte. (XXIV, 7)

> Yo codicioso de saber quien era
> Aficionado al talle y apostura
> Mirando atentamente la manera
> El aire, el ademán y compostura;
> En la fuerte celada, en la testera
> Vi escrito en el relieve y grabadura
> De letras de oro el campo en sangre tinto
> Don Juan, hijo del César Carlos quinto.

The war against the Turk was a holy war, as is made evident in Don Juan's exhortation to his fleet, "O valerosa compañia, Murral de la Iglesia inespugnable . . ." (stanza 10).

The following stanza is a good example of the effectivistic language employed by Ercilla which reflects the needs of the day for

a poetry which would elevate the activities of the nation to a heroic level. The effect is heavy, prolix, but stirring:

> El humo, el fuego, el espantoso estruendo
> De los furiosos tiros esculpidos,
> El recio destroncar y encuentro horrendo
> De las proas y mástiles rompidos
> El rumor de las armas estupendo
> Las varias voces, gritos y apellidos
> Todo en revuelto confusión hacía
> Espectáculo horrible y armonia. (XLI)

Fermando de Herrera's heroic poetry has a lofty hymnic quality reminiscent of the Psalms. Alonso de Ercilla's epic poetry is also elevated and eloquent, but its conceptual affinity to the Greek and Roman epic poems distinguishes it from Herrera's poetry. Cervantes drew upon both styles in his dramatization of the Numantian theme. The similarity of certain parts of Cervantes' La Numancia and Ercilla's La Araucana indicate that Cervantes was influenced quite directly by the epic poem.[16] These similarities will be taken up in the examination of La Numancia.

---

16. Don Quixote's friend, the village priest, made the following evaluation of the three principal Spanish epic poems, La Araucana, La Austríada of Juan Rufo, and El Monserrate of Cristóbal Virués: "Todos esos tres libros son los mejores que, en verso heroico, en lengua castellana están escritos, y puede competir con los más famosos de Italia; guárdense como las más ricas prendas de poesía que tiene España." "El escrutinio de la librería," Don Quijote, I, Ch. VI. At the time La Numancia was written only La Araucana had appeared in print.

3

NUMANCIA IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY POETRY

From the time of the Catholic Kings the educated poets had taken an interest in the romance tradition, recognizing its inherent epic, lyric, and dramatic qualities. In addition to using traditional national themes from the ancient cantares de gesta, the poets turned to other sources of classic and legendary themes. The sixteenth-century romances tend to have an erudite as opposed to a popular tone.

Perhaps the first Spanish literary usage of the Numantian theme was the "Romance de cómo Cipión destruyó a Numancia," which appeared in the romancero of Juan Timoneda entitled Rosa gentil (1573). The romance appears to be a versification of a chronicle, and since it includes such details as the burning of the city for some twenty days and the survival of a lone Numantian boy, it seems that Diego de Valera's Coronica abreviada (1481), which contains the same details, is its most likely source.[17]

> Enojada estaba Roma--de ese pueblo Soriano
> envía, que le castigue,--a Cipion el Africano,
> Sabiendo los de Numancia--que en España había llegado,
> con esfuerzo varonil--los esperan en el campo.
> A los primeros encuentros--Cipion se ha retirado;
> mas volviendo a la batalla--reciamente ha peleado.

---

17. "Con razón sospechaba Wolf que el librero valenciano se inspiró en alguna crónica, porque, en efecto, la material del romance se encuentra en la mal llamada Coronica de España abreviada de Mosén Diego de Valera." Rudolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla, Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Comedias y entremeses (Madrid, 1915), I, 47.

Romanos son vencedores,--sobre los de Soria han dado
Matan casi los más de ellos,--los otros se han encerrado.
Metidos en la ciudad--Cipion los ha cercado,
púsoles estancias fuertes,--y un foso desaforado;
y tanto les tuvo el cerco,--que el comer les ha faltado.
Púsolos en tanto estrecho,--que en fin han determinado
de matar toda la gente--que no tome arma en mano.
Ponen fuego a la ciudad,--ardiendo de cabo a cabo,
e ellos dan en el real--con ánimo denodado;
pero al fin todos murieron,--que ninguno no ha escapado.
Veinte días ardió el fuego,--que dentro ninguno ha entrado.
Ya que entrar dentro pudieron,--cosa viva no han hallado,
sino un mochacho pequeño--que a trece años no ha llegado,
que se quedó en una cuba,--do el fuego no le ha dañado
Vuélvese Cipion a Roma,--sólo el mochacho ha llevado;
pide que triumfo le den,--pues a Soria había asolado.
Visto lo que Cipion pide,--el triunfo le han denegado,
diciendo, no haber vencido,--pues ellos lo habían causado.
Lo que Roma determina--por sentencia del Senado
que Cipion vuelva a Soria,--y que al mozo que ha escapado,
le ponga sobre una torre,--la más alta que ha quedado,
y allí le entregue las llaves,--teniéndolas en su mano,
y se las tome por fuerza,--como a enemigo cercado,
y en tomarlas de esta suerte--el triunfo le será dado.
A Soria vuelve Cipion,--segun que le fue mandado
puso el mochacho en la torre--del arte que era acordado.
Allí las llaves le pide; mas él se las ha negado,
dijo:--No quieran los dioses--que haga tan mal recaudo.
Ni por mí te den el triunfo,--habiendo solo quedado
pues que nunca lo ganaste--de los que ante mí han pasado.
Estas palabras diciendo,--con las llaves abrazado,
se echó de la torre abajo--con ánimo muy osado
y así quedó Cipion--sin el triunfo deseado.[18]

Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega (1559-1615) wrote a Numantian theme romance which was included in his Romancero y tragedias of 1587. It conveys the sense of admiration which the Greeks, Romans and Spaniards had felt for the valiant resistance of the Numantians. It lacks, however, the techniques of dramatically developing and unfolding events:

---

18. Antología de poetas líricos castellanos (Primavera y flor de romances), Fernando José Wolf and Conrado Hofmann, ed., revised ed., Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856; Madrid: Editorial Hernando, 1928), I, 1-2.

SITIO E INCENDIO DE NUMANCIA

Con nuevo ejército pone
En nuevo estrecho a Numancia
El indignado Escipio,
Corrido de que cercada
Catorce años estuviese
Quedando con cerviz alta,
Y de ver el campo inculto
Producir reliquias varias
De huesos blancos curados,
De las legiones romanas,
Cuyos golpes el valor
Del numantino mostraba.
Por una parte se indigna,
Por otra el rigor templaba;
Una vez dice arremetan,
Otra que se tengan manda.
Turbado no se resuelve
Ni se determina en nada;
La compasion le compele
A apresurar la venganza;
Mas el temor del contrario
El paso a su intento ataja,
Viendo las veces que ha sido
Su gente desbaratada
Por la poca, aunque atrevida,
Que esconde aquella muralla
inexpugnable por ella,
Mas que lo fue la troyana,
Pues cuatro mil españoles
Que la ciudad ocupaban,
A cuarenta mil romanos
Por momentos retiraban,
En campo abierto con ellos
Viniendo a duras batallas,
De quien con diestras violentas
Triunfaron en veces varias,
Siempre a su ciudad volviendo
Con vitoriosas espadas,
Mas temidas del contrario
Que seguidas sus pisadas;
Que por vitoria tenían
El volverles las espaldas,
Y el cansarse de herir
En ellos los de Numancia,
De cuyos odiosos nombres
Como del fuego temblaban,
Las puertas de su ciudad
Teniendo abiertas y francas.
A su eleccion retirando
Del romano las estancias,

Y cual no cercada gente
Salen al campo, y se espacian;
¡Cosa dura de creer,
Que a la potencia romana,
Que era señora del mundo,
Se resistiese en España
Esta pequeña ciudad
Con fuerza tan limitada!
Al fin Escipion tanto hizo,
Que con una honda cova
La cercó por todas partes
Para excusar que a batalla
No saliesen con sus gentes,
Cuya ruina aguardaban.
Al fin la apretó con hambre,
Y su gente fatigada
Pidió al Cónsul muchas veces
La descomunal batalla,
La cual siempre rehusó;
Y hallándose apretada
La gente de la ciudad,
Atravesando la cava,
Aunque con dificultad,
Con Escipion vino a batalla;
Cuyo campo en breve espacio
Con audacia desbarata,
Y muertos muchos romanos
A su ciudad vuelta daban,
Sin poder mover las diestras
De hambre inhabilitadas.
Aun entonces no huyendo,
De que el contrario se espanta,
Queman en la gran ciudad
Su hacienda, y sus hijos matan
Y todos unos con otros
Toman contra sí las armas,
No quedando cosa viva
Ni reservada a las llamas,
Porque no triunfase Roma
De su ciudad desdichada,
Y no quedase vencida,
Aunque del contrario entrada.[19]

---

19. Romancero general o colección de romances castellanos anteriores al siglo XVIII, Agustín Durán, ed. (Madrid: 1854), BAE, X, 576-577.

An anonymous romance on the Numantian theme makes the outcome of the confrontation between Romans and Numantians turn on the reputation and personality of Scipio; yet it places the thematic focus on "fama" which transcends the struggle:

Ya de Escipion las banderas
Llegan a ver las murallas
De aquella cabeza antigua
De la invencible Numancia
Cuando a todas sus legiones
Bien compuestas y ordenadas,
Aquel valeroso Alcides
De aquesta suerte les habla:
--Hoy las águilas de Roma
Hasta los cielos levantan
Sus plumas, porque vosotros
Habeis de servirles de alas:
Hoy para inmortal memoria
De vuestras nobles hazañas
Habeis de triunfar, dejando
Que publicar a la fama
Mostrad, milite famosos,
Lo que hoy pueden vuestras armas;
Que si a Numancia venceis
Podrán alzaros estatuas.--
No pudo pasar de aquí
Porque de una y otra banda
Comenzaron a dar voces
Apellidando su patria.
"Alarma, alarma.
Los unos viva Roma, otros Numancia;
Y viendo a Escipion tan bravo y fuerte
Todos por no entregarse se dan muerte."
Los numantinos, que miran
Del contrario la pujanza,
Acuerdan antes morir
Que no de entregar su patria.
Y como para el sustento
Mantenimientos les faltan,
De conformidad de todos
Niños y mujeres matan.
Cuál en brazos de su esposa
Ofrece a la muerte parias,
Y cuál a sus propios hijos
Con violenta mano trata.
Un horrible fuego encienden
En medio de la gran plaza,
Do queman todos sus bienes,
Cada cual con mano franca.

Unánimes todos dicen
Que no se entregue la patria;
Que mueran, pues que muriendo
Hacen inmortal su fama.
Y así solamente se oye,
Entre las voces turbadas
De la una parte y la otra,
Razones mal concertadas:
"Alarma, alarma
Los unos viva Roma, otros Numancia;
Y viendo a Escipion tan bravo y fuerte,
Todos por no entregarse se dan muerte."[20]

The history of the siege and destruction of Carthage, Sagunto, and many other sites had various features in common with the destruction of Numantia. The siege was the most effective means the Carthaginians and the Romans had to subdue the fortress-like settlements of Iberia and thus the details of the siege--the fortifications, the sallies from the surrounded city, the efforts made to negotiate treaties, the hunger and suffering of the inhabitants, and the final decision to commit communal suicide in order to avoid surrender--were very similar in most cases. A romance by Juan de la Cueva, "Mario, vencedor de los cimbros,"[21] is of interest to the Numantian theme because it contains many details that could be interchanged with the siege of Numantia and imaginative details of classical origin that were frequently associated with Numantia by writers who embellished the history of Numantia for literary purposes. For example, Juan de la Cueva attributes to Mario a dream in which he is directed to sacrifice his beloved daughter in

---

20. Durán, Romancero general, p. 577.

21. "Mario, vencedor de los cimbros," appeared in the 1588 publication of Coro febeo de romances historiales, a collection of Juan de la Cueva's ballads. It is romance no. 550, Agustín Durán, Romancero general, pp. 577-78.

order to gain victory over the Cimbrians. Mario complies with the instructions received in the dream in good Senecan fashion, a tendency much in vogue at the time that Juan de la Cueva wrote most of his plays and Cervantes wrote La Numancia. Juan de la Cueva increased the dramatic tension and interest of his poem by giving the besieged women a part in the action just as Cervantes did in La Numancia. Here is how Juan de la Cueva has the Cimbrian women become involved after the men retreat:

Las armas de sí arrojando,
Con vergonzosa huída,
Procuraban verse en salvo.
Los romanos en su orden
Fuertemente peleando,
Conociendo su desorden
Al fin los desbarataron.
Las mujeres cuando vieron
Que desamparado el campo
Los cimbros habían huído
Rendidos y destrozados,
Todas ardiendo en furor,
Reputando por agravio
Huir así sus maridos
Las armas d'ellos tomando
Peleaban fuertemente
Resistiendo sus contrarios,
Dando a sus maridos muerte
Con crueldad, porque dejando
El campo, con tal infamia
Huian de los romanos.
Despues de haber hecho en ellos
Ellas mismas crudo estrago,
Siéndoles la libertad
Negada por Cayo Mario,
Tomaron todos sus hijos
Y al punto los degollaron,
Y las unas a las otras
Todas las más se mataron.

. . . . . .

As mentioned earlier, these erudite romances represent a deliberate attempt to capture the spirit of another poetic epoch, and thus by design they do not reflect the language nor the life view of

the sixteenth century. However, they did serve to keep the memory of Numantia alive and they suggested incidents that could be expanded further in the dramatic treatment of the theme. Perhaps a reading of the romances stimulated subsequent writers to take an interest in the Numantian theme and other historical incidents.

CHAPTER VII

Dramatic Conventions of the Sixteenth-Century

The first major work of Spanish literature that employed the theme of Numantia was a play, Cervantes' La Numancia. Many aspects of La Numancia are difficult to understand unless the spectator takes into consideration the literary and ideological complexities of the last half of the sixteenth century, one of those special periods in which a certain intellectual fever was created by the hyperactive contention between traditionally accepted ideas and new ideological permutations, and the similar complexities of the mind of Miguel de Cervantes, a mind that thrived on the permutations derived from the assimilation of diverse ideological and esthetic convictions. The discussion that follows of the history of the development of the theater is relevant to the Numantian theme because it provides insight into the manner in which Cervantes employed the theatrical conventions of his day.

Cervantes himself gives the clue for the basic principle of his creative genius: "Cuando algún pintor quiere salir famoso en su arte, procura imitar los originales de los más únicos pintores que sabe; y esta mesma regla corre por todos los más oficios or ejercicios de cuenta que sirven para adorno de las repúblicas."[1]

Cervantes' clue requires that we unravel his style by examining all of the traditions--literary, philosophic, and social--that he wove

---

1. Don Quijote de la Mancha, I, 25.

into his creations. The result of such an examination will not fully explain Cervantes' thought, but perhaps it will partially lead to the degree of understanding of La Numancia that José Ortega y Gasset wished for of Don Quijote de la Mancha:

> Alas! If we only knew with certainty the secret of Cervantes' style, of his manner of approaching things, we would have found out everything, because on these spiritual heights there reigns such indestructible solidarity that a poetic style brings with it philosophical, moral, scientific, and political conceptions. If one day someone were to come and reveal to us the profile of Cervantes' style, it would suffice for us to prolong its lines over our other collective problems and we would awake to a new life.[2]

There is always some degree of interaction between a playwright and his prospective audience. The playwright shapes his play according to his personal conception of the expectations of society. At the same time the public expects to be presented with something other than that which they have seen in recent works, to be introduced to new perceptions. In a viable society the tension between the constraints of convention and the demand for innovation results in productive synthesis. The end of the sixteenth century marked the beginning of a highly productive period in European drama in general, but for the purposes of establishing the background of dramatic conventions of Cervantes' time, and of establishing a comparative base, only the historical development of Spanish and English theater will be traced.

In retrospect, Spanish and English drama at the time that Cervantes and Christopher Marlowe began to write plays, were so similar

---

2. José Ortega y Gasset, Meditations on Quixote, tr. Evelyn Rugg and Diego Marín (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 107.

in development that the major difference between them was language. The works of both poets pointed to a transition from the medieval dramatic conventions and scholastic traditions to a synthesis of the old forms and ideas with the new fruits of Renaissance humanism.

Prior to the Renaissance, in the field of serious drama, three types of plays had developed: the mystery plays, representations of Biblical events; the miracle plays, representations of the lives of saints; and moralities, short dramatized allegories. With the Renaissance the plays of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as Italian plays based on classical models, became widely available. Seneca's plays, sententious, passionate, and sensational, especially appealed to university students. During the major part of the sixteenth century these four types of plays remained relatively fixed. In the last part of the sixteenth century the conventions of the old forms continued to exercise considerable influence even though new developments were rapidly taking place. The older dramatic conventions, when incorporated in the new plots, new characterizations, and new poetic imagery, had the force of maxims which embodied the stored experience and wisdom of the people. The resultant whole had resonances not achieved before, and perhaps not achieved since that brief period of the interface between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The intent of serious drama prior to the end of the sixteenth century was unabashedly didactic. The mysteries and the miracles were based on serious themes, and the audience was conditioned to expect a serious meaning underlying them. The moralities were dramatized sermons on the vices and virtues, and, unless tampered with by satirical actors, were serious matters. The plays modelled after Seneca were in

the tragic mode and thus serious. As dramatic techniques improved and plots were extended the audience, already conditioned, could expect a moral beneath the improved aesthetic innovations.

The structure of the moralities was simple: innocent man appeared on stage, an allegorical vice appeared and mislead him, and then an allegorical virtue appeared and restored man to virtue. This simple structure provided a balanced opposition of good and evil and out of it grew the successful dramatic formula of depicting some aspect of social order, disturbance of that order, and restoration of order. The mysteries and the miracles followed the same basic pattern as the moralities, although some of the longer festival mysteries, especially those represented on processional carts, lost the tripartite structure and became episodic.

The use of allegorical figures (Everyman, Man, Trinity, Devil, Fortune, Mind, Nature, Will, Wisdom, Understanding, or Hombre, Fe, Constancia, Fama, Celo, Temor, Deseo, Pecado, Alma, and Entendimiento) in the moralities, aside from their capacity to concretize abstractions, is an efficient theatrical device because as a figure becomes an accepted convention its functions as a symbol increase. For example, the mere appearance of the figure of Conscience might imply the same knowledge as that contained in the song of a Greek chorus. Similarly, the mention of Fama might imply all of the acknowledged paths to fame; the mention of God, in a religious play, or the mention of a mythological god in a secular play, implies the omniscience and intervention of the supernatural in the affairs of men, or perhaps any appropriate or relevant part of the whole range of society's religious convictions.

As the moralities developed, the role of the allegorical figures was reduced and the incidents in the lives of the characters were given greater prominence. The plays of Gil Vicente (1469?-1535?) are representative of this stage of development. The characters in his dramatizations of the allegorical Dance of Death, the Auto da barca do Inferno (1517), the Auto da barca do Purgatorio (1518), and the Auto da barca da Gloria (1519), are developed with considerable penetration into the motives which influence their lives rather than through automatic responses to allegorized good or evil. The autos which grew out of the mysteries also evidence the same development of personality, and they tended to borrow the conventions of other forms; for example, Biblical personages, allegorical figures such as Envy or Soul, and allegorical figures from pagan mythology might appear in the same play. From a modern viewpoint the chief deficiency of the autos at this stage of development was the lack of a dramatic denouement because the dramatic conflict of the plot was invariably resolved by the intervention of supernatural powers. Iberian audiences inherently prefer to avoid tragic endings of the kind found in Greek and Roman drama.

The Auto de Caín y Abel of Jaime Ferruz demonstrates the extent of the fusion of the conventions of the morality, miracle and mystery plays in Spain by 1562.[3] The play is also interesting because it demonstrates that the author was quite willing to invent variations of his own in order to give his personages dimensions not found in the

---

3. Leo Rouanet, ed., Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del Siglo XVI (Madrid-Barcelona, 1901), II, 150-166.

Biblical source. It appears that the shortness of the play did more to limit character development than any reluctance on Ferruz' part to alter the source.

In Ferruz' play fire comes down from heaven and ignites the sacrifice on Abel's altar. Envy incites Cain to take revenge. After Cain has murdered his brother Conscience (Culpa) discusses the implications of the crime but Cain becomes defensive and boasts of the pleasure derived from his act. God (Dios Padre) then confronts Cain and pronounces the curse of exile. Cain acknowledges his error and recognizes that he will live a life haunted by guilt. Death, passing across the stage on a triumphal chariot, ends the play with a reminder of man's temporal destiny.

Cain's personality is remarkably developed as he moves from arrogance to remorsefulness. Conscience is a semi-dramatic personality because he is disguised as a man. Envy, God, and Death are conventional allegorical personages. In the work thought to have been Ferruz' source, Victoria de Cristo, of Bartolomé Palau, pagan mythological personages had also intervened. The intervention of the allegorical figures in Ferruz' play not only serves to reveal Cain's inner thoughts, but also provides the associative base of the audience's--society's--general concept of the nature of man and the nature of the universe. Thus the particular events of Cain's tragedy involve the general order of the universe and one man's crime takes on universal significance. The ideological range of the plays of Ferruz' time was also being expanded through allusions which the audience associated with their conception of universal order--the elements, the stars, and the planets.

Gorboduc, a play presented in London before Queen Elizabeth in 1562, represents the next logical step in the development of the morality. The plot of this play is unfolded solely through the actions of individual humans and the allegorical figures appear only in the dumb-show interludes. Gorboduc is a chronicle play based on an ancient legend of civil disorder created by rival claims to the throne. Its authors intended to convey to the queen the necessity of marriage so that the stability of the crown would be assured. In Spain there was a long tradition of giving advice to the monarch through prologues, poetry, essays, and epistles, but not through dramatic representations. Most of the chronicles that had included the history of Numantia were written by court chroniclers who openly called the attention of the monarch to the lessons to be drawn from the record of the past. Perhaps the first example in Spain of an attempt to deliver a message to the monarch through dramatic representation is to be found in Cervantes' Los tratos de Argel. Incorporated in this play is the epistle which Cervantes had written while in captivity in Algiers. The epistle was directed to Mateo Vasquez, the secretary of Philip II, and makes a plea for the pursuit of the infidel in Africa. It is unlikely that Cervantes could have expected his plays to be presented before the court as Gorboduc was in England, but nevertheless La Numancia makes a public case for strong leadership, national unity, and moral vigilance.

The essentials of Senecan action were being adapted to the English stage by Thomas Kyd (1558-1594) at the time that Juan de la Cueva (1550?-1600?) was adapting elements of Senecan theatrics and motives--brutality, horror, murder, conspiracy, intrigue, revenge, and love--to the Spanish stage. Juan de la Cueva based some of his plays on

classical sources (Ayax Telamón, La muerte de Virginia, El príncipe tirano), but he also turned to the chronicles and the epic poetry of Spain's past for material (Los siete infantes de Lara). Although there was probably no direct interchange of ideas between Juan de la Cueva and Cervantes there are certain similarities in their plays which establish a historical frame of reference from which the dramatic conventions of the time can be induced. In addition to the use of conventional allegorical figures such as Fame or Venus to symbolize abstractions, Cueva also personified (in El infamador) the river Betis, a practice borrowed from the Greek and Roman poets. Juan de la Cueva's introduction of love as an emotional dimension of personality is similar to Cervantes' practice. Bustos in Los siete infantes de Lara sounds much like Marandro in La Numancia:

Bustos: Hermosa Zayda, Luz mía,
vida del alma que os ama,
dulce aliento de la llama
que mi corazón ardía,
¿qué hacéis, en que pensáis,
que os veo descolorida,
triste, confusa, afligida,
y en lugar do nunca estáis?

Marandro: ¡Oh dulce Lira, que suenas
contino en mi fantasía
con tan suave agonía,
que vuelve en gloria mis penas!
¿Qué tienes? ¿Qué estás pensando,
gloria de mi pensamiento?

Juan de la Cueva's plays are superficially similar to Cervantes' La Numancia in many other aspects. In La muerte de Ayax Telamón the action revolves around the Greek siege of Troy. The language and the rhetorical tone, the frequent entreaties to the gods and to heaven, are so similar that they could be confused with passages of La Numancia.

The Greeks' attempt to placate the gods, like the similar act of the Numantians, is directed to the gods of Roman mythology, an anachronistic slip probably attributable to the influence of Seneca:

> O Júpiter soberano,
> tu alto favor acuda,
> dando tu sidérea ayuda
> al exército greciano
> Recive este sacrificio
> humilde, y tu esposa Juno
> lo acepte, y el gran Neptuno,
> y Eolo nos sea propicio.

La Muerte de Ayax Telamón ends with Fame announcing that Ajax's virtuous life has earned him eternal renown.

Juan de la Cueva's plays are inferior to La Numancia in two important aspects. Structurally they lack the organic unity achieved by Cervantes. More importantly, they lack the profundity and tragic spirit achieved by Cervantes through a better orchestration of plot, allegory, and an examination of the human condition.

The dramatists of Cervantes' and Juan de la Cueva's time frequently encountered difficulties when they dramatized events other than those found in Greek and Roman plays. The main difficulty was caused by the propensity to employ in one work too many of the known techniques, conventions, and motifs. This included the practice of inserting comic episodes which had little relationship to the main plot. The resulting plays lacked coherence and focus upon the causal relationships which create dramatic tension and intellectual stimulus.

A play by Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, a contemporary of Juan de la Cueva and Cervantes, provides an example of the diffusion of interest through the inclusion of too many ideas and elements. La destrucción de Constantinopla dramatizes the fifteenth-century Turkish

siege of the eastern seat of the Church, an event which had serious philosophical implications for all of Christendom. The play is a catalogue of the dramatic conventions of the time: seven allegorical figures play major parts in the advancement of the plot; comic scenes and love affairs are inserted for humorous effect and romantic appeal rather than for reinforcement of the theme or the plot; a lady disguises herself as a soldier and follows her lover off to war; a dream foreshadows the destruction of the city; warriors engage in rhetorical bickering; the suffering of the besieged people is described in Senecan fashion; there is a Christian martyrdom; and the ghosts of the dead Christian leader and his captain make an appearance.

Characteristically, the personalities of the opponents in the struggle for the city are so ambiguously developed that it is difficult to determine on which side the sympathies of the audience should lie. Constantine is weak, but a Christian. Solliman is strong, but evil. Full advantage is not taken of this contrast because there is no interplay between the characters. Rather, the personality of each character symbolically represents the personality of his subjects. The Turks are vigorous, the Christians are decadent. Lasso de la Vega was unable to cope with such a myriad of elements successfully. Whether Cervantes was able to do so will be discussed presently.

During the Renaissance Senecan tragedy exercised considerable influence on the structural and thematic construction of tragic plots. There are two aspects to Senecan thematics, the physical and the moral. The moral aspect, sometimes over-powered by the theatrics of rhetorical bombast and the atrocious ruthlessness of the action, demonstrates a causal relationship between excesses of human nature and misfortune.

This relationship is constantly reinforced by the intervention of certain personages, usually conventional characters inherited from Greek drama--the chorus, the nurse, the old tutor--who supply a constant verbal reference to the expected moral standards of reasonableness and prudence. In this respect, the balancing of the opposition between good and evil, Seneca's plays are similar to the moralities.

Seneca was a Stoic philosopher, and there is a popular misconception about Stoicism, particularly in reference to Spanish literature. That is the conception that a Spaniard puts his problems in the hands of God and then passively sits back and resigns himself to accept any eventuality as the will of God. In Seneca's tragedies, however, the characters strive to rise above the limitations imposed by human nature and the turn of events. They crave temporal and supernatural power in order to have their way. They are not the victims of external forces. Although they might have a premonition of the futility of their acts, they exalt in their temporary elevation over their adversaries. Atreus, the murderer of his nephews in Thystes, articulates his vision of success in transcendental terms:

> I walk among the stars! Above the world
> My proud head reaches up to heaven's height!
> Mine is the kingdom and the glory now,
> Mine the ancestral throne. I need no gods;
> I have attained the summit of my wishes
> Now I am god of gods
> and king of kings![4]

---

4. Seneca, Four Tragedies and Octavia, tr. E. F. Watling (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 84.

The extremity of ambition of Seneca's characters and the over-reaching elegance of their speech makes them heroic in spite of their cruelty, violence, ruthlessness, intemperance and egotism, for they embody the courage to challenge insuperable odds.

The full power of Senecan tragedy was too strong to be adapted directly to the stages of Elizabethan England or of Spain of the reign of Philip II. Elements from Senecan tragedy were introduced in increments that meshed with the progressive development of the moralities and were attenuated by more emphasis on language and imagery than on the extravagant incidents.

In England, close in time to Cervantes' writing of his first plays, Christopher Marlowe became intrigued with the dramatic representation of heroic figures of transcendent intensity, lofty figures who seek to control the temporal order or rise above their human limitations through the aid of the supernatural. Temporal power would give them the satisfaction derived from "threatening the world with high astounding terms, and scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword" which so appealed to Tamburlaine. Elevation to the heights of the universe would permit an experience denied lesser mortals, a view of

> the clouds, the planets, and the stars,
> The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
> From the bright circle of the horned moon,
> E'en to the height of Primum Mobile.
>
> . . . . . .

That looking down, the earth appeared to me
No bigger than my hand in quantity.[5]

Marlowe's treatment of the aspiring hero centered dramatic interest in personality and character. He found a receptive audience conditioned to worship heroic deeds by epic poetry, novels of chivalry and heroic poetry. Marlowe died before he had perfected his style. Shakespeare took up where Marlowe had left off, orchestrated the imagery, the aspirations of men, the dignity, and the seriousness in plays of coherence and complexity.

Art imitates life. In both England and in Spain in the sixteenth century the serious and mysterious aspects of life were expressed through four basic philosophical systems: the Christian religion, Stoicism, science and frivolity. English dramatists successfully substituted the role of individual characters for the dramatic conventions of the past. Their vision was artistic as well as philosophical, and thus they retained the religious thought of the miracles and the mysteries along with the moral principles and allegorical machinery of the moralities and of Senecan tragedy. The English audience was receptive to this fusion of thought patterns even after the drama turned darker and pessimistic in the seventeenth century. In Spain the fusion of Judeo-Christian thought with Stoicism was as thorough as it was in England, but only a small group of playwrights, Cervantes the foremost among them, attempted to explore the central problems of man in dramatic works through an extension and refinement

---

5. Doctor Faustus, Act III, prologue.

of the dramatic conventions of the past.

As it turned out, Cervantes musjudged the public taste in dramatic content. He assumed that the theater-going public was prepared to appreciate plays that explored the inward nature of man, his spiritual virtues and evils, rather than the more entertaining outward manifestations of conflict in man's interpersonal relationships, his social vices and foibles. Cervantes was perhaps misled by his formal preparation and autodidactic pursuits. As a result he created an art form for an intellectually oriented minority at a time when financial success in the theater depended upon art acceptable to the majority.

At the time that Cervantes wrote La Numancia the Reconquest had been completed less than one hundred years and the militant spirit of that long era had been transformed by the Reformation into a new counteroffensive directed towards suppressing heresies. In the theater, a genre more responsive to public censure than the non-performing arts, there was a tendency to minimize philosophical speculation--to hold the line against going beyond a narrowed field of Church dogma. This was true in England as well as in Spain--Thomas Kyd was tortured on the rack for alleged heterdoxy and Christopher Marlowe only narrowly escaped the same treatment. Neither Kyd nor Marlowe injected their radical personal beliefs into their plays. Heresy was a capital offense. They did, however, go much further in developing situations that expanded the consideration of human nature. Arnold G. Reichenberger has suggested that the reason tragedy was further explored in England than in Spain is to be found in the English-speaking world's tendency to live by a double moral standard:

> There seems to be a strange contradiction running through our world. Although this is a Christian society and Christianity is an optimistic religion with in untragic view of life, what we want to see on the stage and read in poetry or fiction is life seen or sensed as a mystery, with man struggling to unveil it, to fight his way per aspera ad astra on his own, rather than the uncritical acceptance of a dogmatically stated and authoritatively upheld answer. There seems to be a complete break between Sunday and the other six days of the week. What happens during the six days of the week provides the writer with dramatic and often tragic interest.[6]

There were contradictions inherent in Spain's militant approach--the Church still held to the tenent derived from paganism that reason leads to the discovery of God's law as opposed to the value that the Protestants assigned to faith--but Spanish society in general accepted the necessity of doctrinal authoritarianism. Cervantes' works reflect that he did not feel constrained by the intellectual climate, but rather that he merely followed his own independent course--out of step with the public he sought to reach, a non-conformist like the Knight of the Mancha. The course he took reflects a thorough knowledge of the literature of Spain, a good exposure to the literature of Italy, a conventional religious indoctrination, and a respectable knowledge of the works of ancient Rome. How this literary and philosophical background was combined with the history of Numantia to create a play which rises above all other "fin de siglo" plays is the subject of the next chapter.

---

6. Arnold g. Reichenberger, "The Uniqueness of the Comedia," Hispanic Review, 27 (1959), 306.

CHAPTER VIII

La Numancia of Miguel de Cervantes

When Miguel de Cervantes returned to Spain in 1580 and thereafter decided upon a literary career there was a variety of modes available as vehicles for the expression of his life view and his creative impulses. He chose the theater as his principal vehicle and wrote several plays, among them La Numancia, the first major Spanish literary work based on the history of Numantia.[1]

Cervantes might have written an epic poem based on the history of Numantia but for the fact that the theater presented a more direct access to the public. In 1579, the year before Cervantes' release from Algerian captivity, the first permanent theater, the Corral de la Cruz, was built in Madrid. Construction of the Corral del Príncipe was begun in 1582. The existence of these theaters, the continuation of performances in the open squares, and the increase in the number of approved days for public performances reflect the growing appetite of the public for staged entertainment. Cervantes recognized the opportunity which presented itself for gaining fame and a livelihood while being what he most wanted--a poet.

The history of the fall of Numantia is a dramatic story. The skeletal form of a plot summary of La Numancia evidences that Cervantes achieved a skillful mixture of historical incidents and imaginative

---

1. Cervantes refers to his play as La Numancia in Chapter 48, Part I of Don Quixote, and as La destrucción de Numancia in the prologue to Ocho comedias. The seventeenth-century manuscript held by the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid is entitled Comedia del Cerco de Numancia.

creation. The play opens at the Roman camp outside of Numantia. Scipio considers the mission assigned to him by the Senate and complains of its difficulty and of the lack of discipline in his army. He assembles his troops and receives their pledge of cooperation to reform. Numantian ambassadors arrive and request negotiations for peace. Scipio advises them that it is too late to seek peace and they depart in anger. Scipio then reveals his plan to reduce Numantia by siege rather than by combat. The allegorical figure España enters lamenting the past errors of her peoples which have permitted foreigners to invade her and calls upon the river Duero to assist in preserving Numantia, the sole defender of Spanish liberty. In response Duero appears and predicts the end of Numantia but offers as consolation a revelation of the future greatness of Spain.

The second act opens as the Numantians discuss their situation. They decide to challenge the Romans to a duel between a Numantian and a Roman, and they plan to seek out the will of the gods and appease them. In the next scene Leonicio chides his friend, Marandro, for being in love during wartime. Marandro replies that his love for Lira does not interfere with his performance of duties. Numantian priests appear with a large ram and sacrificial accoutrements. They experience difficulties--the fire will not ignite, a devil snatches the ram, and the earth rumbles. Leonicio and Marandro discuss the meaning of these happenings and observe the arrival of the Numantian sorcerer, Marquino. Marquino is shown the grave of a young Numantian who only recently died of hunger. Marquino raises the youth from death by means of incantations, curses, and even whippings. The resurrected youth foretells that Numantia will fall into Roman hands, yet Rome will not

triumph over her. He cryptically adds that Numantia's death will be its life. Marquino is so distraught by the prediction that he follows the youth's example and hurls himself into the grave. Marandro and Leonicio resume their discussion of the validity of portents.

The third act opens with Scipio and his staff discussing the effects of the siege upon Numantia. Caravino calls from the wall and challenges the Romans to send a soldier to fight a Numantian. Scipio declines and is accused of cowardice by Caravino. The scene shifts to the Numantian leaders as they plan a final sally. They lay their plans in secret in order that the women of Numantia will not hear of them. Some Numantian women pass by and immediately sense that the men are excluding them from their council. The men give in to the women and cancel their plans for a suicidal attack. Left alone together, Lira tells Marandro that her brother and mother have died of hunger and that she cannot last much longer. Marandro tells her that in spite of the Roman encirclement he will bring food to her. Lira asks Marandro not to risk his life and departs. Leonicio, who has overheard the conversation, insists on accompanying Marandro. As they leave various Numantians pass by, all showing the effects of hunger, but determined to carry out the plan to destroy their property.

The final act opens in the Roman camp as the alarm and call to arms are sounded. Scipio receives a report that two Numantians broke into the camp, wounded and killed some of his men, and then went from tent to tent until they discovered some food. The Romans assume that the Numantians were driven by hunger. In the following scene Marandro appears alone, wounded and bleeding, with a basket of bread in his hand. He laments the loss of his friend, Leonicio, but struggles on

and finds Lira. He delivers the bread and falls dead in her lap. A brother of Lira enters, sees the bread, swoons from hunger, and dies. Lira refuses to eat the bread and expresses the wish that she can soon join Marandro in death. A Numantian warrior passes by in pursuit of a woman as he carries out the decree of the Numantian senate that all women and children must be put to death so that they will not fall into Roman hands. On seeing Lira he stops to assist her in carrying away the bodies of her brother and Marandro.

Three allegorical figures, Guerra, Enfermedad, and Hambre, appear and predict that the Romans will be denied the victory because the Numantians will die of fighting, sickness, and hunger before the city is captured. The allegorical figures witness Teogenes lead his wife and three children to the temple of Diana for execution. Two Numantian boys, Bariato and Servio, run past in an attempt to flee the city. Servio becomes too weak from hunger to continue. Teogenes reappears, bloodied sword in hand, asking his fellow Numantians to imagine that he is a Roman on whom they must take revenge. He and another Numantian proceed to the main square so the loser can be thrown into the flames.

The scene shifts to the Roman camp where Scipio is observing the fires in Numantia. Mario ascends the wall and reports that the streets are strewn with bodies and that Teógenes, the last visible survivor, cast himself into the flames. Scipio expresses the wish that at least one survivor remain so that he will not be denied the triumph. Jurgurta reports to Scipio that a Numantian boy is in the tower. Scipio goes to the tower and discovers Bariato. Scipio pleads with the

boy, but Bariato reminds him of the history of Roman dealings with Numantia and says that he will be true to the Numantian cause. He leaps to his death. Scipio expresses amazement at the Numantian spirit, a trumpet sounds, and the allegorical figure of Fama announces that the valor of Numantia will live for centuries.

La Numancia is of interest as an individual work of art and as an example of the state of the theater during the decade of 1580-1590. During that decade the playwrights of the "fin de siglo"--Jerónimo Bermúdez, Micer Andrés Rey de Artieda, Cristóbal de Virués, Juan de la Cueva, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, and Miguel de Cervantes--wrote the majority of their plays and thus they have many features in common. These playwrights lived in an age of continued interest in the classics of ancient Greece and Rome, an interest heightened by the increased availability of books, and in theatrical matters, by the travels of many of them to Italy, and by the visits of Italian players to Spain. The plays of this period reflect the concern of the authors for humanistic erudition in matters of language, style and theme. The confluence of traditional conventions, of classical models, and the Renaissance Italian ideas resulted in a theatrical style analogous to the Plateresque style in architecture, the style that flourished in early sixteenth-century Spain which was characterized by Italian decorative motifs applied as an overlay to the solid traditional architecture beneath. In literature it was no more inconsistent nor esthetically unusual to find Venus and Mars being invoked or actually represented than it was for Hercules and Venus to appear on decorative stone medallions alongside the images of the

Catholic Kings on the stone façade of the University of Salamanca.

La Numancia is of particular interest because it gives a clear indication of Cervantes' thought and creative processes at the time when he started writing in earnest. The play is more suitable for determining Cervantes' early personality than the other works of the same period because it is original as well as conventional, and its thought content is the most substantial. Once the conventional aspects of the play are isolated it becomes apparent that Cervantes, in his early thirties and only recently back in Spain after an absence of eleven years, already possessed the literary foundation and the creative powers which later enabled him to write a work of the first magnitude.

Cervantes' works--poetry, theater, short stories, and novels--demonstrate that he had a tremendous capacity for assimilating a vast quantity and a broad range of knowledge. Studies of Cervantes' learning and the use of it in literary creations generally center around the works which appeared after Cervantes was a mature writer. Américo Castro, in his most important study of Cervantes, El pensamiento de Cervantes, written to refute the notion that Cervantes possessed only average intelligence and a conventional outlook on life limited by an indifference to speculative thought, affirms that all of Cervantes' works must be considered in order to understand and appreciate the significance of his thought:

> Cervantes no compuso el Quijote con personalidad distinta de la que revelan las Novelas, el teatro o Persiles. Conviene olvidar por ahora el desigual valor artístico de esas producciones para meditar algo sobre la visión ideal de Cervantes, sobre su actitud ante la realidad que le cerca, sobre el sentido moral que proyecta en las personas que nacieron de su fantasía. El que estas preguntas puedan for-

> mularse legítimamente es independiente del hecho que Cervantes no sea un sabio como Galileo, ni un filósofo como Descartes. Rabelais, Shakespeare, o Molière tampoco lo eran, y sin embargo, gentes curiosas han abordado el estudio de su pensamiento y de su moral, sin los cuales ni su obra ni la de Cervantes serían lo que son.[2]

However, Américo Castro cited La Numancia only once in El pensamiento de Cervantes, and in a series of studies which followed over the next half-century he focused his attention on the works which Cervantes had written after his so called "dramatic period," i.e. 1580-1590.

The many critics who have studied La Numancia have directed their attention to plot, characterization, verse forms, poetic imagery, and interpretation of theme, but they have not closely related the play to the theatrical conventions of the time nor have they examined the whole range of philosophical content which Cervantes associated with the history of Numantia and interjected into the play. In part this present study will attempt to establish the "thought of Cervantes" at the time he wrote La Numancia, in a manner similar to that followed by Américo Castro in El pensamiento de Cervantes. Cervantes continued to grow intellectually in the thirty-five years after he wrote La Numancia, but it is hoped that this study will demonstrate that even at an early stage in his development he was able to transmit a range of "ideas which hum in our ears when we read Cervantes closely."

---

2. El pensamiento de Cervantes, p. 25.

3. El pensamiento de Cervantes, p. 164: "Todas estas ideas zumban en el oído cuando leemos atentamente a Cervantes."

A SUMMARY OF SOME CRITICAL APPRAISALS OF LA NUMANCIA

In Part I, Chapter 48, of Don Quixote, the Canon recalling a previous conversation on the subject of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola's plays, says to the Curate:

> . . . y mirad si guardaban bien los preceptos del arte, y si por guardarlos dejaron de parecer lo que eran y de agradar a todo el mundo. Así que no está la falta en el vulgo, que pide disparates, sino en aquellos que no saben representar otra cosa. Sí, que no fue disparate La Ingratitud vengada, ni le tuvo La Numancia, La enemiga favorable, ni en otras algunas que de algunos entendidos poetas han sido compuestas, para fama y renombre suyo, y para ganancia de los que las han representado.

A decade later, in the prologue to Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, Cervantes states that his plays from the first period, among them La destrucción de Numancia, "se recitaron sin que se les ofreciese ofrenda de pepinos ni de otra cosa arrojadiza; corrieron su carrera sin silbos, gritos ni barahundas." These two comments are the only contemporary evaluations of La Numancia that we have, and the play was not again publicly available until its first printing some two hundred years later.

Although La Numancia received wide distribution after its printing by Antonio de Sancha in 1784, its appearance was inopportune. In 1737 Ignacio de Luzán had published his Poética which condemned the theater of the Golden Age for its excesses and urged Spanish playwrights to adjust to the neo-classical mode which had been filtering into Spain from France since the turn of the century. There were heated debates between the traditionalists who still produced plays based on the capa y espada models of Lope de Vega and Calderón, and those who called for renovation and reform based on the French models and neo-Aristotelian

rules. The popularity of the Poëtica continued for more than fifty years, going into a second printing in 1789. For the most part the polemics of the period were emotional rather than scholarly and they reached the extreme of accusing Lope and Calderón of having corrupted the public taste.

An idea of the reception granted the reappearance of La Numancia can be gained from the remarks made by Manuel José Quintana in 1797: "De esta ocupación a que entonces se entregó Cervantes resultaron veinte o treinta comedias, que si han de juzgarse por El trato de Argel or La Numancia, dadas a la luz en nuestros días, bien merecían todas el olvido en que desde luego quedaron sepultadas."[4]

Vicente García de la Huerta, whose Raquel (1778) demonstrated that a play could be successfully written on a national legend while following the major precepts suggested by the neo-classical theorists, ridiculed La Numancia, finding fault in the great number of personages and in the use of allegorical figures. Similarly, Leandro Moratín, who presented his La comedia nueva in 1792 as a satirical demonstration of the decadence of the theater of the day, criticized La Numancia as inappropriate for the stage because of its episodic nature and its allegorical figures:

> La elección de argumento en la Numancia es poco feliz; la destrucción de una ciudad con todos sus habitantes presta materia a la narración épica, pero no es para el teatro. En él no se deben presentar como objector primario las empresas militares, sino las acciones y efectos heroicos; en toda fábula escénica se promueve el interés concentrán dole, si se divide, se debilita. Cervantes creyó producir mayor efecto trágico poniendo a la vista muchas situationes

---

4. Manuel José Quintana, Obras completas, BAE, XIX, 90

> de calamidad y aflicción, y no advirtió que resultaría necesariamente una acción episódica, dispersa y menuda. Los personajes fantásticos que introdujo lo acaban de echar a perder.[5]

In time the initial evaluations were followed by more careful readings of the play by more open-minded critics who recognized positive aspects in Cervantes' creation. Gil y Zárate wrote the following brief but incisive comment:

> La Numancia es la única obra dramática de Cervantes de cuya lectura se saca algún provecho, pues, aunque falta unidad en el plan, aunque mezcla amores y episodios impropios, aunque el estilo decae muchas veces hasta ser trivial y bajo, hay cuadros bellísimos, escenas interesantes, rasgos admirables y trozos notables de versificación. En ellos se ve el templo del alma fuerte de Cervantes, y la Numancia es una prueba de que sabía elevarse hasta los más altos conceptos el mismo que en otras ocasiones era dueño de la risa con sus inagotables gracias.[6]

Early in the nineteenth century La Numancia came to the attention of European writers--Goethe, the Schlegel brothers, Schopenhauer, Sismonde de Sismondi, Shelley, to mention only a few--who praised the poetic-symbolic qualities of the action which bears upon the bonds of compassion and expresses a universal love of liberty, sentiments which appealed to the Romantic mode then prevailing. La Numancia was frequently compared to the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles because of its epic grandeur. The critics generally commended Cervantes' choice of such grandiose historical material while sympathizing with the difficulty of converting it into workable theater. Their evaluations tend toward subjective reactions to the work as a whole

---

5. Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Obras, BAE, II, 222

6. Gil y Zárate, Manual de literatura (Madrid, 1847), II, 84.

and thus lack analytic consideration of many elements, facets and problems of the play. August Wilhelm von Schlegel did get down to some specifics and pointed to the effects achieved through a collective protagonist and by the temporal nexus between the second century B.C. and the sixteenth century A.D. In a series of lectures given in Vienna in 1808 he made the following analysis:

> Fate dominates the whole play. The allegorical figures who appear between the acts represent, in a different way, almost the same function of the chorus in Greek tragedy--they direct the action and temper its movement. A great feat of heroism takes place, the most horrible afflictions are endured with integrity, but the individual incidents are suffered on behalf of the community, while the Roman heroes serve as instruments of destiny. Here is found, I would say, a Spartan pathos. Individuals are united through a collective concern for the country, and through a reminder of the recent military glory of his nation, the poet has connected ancient history with the present.[7]

The American scholar and educator, George Ticknor, author of the first comprehensive study of Spanish literature to be published in any language, the History of Spanish Literature (1849), investigated the history of Numantia, translated Cervantes' verses into English, and found the play to his liking: ". . . the whole piece has the merit of great originality, and, in several of its parts, succeeds in awakening strong emotions, so that, notwithstanding the want of dramatic skill and adaptation, it may still be cited as a proof of its

---

7. This is my translation of Armando Cotarelo y Valledor's Spanish translation from the collection of Schlegel's works, Uber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur (Heidelberg, 1809). Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, El teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1915), p. 129.

author's high poetical talent, and, in the actual condition of the Spanish stage when he wrote, as a bold and noble effort to raise it.[8]

In 1873, at the age of seventeen, the nineteenth-century "Monstruo de naturaleza," Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, wrote a short study entitled, "Cervantes considerado como poeta," intended to refute the commonly held opinion that Cervantes lacked poetic talent. He quotes at length from La Numancia to illustrate that Cervantes did create poetic moments and admirable verse. His analysis of the play is brief and provides no new insight, but his confirmation of its value in the development of Spanish drama contributed to a more serious consideration by other critics of its place in literary history. He wrote:

> La Numancia, obra más celebrada por los críticos extranjeros que por los nacionales, es sin comparación la obra de más mérito que produjo el teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> La Numancia está separada de todo lo que la rodea y forma época en la historia del teatro español, anunciando ya el drama nacional, tal como lo concibió Lope de Vega.[9]

---

8. George Tichnor, History of Spanish Literature, 2nd ed. (1849, rpt. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1963), II, 131.

9. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Obras completas. Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1941), I, 258, 268.

Armando Cotarelo y Valledor made the first comprehensive study of the historical record of Numantia and its use in Spanish literature.[10] He found that Cervantes probably relied most heavily upon the Crónica of Ambrosio de Morales for the historical information contained in La Numancia. Cotarelo also cites the romance, "De como Cipión destruyó a Numancia," included by Juan de Timoneda in his Rosa gentil,[11] as the source for the final episode in Cervantes play in which Bariato jumps from a tower to his death rather than surrender to Scipio.

A significant contribution to the study of La Numancia was made by Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla with the publication of a critical edition in 1920.[12] Their edition was based on an early seventeenth-century manuscript which, though defective in many ways, was thought to be more authoritative than Sancha's edition because of Sancha's known propensity to alter texts. Bonilla and Schevill unsuccessfully searched for the manuscript used by Sancha and suggested that it would be found in the library of the Hispanic Society of New York. The manuscript was found in 1962.[13] In their edition Bonilla and Schevill supply many footnotes indicating the variants between the two texts. They also supply valuable information on historical sources, mytho-

---

10. Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, El teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1915), pp. 119-182.

11. Juan de Timoneda, Rosa gentil (Valencia: Joan Navarro, 1573).

12. Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla, Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Comedias y entremeses (Madrid, 1920), V, 103-203.

13. A. Rodríguez-Moñino, "Reaparición de un manuscrito cervantino," Anuario de Letras, IV (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1964), 269-275.

logical allusions in the play, and the possible influence of the works of other authors. Their edition is complemented by an extensive study of all of Cervantes' plays.

Bonilla and Schevill concur with many other critics in finding that Cervantes surpassed his contemporaries because of his attempt to create works of art, poems for the stage, and because of his restrained usage of the dramatic conventions of the day. Thus in spite of its technical shortcomings--epic rather than dramatic structure, slight psychological development of the characters, statuesque scenes and sententious dialogue, poorly motivated entrances and exits--they suggest that if the spectator properly approaches La Numancia he will enjoy a work of poetic inspiration which can stand on its own poetic merits: ". . . el espectador deberá hacerse cargo de que esta escuchando una noble epopeya sobre la destrucción de una valerosa ciudad y el fin de una raza heroica. . ."

Joaquín Casalduero, as though responding to Bonilla and Schevill's suggestion that La Numancia be read as a poem, articulated his subjective reaction to Cervantes' play in an article published in 1948.[14] Recognizing that dramatic rhythm is continuous coherent action, he adjusts his mental focus (and this involves a willing suspension of attention to detail) so that he sees the action of the play as a series of large masses of background and characters in

---

14. Joaquín Casalduero, "La Numancia," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, II (1948), 71-87. This article was later included as a chapter in Casalduero's book, Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes (Madrid: Aguilar, 1951, pp. 274-299. Subsequent page references are to the article.

in actual or symbolic movement. Thus, though the spoken word at any point might give the static effect of an isolated block of narration in a series of many such blocks, the overall effect is constant movement. In an extension of this selective process Casalduero finds thematic unity in the plot in the continuity of interplay among the themes of "hunger," "sadness" and the dichotomy, "life in death." These themes are crystallized in the persons of Marandro, Teogenes, and Bariato. These characters serve as the nucleus of each theme and are in turn thematically reinforced by their allegorical counterparts, "España," "Guerra," and "Fama."

Rather than finding in the Numantians the spirit ("brio") for which they and their descendants of the region of Soria are famous, Casalduero finds a Christian submission to life's adversities: "Bariato explica su huida y su arrepentimiento cristiano, su conversión: 'Que si a esconderme aquí me trujo el miedo/ de la cercana y espantosa muerte/ . . . y el error de mi edad tierna inocente/ pagaré con morir osadamente."[15]

Casalduero's interpretation of La Numancia becomes very personal, a subjective association of the poetically expressed ideas of the play with concepts extrinsic to the play.[16] The poetry of the play leads him to the conclusion that La Numancia was written as a Christian allegory:

---

15. Casalduero, p. 85.

16. I find in Casalduero's interpretation of La Numancia a confirmation of the assumption that sixteenth-century Spanish audiences and playwrights viewed serious plays in a manner influenced by their conditioning to fusions of the moralities, miracles, mysteries, and

> . . . la tragedia pagana (el sentido antiguo de la Fama) queda imbuída de sentido christiano (todavía Escipión):
>
> por haber, derribándote, vencido
> al que, subiendo, queda más caído.
>
> El epíteto épico-trágico latino se ha convertido en una acción triste, que ha encontrado un armónico horrendamente patético en el tema del hambre, para convertirse en esa alegría final cristiana de la muerte que es vida, vida inmortal. Tal es el sentido de la obra, sentido íntimo y profundo que se expresa por medio de la lucha de Numancia contra Roma.[17]

Casalduero is of the opinion that Cervantes intended La Numancia to have the Christian message of happiness in death because of life after death. He points out that at the time the play was written, Spain was still a world power, and thus Cervantes did not intend and could not foresee the meaning that future generations have attached to it: a call to patriotism, to reform, to the defense of a Spain attacked from without:

> Este conflicto Numancia contra Roma históricamente ha suplantado y deformado el sentido de la obra, haciendo que el sacrificio numantino sirviera para sostener el patriotismo a los siglo XIX. Pero Cervantes no podía prever que las ciudades españolas serían cercadas por el enemigo, y que su ejemplo de virtud se particularizaría en ejemplo de virtud patriótica. A finales del primer Barroco, en la época en que Cervantes escribe la Numancia, los españoles eran los que sitiaban, no los sitiados, y por dos veces, como él mismo se complace en recordarlo, habían tenido a Roma bajo su poder . . . No es un canto para alentar a sitiados, sino para confirmar en su valor a sitiadores, y en mi opinión nunca se insistirá bastante en que éste es un sentido secundario.[18]

---

the tragedies of Seneca. Many of Casalduero's analyses of other literary works reflect that he has been conditioned in a special way by his extensive reading of his national literature.

17. Casalduero, p. 86.

18. Casalduero, p. 86.

It is of course possible that Cervantes conceived his play as a Christian allegory. His prose epic, Persiles y Sigismunda, lends itself well to the allegorical interpretation that its story of temporal peregrinations symbolizes the process of man's fall and progress towards redemption. The problem with La Numancia is that it contains no clues of correspondences between the expressed historical events and the implied Christian meaning found by Casalduero. Moreover, the imagery of "triste," "fama," and the Phoenix-like "vida-muerte" is pagan, as Casalduero points out.

A different interpretation of La Numancia is advanced by Gustavo Correa in his study of the theme of "Fame" in Cervantes' plays.[19] He finds that Cervantes perceived the play as a paean of heroic action in the face of a tragic destiny:

> La comedia nos muestra, por consiguiente, la superación del sino trágico y el triunfo sobre la muerte, en virtud de la presencia de la Fama. La sentencia de destrucción fijada de antemano por el sino adverso es convertida por los numantinos en un horrendo sacrificio ejecutado por ellos mismos en aras de la divinidad que ha de eternizar su nombre. La conquista de la muerte se realiza con el resugir de una vida más potente. El sacrificio se identifica, así, con el mito del ave Fénix, que vuelve a renacer de sus propias cenizas. El puñal fratricida y la hoguera levantada en medio de la plaza dan culminación al valor de los habitantes de la ciudad y siembran el germen de la renovación para los siglos venideros. La historia dará confirmación al mito profético cuando España, siglos más tarde, llegue a la cumbre de su poderío imperial. El concepto de la fama se halla en esta forma vinculado a la nación española en el sucederse de los amplios ciclos históricos. Cervantes proyecta esta pulsación de la España de su tiempo en el heroísmo trágico de La Numancia.[20]

---

19. Gustavo Correa, "La Fama en Cervantes, "Hispanic Review, XXVII (1959), 280-302.

20. Ibid., pp. 289-290.

William M. Whitby agrees with Casalduero's interpretation and suggests that it can be extended so that the themes of "hambre," "triste," and "muerte-vida" become subsidiary to the main theme of the play, "sacrificio."[21] Whitby finds the play divided into two movements, the one represented by the Numantian hope for life, the other by the Numantians' resignation to death. The turning point comes early in the second act when the Numantians realize that the Roman siege has cut off all hope for escape: "De toda nuestra ventura/ cerrado está ya el camino." Up to this point the Numantians were seeking a way ("camino") to physiological life; from this point on they seek a way to death. Earlier in the play this desperate point of view was a possible alternative:

> O sea por el foso o por la muerte,
> de abrir tenemos paso a nuestra vida:
> que es dolor insufrible el de la muerte,
> si llega cuando más vive la vida.
> Remedio a las miserias es la muerte,
> si se acrecientan ellas con la vida,
> y suele tanto más ser excelente
> cuanto se muere más honradamente.

Whitby comments:

> This octava is a significant passage in the Numancia. The first two verses give a double meaning to their final word "vida." "O sea por el foso" considers the possibility that some will escape (in the proposed night sally) with their physical existence; "o por la muerte" considers "muerte" itself as a "camino" to life after death (in fame, in the historical, pagan sense of the play; in eternal salvation, in the Christian terms in which the play is couched). The remaining verses consider the circumstances in which death is to be shunned and those in which it is to be sought, concluding with the idea that death can be a remedy, and an excellent one, if one dies well.[22]

---

21. William M. Whitby, "The Sacrifice Theme in Cervantes' Numancia," Hispania, XLV (May 1968), 205-210.

22. Ibid., p. 206.

After the turning point in the second act Whitby finds a series of actions on the part of individuals and groups--Teógenes, Marandro-Lira, Marandro-Leonicio, the priests, the Numantian men who decide to make a suicidal sally--that are intended to provide remedies to their situation, but all such remedies fail. The frustration resulting from these disconcerted attempts points to the source of their suffering, disunity:

> . . . the Spanish people, according to the allegorical figure España, suffered from a major vice, which was that of disunity. The Numantians, in Cervantes' play, must do penance for this vice, representing as they do the Spanish people. España says,
>
> Con justísimo título se emplea
> en mi el rigor de tantas penas fieras,
> pues mis famosos hijos y valientes
> andan entre sí mismos diferentes.
> Jamás entre su pecho concertaron
> los divididos ánimos furiosos;
> antes entonces más los apartaron
> cuando se vieron más menesterosos;
> y ansí con sus discordias convidaron
> los bárbaros de pechos codiciosos
> a venir a entregarse en mis riquezas
> usando en mi y en ellos mil cruezas.
>
> In Cervantes' interpretation of the siege of Numantia, the role which has been assigned to the town by destiny is that of a sort of expiatory victim for all of Spain's past lack of unity. Numantia is to do for Spain in a special limited sense what Christ would do for all mankind. So Numantia's self-sacrifice must be willingly undertaken.[23]

Whitby finds that a progression of experiences resulting in individual acceptance of death "expresses the communication of the will to death from one Numantian to another and are part of the chain which leads to unanimity in the resolution to seek life through death."

---

23. Whitby, p. 209.

The linkage of the will to die is completed with Bariato:

> The Bariato episode, more than continuing the idea of sacrifice, serves to epitomize the common accord of all of the Numantians to destroy themselves in token of their having reconciled their will to the distates of destiny. As the holocaust which the Numantians have made of their possessions and then of themselves fulfills España's prophecy that, like the phoenix, they will perish to renew their lives--in fame--, so the boy's act of throwing himself from the tower is a form of dying linked with the idea of living anew. In Bariato, the sole survivor of the population of Numantia, is epitomized all of that people. What Bariato's words mean on one level of understanding is that he is a worthy representative of the rebellious and individualistic nature of the Numantians--that he will not surrender to Scipio. But on another, broader plane of understanding, they should remind the reader or spectator that the Numantians, through uniting their wills in a common purpose to escape the Roman yoke and turn defeat into victory, have expiated the ancient sin of disunity to which España attributed her woes.[24]

Whitby's analysis of La Numancia indicates the measure of Cervantes' success in integrating elements from the moralities, miracles and mysteries--plays couched in Christian terms--with elements from pagan literature. The alternation and juxtaposition of elements from both traditions suggests meanings that are not explicitly stated. Thus there is a progression from the moral errors of the Romans to the sense of error on the part of the Numantians. This error is not articulated in terms of sin, but rather "España" articulates a failure of her peoples to conduct prudent policies of unity and war. Marandro's sacrifice of himself to save the life of Lira, accompanied with the offering of bread and blood, follows and extends the Numantians' concern for honorable death and fame to a concern for eternal salvation. Cervantes was developing the ability

---

24. Whitby, pp. 209-210.

to create plays with resonances that exceed those achieved by either his predecessors or his contemporaries.

More recently, critics have taken an interest in the aspects of militarism and imperialism found in La Numancia. Alfredo Hermenengildo points to Cervantes' patent empathy towards Scipio, the destroyer of Numantia:

> Escipión, perfectamente trazado, es el prototipo de hombre ordenado y de militar disciplinado. . . . Cervantes debió sentir nostalgias de su vida militar al describir la gran energía de mando que despliega Escipión. . . . Escipión es un soldado en toda la extensión de la palabra y trazado con la maestría y cariño de quien había corrido una de las mayores aventuras de su patria hispana. Cervantes veía en él un ídolo y se esforzó en describirlo.[25]

The influence of Cervantes's military career upon La Numancia is further developed by Ricardo Doménech in a manner that convincingly explains many aspects of the play that have frustrated previous critics. The key to Doménech's interpretation is his conception of Cervantes' life view at the time of his return from captivity, a life view not yet darkened by the later frustrations of youthful expectations:

> . . . este Miguel de Cervantes de 1580, no sólo dista mucho del Miguel de Cervantes desilusionado y escéptico de El Quijote, sino que es en cierto modo su antípoda. Estamos ante un hombre de treinta y tres años, que regresa a su patria teniendo en su haber una abnegada ejecutoria militar (por entonces, más que escritor, Cervantes es militar) y que, de algún modo, cree llegado el momento de recibir el pago a su hoja de servicios. . . El cautiverio en Argel, aunque proviniera de un revés del azar, que demoró, en cinco años el

---

25. Alfredo Hermenegildo, Los trágicos españoles del siglo XVI (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Fundación Universitaria Española, 1961), pp. 380-381.

> regreso del soldado a su patria, fue vivido, asumido por Cervantes de una manera particularmente heroica, convirtiéndose así en uno de sus más notables méritos.[26]

Cervantes' expression of patriotic pride did much to shape the structure and thought of La Numancia. Although Cervantes' play is very similar to the chronicle plays of his contemporaries, it also differs from them because it more closely reflects the world in which he lived. The other plays were based on past history. Cervantes based his play on a remote historical event but he imposed upon the framework of that history his own vision of contemporary Spain. Doménech finds in La Numancia a "pretext" for the expression of Cervantes' personal feelings:

> . . . Cervantes, al dramatizar el asedio de Numancia, de ningún modo se sentía impulsado por afanes de erudición, sino por el afán número uno de todo dramaturgo, que es plantear en los escenarios la propia historia contemporánea. El autor encontró en Numancia un pretexto--esto sí, un excelente pretexto--para hablar a los españoles de su tiempo de la grandeza española que estaban viviendo y protagonizando. Hacia esa finalidad se orienta la dramatización de la gesta de los numantinos, y ello explica el posible descuido del autor en algunos elementos accesorios.[27]

Doménech analyzes the characterization of Scipio and of the individual and collective Numantians, and finds that they are drawn to represent ideal standards of human behavior. They possess elevated senses of responsibility to country, to friends and to family. Their aspirations--liberty, justice, honor, valor, rightness with their gods--are of the highest quality. This idealism of an España soñada"

---

26. Miguel de Cervantes, La destrucción de Numancia, ed. Ricardo Doménech (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), p. 7.

27. Doménech, p. 14.

explains the presence of some otherwise apparent incongruencies in the play, and points to the difference between Cervantes of this period, in harmony with his world, and Cervantes of the later period when he developed a highly critical attitude towards the reality which surrounded him. Seen in this light--Numancia serving as the framework for a projection of the real and the ideal Spain of the sixteenth century--the episodes of the sacrificial rites and the raising of the dead youth take on ideological and organic significance. These scenes permit a depiction of the ideal sixteenth-century rational Spaniard the enlightened man who sees through superstitions. Leonicio epitomizes this ideal in his discussions with Marandro:

> Y repárese en que son dos las interpolaciones que desacreditan las ficciones mágicas, que el espectador acaba de presenciar. La insistencia denota, por lo menos, que hay en el autor un firme empeño en que nadie pueda aceptar verosimilitud alguna en los "desconciertos" de Marquino y los demás, y, desde luego, que él--Cervantes--no da estos por verosímiles. (Ya lo hemos dicho: la calidad del personaje Leonicio confiere a sus palabras una firme autoridad) . . . El autor está pretendiendo reflejar el estado ideológico primitivo de la Numancia del 133 a. de C., y las interpolaciones de Leonicio, como una adaptación del espíritu heroico numantino al espíritu racionalista contemporáneo. Y no es necesario añadir que es ese espíritu racionalista el que Cervantes presenta como ejemplar.[28]

The projection of idealism in La Numancia would seem to have indicated a new direction in serious tragedy. However, Doménech finds that the frustration of that trend was due not so much to a particular public taste but to the general frustration of the ideals which Cervantes was predicating:

---

28. Doménech, pp. 32-33.

> Que nadie siguiera a Cervantes en este camino por él abierto, y que fuese la comedia de Lope y el auto sacramental tardío lo que se impusiera en los escenarios, no invalida el que, implícitamente, la obra de Cervantes posibilitara muy amplias y excelentes perspectivas para el desarrollo dramático nacional. El hecho de que estas perspectivas quedaran por explorar, denota, en todo caso, un cierto tipo de frustración del teatro español y de la sociedad española de finales del XVI y comienzos del XVII.[29]

The theater is a fugitive art. Other than Cervantes' own brief references to the performance of La Numancia we have no direct insight into the response the play was intended to elicit nor how the play was played. The critical reviews first appeared some two hundred years after La Numancia was written and performed. These critical appraisals of the play are interpretations of a moment in time. Each bears the bias of the critic's epoch and personal taste. The range and diversity of the interpretations of La Numancia demonstrate at the very least that Cervantes' was successful in creating a work of esthetic and philosophical complexity. The body of criticism affirms once again the acuity of Cervantes in the expression of the contradictions of the human condition. The very value of the divergence of views found in the reviews lies in the explication of many individual elements so that present readers or spectators can understand that the parts of the play are in fact interrelated in such a way that the whole is greater than its parts, that the total meaning of La Numancia may be greater than any message found to be explicitly stated.

---

29. Doménech, p. 16.

SCIPIO AND STOICISM: THE EXAMINATION OF THE HUMAN CONDITION IN *LA NUMANCIA*

Scholars have established the probable sources of much of Cervantes' thought and thus have expanded our appreciation of his particular genius. Very little is known about Cervantes' formal education, but his works establish that he had great mental capacity. One aspect of his genius lay in his ability to assimilate vast quantities of information and syncretize that knowledge--whether it concerned matters of religion, philosophy, or literary theory--in works of art. The works of Cervantes are unique because the process of syncretism is not completed outside of the works but is plastically developed within the works themselves. Thus at any one point differing beliefs or points of view can be present in apparent or real opposition.

The principal source of the plot of *La Numancia* is the history of Numantia as found in the chronicles. Other aspects of the play are derived from Cervantes' imagination and from the dramatic conventions of the time. However, these sources do not account for all of the content of the play. The life view articulated by the characters of *La Numancia* indicates that Cervantes was drawing upon a fund of knowledge acquired through a wide-ranging reading of the literature available in Spain and Italy. Some of this literature--Seneca, Cicero, St. Augustine, etc.--was basic reading in liberal arts curricula, and while works of other authors, Petrarch, for example, might not have gained the status of basic texts, they were widely read during the sixteenth century.

The following discussion of the works which might have been influential in shaping Cervantes' thought at the time he wrote *La*

Numancia is not based on that kind of strong evidence obtainable from a direct comparison of passages from the work under study with passages from a primary source. Rather, general sources are suggested which explain Cervantes' choice of the history of Numantia as material for a play, and his personal treatment of that material.

Both prisoner-of-war and siege conditions have much in common. Both situations present privations, threat of injury or death, hunger, defeat, and threat of further humiliation. Such conditions give rise to sadness, thoughts about fate, justice, liberty, and the fleetingness of fame. Opportunities arise for the exercise of patriotism, honor, integrity, courage, and "patience in adversity." The confinement of besieged defenders or of prisoners intensifies inter-personal relationships and can give rise to both enhanced camaraderie and dissension.

The works of many writers could have influenced Cervantes' expression of his experiences in captivity, but it would seem that three writers principally influenced him in his treatment of ideas in La Numancia, and continued to influence him throughout his life: Cicero, Seneca and Petrarch. All three were fascinated by the image of Scipio.

Cicero probably exercised more influence upon Western thought during his own time and on through the Renaissance than any other single writer. His style was considered the epitome of Latin prose. His writings eclectically incorporated substantially all the thought of the previous great philosophers. His fascination with Stoic morality paved the way for an integration of pagan and Christian thought. Many of the Church Fathers--Lactantius, Jerome, Augustine--drew freely both from his ideas and from his style.

Cicero envisioned the ideal man as one who was guided by reason to an indifference toward sorrow and pain, found happiness in virtue, and valued tranquility of mind as the highest good. He embodied this ideal man in various personages, occasionally himself, but most frequently in Scipio Aemilianus. Cicero's Scipio was in part historic, in part an idealization to whom was attributed every virtue of the great figures of the past and the present.

In De Republica Scipio is the moderator of a discussion among his friends on the subject of good government. The ideas of the discussion are patterned selectively after Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoic philosophers. These ideas are a declaration of the value of the individual, of the governance of the universe by natural law, and the belief in discovery of natural law through reason.

An addendum to De Republica, Somnium Scipionis, further expands the concept of order in the universe and man's place in that order. The source of "Scipio's Dream" is thought to be the "Vision of Er" in Plato's Republic (Book X), in which Er comes to life on the funeral pyre and describes life in the other world, "the just descending the heavenly way to their reward, the unjust descending to the place of punishment." Scipio reveals his dream in response to a friend's complaint that public servants do not receive adequate recognition. Scipio tells that he was visited in a dream by his grandfather, Scipio Africanus, who predicted the conquest of Carthage, the fall of Numantia, and the political intrigue in Rome in which Scipio Aemilianus was to play an important part. The elder Scipio then takes his grandson to the Milky Way from where they observe the wonders of the universe, the nine spheres, the planets, the stars, and hear the music of the

spheres. Scipio Africanus enumerates the incentives to patriotism: the true life is the life after death; justice, natural affection, devotion to country and other virtues prepare one for eternal life. Earthly fame is to be lightly esteemed because it is limited to a small space and a brief time; a noble life is better than human glory, the soul is immortal, and men who have surrendered themselves to base passions reach heaven only after a long lapse of time. These considerations motivate Scipio Aemilianus to strive for moral rededication.

The idealized Scipio and his sententiae appear in many of Cicero's other works. Because of the fame of the "Scipionic Circle," much of the material deals with the quality and aspects of friendship. For Cicero the "Scipionic Circle" also embodied the concept of humanitas, that is, humanitarianism, a vital element of which was an awareness of common humanity, of the fundamental nature common to all men, as a positive and valuable thing in itself, and the belief that this awareness should lead to a sympathetic understanding of all the actions and passions of men. A. E. Astin points out that this interpretation was possible because Cicero's interests were mostly centered upon Scipio's culture and learning and not on his conduct in war as at Carthage or Numantia.[30]

Seneca continued the Stoic philosophy to which Cicero had given such polish a few generations before. In Seneca's restatement of Stoic thought there is a natural order to the universe. Man can attain

---

30. A. E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 303.

the highest good by living according to nature, a concept which includes a "know thyself" self-evaluation. Although Seneca recognizes that fate sweeps man along the course of life and causes accidents to befall him, it is also man who contributes to misfortune when he strays away from his nature and is compelled to desire and fear and becomes a slave to casual chance. The virtuous man can face the accidents of life with indifference, turning misfortune to good fortune through the exercise of the virtues--prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance (to which Augustine added the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity). In this respect Seneca's philosophical treatises are in conflict with the action of his tragedies in which the capricious and often malignant goddess Fortune plays the upper hand.

Reason is the key to Seneca's concept of the virtuous life. Through reason the wise man rules over his feelings, for it is through emotion that one is at the mercy of events. One of Seneca's most interesting and popular expressions of the power of reason is found in De Remediis Fortuitorum, a dialogue between Ratio and Sensus. Sensus cringes before the accidents of life--the loss of friends, loss of reputation, banishment, poverty, and death--but Ratio turns each misfortune into a positive experience.

A distinction must be observed in the influence of Seneca upon Spanish thought. First, there was a long-standing tradition of the study of Seneca's philosophical works. Pero López de Ayala, a

contemporary of Petrarch, cited Seneca frequently.[31] Secondly, although the tragedies of Seneca had been available as long as the other works (the Marquis of Santillana possessed some of them), the influence of Seneca as a playwright came later as the national theater emerged. There are marked differences between Seneca the philosopher and Seneca the playwright.

Seneca admired both Scipio Africanus and Scipio Aemilianus for their moderation and sense of duty. He employed Scipio's siege of Numantia to illustrate the Stoic's indifference towards good and bad fortune. The ideas expressed in this letter (LXVI) strongly suggest that Cervantes drew upon them for the philosophical content of his play:

> . . . to human virtues only one rule applies. For right reason is single and of but one kind. Nothing is more divine than the divine, or more heavenly than the heavenly. Mortal things decay, fall, are worn out, grow up, are exhausted, and replenished. Hence, in their case, in view of the uncertainty of their lot, there is inequality; but of things divine the nature is one. Reason, however, is nothing else than a portion of the divine spirit set in a human body. If reason is divine, and the good in no case lacks reason, then the good in every case is divine. And furthermore, there is no distinction between things divine; hence there is none between goods, either. Therefore it follows that joy and a brave unyielding endurance of torture are equal

---

31. In the introduction to his study of Lusio Marineo Sículo, A College Professor of the Renaissance (University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 1-38, Caro Lynn lists other Spanish men of letters who knew the works of Seneca, e.g., Pérez de Guzmán; Alfonso de Madrigal, "El Tostado;" and Alfonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos in the fourteenth century. Lynn comments, "The knowledge of the classics did not burst upon a nation languishing in literary dulness and famished for intellectual pabulum. Men not already interested in letters would not fall eagerly on Seneca, Pliny, and Quintilian (p. 30)."

> goods; for in both there is the same greatness of soul, relaxed and cheerful in the one case, in the other combative and braced for action. What? Do you not think that the virtue of him who bravely storms the enemy's stronghold is equal to that of him who endures a siege with the utmost patience? Great is Scipio when he invests Numantia, and constrains and compels the hands of an enemy, whom he could not conquer, to resort to their own destruction. Great also are the souls of the defenders--men who know that, as long as the path to death lies open, the blockade is not complete, men who breathe their last in the arms of liberty. In like manner, the other virtues are also equal as compared with one another: tranquility, simplicity, generosity, constancy, equanimity, endurance. For underlying them all is a single virtue--that which renders the soul straight and unswerving.[32]

This balanced evaluation of the many paths that virtuous conduct may follow is found in the dualism of Cervantes' empathy towards the Romans and the Numantians, an empathy epigrammatically stated by the resurrected Numantian: "amigos y enemigos siendo buenos."

The study of Cicero was one of the most significant experiences in Petrarch's life.[33] Petrarch's influence, in turn, his blending of love and reason, was one of the chief humanizing forces of the Renaissance. In matters of taste Petrarch was passionately pagan, in matters of faith he was intensely Christian. For Petrarch ancient Rome represented both the apex of cultural achievement and the eternal seat of God's Church on earth. He looked back on the grandeur of Rome's past as a lost paradise, at the present, with the Pope in exile in

---

32. Seneca, Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales, tr. Richard M. Gummere (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), II, 9-11.

33. Thomas G. Bergin, Petrarch (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), pp. 38, 61. Petrarch's letters, "addressed" to Cicero, add further insight into the esteem that Petrarch held for Cicero.

Avignon, as times out of joint, and to the future with hope in the restoration of the ancient virtues.

Petrarch's research for his history of the outstanding men of the past, De viribus illustribus, and a visit to Rome, led to the concentration of his interests in a single ideal man, Scipio Africanus, the savior of Rome from the forces of Hannibal during the Second Punic War. He expressed his admiration for Scipio in an epic poem, the Africa, which was to be his opus magnus, the justification for his coronation as poet laureate of Rome in 1341.

The principal sources of the historical and philosophical materials in the Africa were Cicero's Somnium Scipionis, Livy's Ab urbe condita libri, and Augustine's City of God. Petrarch's references to the epics of Homer, Virgil, Statius and Lucan give the measure of his ambition to create a grandiose work. The call to the muses, the invocation, the dedication to the monarch, the intervention of the gods, the supernatural machinery of Homer and Virgil, and the foretelling of fame in the future, are elements of interest in relation to their influence upon epics which were to follow--Torcuato Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata, Alonso de Ercilla's La araucana, Luis de Camoens' Os Lusiadas--but in regard to Cervantes' epic tragedy, La Numancia, the depiction of Scipio, a Scipio in part Scipio Africanus and in part Scipio Aemilianus, is of principal interest. In the Africa the Somnium Scipionis is altered so that it is Publius Cornelius, the father of Scipio Africanus, who appears and reveals that Scipio is destined to save Rome from destruction and thus will qualify for lasting fame. Throughout the poem Scipio is a paradigm of virtue.

An episode in Book V of the Africa is reminiscent of the Aeneas and Dido affair in the Aeneid, and coupled with the moral tradition of Cicero, Seneca, and Augustine, it is suggestive of the relationship of Marandro and Lira, a relationship which caused Leonicio some friendly concern in La Numancia. Massinissa (the grandfather of Jugurta, Scipio's aide during the siege of Numantia), falls in love with Sophonisba, the wife of the king of Libya. His dalliance is in conflict with the pursuit of the war against Carthage, and for this reason and for the sake of encouraging the practice of virtue, Scipio counsels Massinissa to put duty above passion. Also similar to scenes in La Numancia are Scipio's exhortation of his army, his admittance of the Carthaginian ambassadors to the Roman camp to negotiate a truce, the appearance of the allegorical figures of "Rome" and "Carthage," pleading their cases before Jove in heaven, and the prediction through the appearance of Homer in a dream, that Scipio's death in exile will be over-shadowed and compensated for by the singing of his praises in the land of Italy by a poet of the future.

If, as of course it is possible, Cervantes did not have first-hand knowledge of the Africa, he could have encountered Scipio in almost any of the other numerous works of Petrarch.[35] The Trionfi,

---

35. Aldo S. Bernardo, Petrarch, Scipio and the "Africa"--The Birth of Humanism's Dream (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1962), pp. 72-102, lists Petrarch's other works in which Scipio appears: De viris, Rerum memorandarum libri, Seniles, Familiares, Trionfi, Espistolae metricae, De vita solitaris, De otio religioso, Invective contra medicum, De remedius utriusque fortunae, and the list goes on. Scipio appears in them as a model of secular virtue.

a work that has been of perennial interest because of the appearance of Laura in it, is particularly relevant to Cervantes' La Numancia because of the triumph of fame over death. In the Trionfi Scipio appears as one of Petrarch's favorites who have gained immortality through virtue and service to their country. Ernest Hatch Wilkins indicates the importance of the Trionfi as an influence on subsequent literature:

> The six Triumphs of Petrarch constituted the most triumphant poem of the early Renaissance: for a hundred years and more they outshone both the Divine Comedy and Petrarch's own sonnets and canzoni. Their extraordinary immediate success came to them because to their first readers they seemed at once familiar and novel--familiar in their concern with love and in their visionary character, in their vivid evocation of dimly remembered persons and processions of the ancient world. The pictorial character of the Triumphs made them at once a welcome resource both for painters, who depicted them on cassoni, on panels, on canvases, and in frescoes, and for workers in other media, who treated the Triumph theme in woodcuts, in engravings, in bas-reliefs, in bronze plaques, on armor, in stained glass, and in tapestries. The Triumphs have then a historic cultural importance: they possess enduring values as well. They do not equal the lyrics of Petrarch in poetic excellence, and there are passages that are of little interest to a modern reader. But the sequence of the later Triumphs has grandeur--fame triumphs over death, time over fame, eternity over time . . .[36]

In the Triumph of Fame, Scipio is given an enviable place in the company of Fame:

> . . . as I gazed across the grassy vale
> I saw appearing on the other side
> Her who saves man from the tomb, and gives him life.
>
> . . . . . .

---

36. Francesco Petrarca, The Triumphs, Trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962), p. v.

> Those who attended her bore on their brows
> The signs of worthiness: among them were
> Some I had seen aforetime bound by Love.
> At her right hand, where first I bent mine eyes,
> Were Scipio and Caesar; but which one
> Was closer to her I could not discern.
> One of the twain served virtue and not love,
> The other served them both . . .[37]

The Numantians in Cervantes' play are motivated by a series of three concerns. First, they seek to defend their liberty; secondly, under heavy pressure from the Roman siege, they seek a reasonable solution; and thirdly, when defeat is unavoidable, they seek to acquit themselves with honor so that their fame will compensate for their loss. The articulation of these concerns is couched in Stoic terms. At times the Numantians discuss virtue as a means to avoid error, at times a plea is addressed to the elements of universal order, and at times they consider "remedies against fortune" in paraphrastic versions of Seneca's De Remediis Fortuitorum, or Petrarch's De remedius utriusque fortunae. Finally, when no Numantians survive, Fame confirms the virtue of the heroic defenders.

A reading of La Numancia in the light of Stoic thought (and the history of Numantia was always associated with Stoic thought--Scipio and his friend, Polybius, the first chronicler of Numantia, were Stoics, and most of the subsequent historians, including the Spanish chroniclers, evidenced Stoic learning) is in contradiction with the interpretations of those who read the play only as a Christian allegory of death,

---

37. Wilkins, pp. 73-74.

redemption, and eternal life. Rather than an inherent opposition of ideas, however, the play of ideas in La Numancia can be viewed as that particular dualism which is the hallmark of Cervantes ("la gran originalidad de Cervantes, lo que forma la clave de sus más altas producciones, es, con el sistema de la doble verdad").[38] Here Cervantes is working with the dramatic conventions, with Christian conventions or imagery which suggests Christian thought, and with the ethical traditions of Greek and Roman literatures. Within his particular syncretic method there is no need to wholly "Christianize" the material which he incorporates in his work. The audience would not have found La Numancia unusual or controversial, because they had been conditioned to accept the very conventions which Cervantes was using in his play, even the intermingling of pagan and Christian concepts. If they sensed anything different in La Numancia it would have been that it was less declamatory but more profound than the other plays they were seeing at that time.

Américo Castro, speaking of Cervantes' works in general, is of the opinion that the ability to believe like a Christian, yet think like a philosopher, requires dissimulation between publicly and privately expressed views:

> Sería, pues, un error suponer necesaria congruencia entre el Cervantes que glosa una redondilla en alabanza de San Jacinto para las justas que en su honor celebran los padres predicadores de Zaragoza y el Cervantes que ejercita la crítica, la sátira o construye una moral de acuerdo con el buen sentido, sin ánimo de que esto afecte

---

38. Américo Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes, p. 30.

> a su catolicismo ni, sobre todo, trasciende al dominio de lo públicamente declarado. El lazo que mantiene unidas ambas actitudes es la habilidad y el disimulo de Cervantes.[39]

In the section of this study devoted to the influence of dramatic conventions upon Renaissance drama it was stated that Cervantes was to the delopment of Spanish drama as Marlowe was to the development of English drama. Marlowe, like Cervantes, has been accused of heterodoxy. Yet perhaps he was working with ideas in an artistic manner, seeking to derive the maximum in reverberations from their interplay. Robert E. Knoll suggests that Marlowe's plays should be read as moral works of art, not as moralistic essays:

> Some critics hold, as I do, that Marlowe, being neither a melodramatist nor a preacher, provides a persuasive dramatic statement of what attracts us away from Christianity--even as he shows the dangers of departing from it. In this way he is the prototypical figure of the Renaissance in England.[40]

The fact that Cervantes neither wrote patently religious nor pagan works does not give the clue to his personal creed, and an attempt to categorize Cervantes on the basis of his esthetic creations is as pointless as the attempts to determine whether Shakespeare was a Catholic or a Protestant, or a believer or an atheist. The history of the development of Christian doctrine demonstrates that as early as the fifth century it would have been difficult to separate Greek, Roman and other philosophies out of the canon of Judeo-Christian thought. Cervantes lived in an age when authors turned to the ancient

---

39. El pensamiento de Cervantes, p. 251.

40. Robert E. Knoll, Christopher Marlowe (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969), p. 24.

pagan writers both for their prestige and for their great wealth of ideas. In sixteenth-century Spain it made little difference if a source was pagan or Christian as long as the ideas were expressed well and exemplarily appropriate. To borrow an adjective from Rosa María Lida de Malkiel, Cervantes, like Juan de Mena long before him, had a great capacity for "sacro-profane" impartiality and objectivity.[41]

---

41. Rosa María Lida de Malkiel, El concepto de la fama en la edad media castellana (Mexico, 1950), p. 279.

HISTORICAL DETAIL IN LA NUMANCIA

Dramatists of the end of the sixteenth century sought the material for their plays in sources that had a long-standing tradition--history from the chronicles, legend from the canciones de gesta and the romancero, the Bible, and the most frequent source, the literatures of Greece and Rome. Age gave these sources an aura of substantiality and authority which the authors felt was needed in their works.

A reading of La Numancia reveals that Cervantes had carefully studied the history of Numantia. The play is rich in detail throughout. The names of the tributary streams which join the Duero river at Numantia, the names of Scipio's officers, and the details of Scipio's methods closely follow the historical accounts. But the historical detail and the general circumstances of the siege are only a small part of the play.

The chronicles provided a good background on the dealings of the Romans with the Iberians, but little detailed information on the interaction of individuals, the kind of information necessary to make a play come to life. Scipio, of course, represents an exception, for there was much historical and legendary information available on his personality and life.

The lack of details in the personal lives of the Numantians in the historical sources would present no problem to playwrights of later periods as they would merely exercise their imagination to invent all sorts of incidents. It did present a serious barrier to the dramatists of the pre-Lopian period, however, because they were

esthetically and psychologically conditioned to imitate sources with a minimum of inventive elaboration. The mysteries, growing out of the trope of the mass, seemed more open to the development of personality than the other plays. The twelfth-century auto, Misterio de los Reyes Magos, shows the beginnings of character development. The Auto de Caín y Abel of Jaime Ferruz, mentioned earlier, represents a later stage in the development of personalities. But when authors dealt with history they felt more constrained even though they were converting history into literature. Cervantes' dicta, perhaps articulated with tongue in cheek, (Don Quixote, Part I, Chapter 9), states the sixteenth-century attitude:

> . . . habiendo y debiendo ser los historiadores puntuales, verdaderos y no nada apasionados, y que ni el interés ni el miedo, el rencor ni la afición, no les hagan torcer del camino de la verdad, cuya madre es la historia, émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones, testigo de lo pasado, ejemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir.

In the drama this attitude was reflected in Torres Naharro's division, arbitrary in theory, of plots "a noticias" and "a fantasia" which was a harbinger of the future neo-Aristotelian debates over historic truth and poetic truth.

Cervantes, confronted with a historical source that provided a dramatic situation but almost no details on the life within the besieged city (only a few names of individuals, the fact that they did attempt to negotiate with the Romans, that they did attempt to break the Roman encirclement, that they suffered greatly from hunger, and

that the town ceased to exist after the siege was successful) was forced to fill out the story in order to have a plot. The main departures from the historical records are: the allegorical figures and their predictions concerning fifth and sixteenth-century Spain; the attribution of a Numantian governmental organization along the lines of the Roman senate; the belief of the Numantians in the gods of ancient Rome--Jupiter, Mars, Diana, Pluto, and others; and the implication that the Numantians possessed luxury items covetable by the Romans, ". . . perlas del rosado Oriente,/ y el oro en mil vasijas fabricado,/ y el diamante y rubí más excelente,/ y la estimada púrpura y brocado . . ." The suicidal leap of Bariato was not an invention of Cervantes, but an incorporation of literary legend.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER

Critics have been quick to point to the lack of psychological penetration into the characters of La Numancia. They are for the most part characterless personages rather than personalities. They move and talk but they do not live. A comparison of La Numancia with other plays indicates that this was a characteristic of the period, a convention in part imposed from without by the limitations of the historical sources.

The playwrights of Cervantes' time also tended to diffuse the interest in individual personality among several leading characters, and this convention inhibited the development of strong antagonistic-protagonistic tension as well as psychologically well-defined persons. La Numancia is the tragedy of a people struggling against obliteration

and it was not Cervantes' intention to create characters who would sharply stand out from the others in the collective struggle. The technique employed called for a minimization of the kind of personal details that would have conveyed the illusion of a life independent of the life onstage.

On the Roman side only Scipio is developed as a personality who has ideas and reacts in a personal way to the events of the siege. His present is tied to his past, and his future is projected beyond the goal of conquering Numantia. He is after a Triumph in Rome.

Teógenes, the Numantian leader, exercises little leadership since the emphasis in the play is on the collective action of the people. The only real indication that he is a person of stature comes when his offer to represent Numantia in the proposed duel with a Roman is discouraged on the grounds that it does not befit his rank. Cervantes only gave directions for the costuming of the priest, Marquino, and the allegorical figures, and thus we do not know whether he visualized Teógenes, Caravino, and the Roman officers as dressed in distinctive garb which would indicate their importance. The scene following Marandro's death is interesting because the Numantian warrior who comes upon the scene in pursuit of a Numantian woman ("con una daga para matalla") immediately breaks off his attempt to catch and execute her upon being addressed by Lira. He refuses to kill Lira because of her beauty; social deference was not a factor. Surely she was dressed a little better than average, not because of social class, as only one class is indicated, but because she is the <u>dama</u> of the play.

Lira and Marandro are the only Numantians with independent personalities. Their relationship had its roots outside of the time represented in the play and it is a relationship thwarted by the action of the play. Their relationship thus achieves both relevance to the main plot and independence from it. An illusion of reality pervades Lira and Marandro's scenes as they converse in redondillas, verses which have a fitting conversational quality as well as a highly lyrical quality.

The accumulation of suffering of the numerous Numantians incites the spectator to pity, but as they are mostly nameless representative figures, and not identifiable individuals, it is difficult to become emotionally involved with their plight. The situation is different with Lira and Marandro. They both demonstrate that they are admirable individuals, caring for each other and for the others. The hopelessness of their situation, their frustrated plans for marriage, their emotional involvement, involves the spectator. Through their love we discover and appreciate what else is being lost by all the Numantians. It brings home the deepest theme of the play, the tragic predicament of human beings valiantly struggling for the fundamental values of life in the face of overwhelming odds.

There is an interesting contrast between the reaction of an unnamed Numantian as he comments to his companion on the condition of a woman who passes within their view ("Mas ves allí a do asoma, hermano una/ que como sabes fue de mí querida/ un tiempo, con estremo tal de amores,/ cual es el que ella tiene de dolores") and the still vital love of Lira and Marandro. The love of Lira and Marandro

represents the ideal which Cervantes so often depicted in his later works. Their love is an outgrowth of spontaneous choice with no imposition of will of one party upon the other. What a relationship of this harmonious nature lacks in dramatic tension is off-set by its inherent lyricism.

There is the possibility of finding in Cervantes' treatment of the love of Lira and Marando a didactic intent because their elevated virtue contrasts with the lasciviousness attributed to the Roman legions. The contrast is there, but Cervantes does not make an open effort to moralize over it. His handling of this idealistic relationship represents a transitional step from love as a biologically motivated drive, as found in many sixteenth-century plays, toward the more sentimental and romantic relationships found in the plays of Lope de Vega.

The development of the personality of Scipio presents another interesting case. He is depicted in the first part of the play as a model military leader devoted to carrying out the order of the Senate to subjugate Numantia. He prepares his moves with care and executes them with confidence. He finds the "diez y seis años" that Rome has bungled the war, at a cost of "millares de millares de romanos," a disgrace and a blot upon Rome's reputation. He is motivated by a sense of duty, a positive value, and by pride and a desire to exact revenge, values more difficult than duty to maintain in proper perspective. His pride and his anger show through in his harsh reply to the Numantian ambassadors:

¡Tarde de arrepentidos dáis la muestra!
Poco vuestra amistad me satisface;
de nuevo, ejercitad la fuerte diestra,
que quiero ver lo que la mía hace;
ya que ha puesto en ella la ventura
la gloria nuestra, y vuestra sepoltura.
A desvergüenza de tan largos años
es poca recompensa pedir paces.
Seguid la guerra y renovad las daños.
Salgan de nuevo las valientes haces.

Whether Scipio wants the total destruction of Numantia or only its unconditional surrender is not clear:

. . . si en nuestro favor quiere mostrarse
el cielo, quedará sujeta España
al senado romano, solamente
con vencer la soberbia de esta gente.

Perhaps the effect desired at this point by Cervantes is a heightening of the importance of Numantia as the key to Iberian resistance since there was no chance for the subjugation of Spain as long as Numantia survived.

In the last act, when the siege has brought about the desired result and Scipio receives the report that no Numantians survive, he experiences disillusionment in the victory which cost the total destruction of the enemy. Momentarily he senses that his zeal may have caused him to over-reach reasonableness:

¿Estaba por ventura el pecho mío
de bárbara arrogancia y muertes lleno,
y de piedad justísima vacío?
¿Es de mi condición, por dicha, ajeno
usar benignidad con el rendido,
como conviene al vencedor que es bueno?
¡Mal por cierto, tenían conocido
el valor, en Numancia, de mi pecho,
para vencer y perdonar nacido!

However, Scipio's loss of confidence is brief. On receiving the news that a Numantian survives he breaks off his soul-searching and contemplates the glory of public recognition. One Numantian prisoner would constitute the visible evidence of triumph over the enemy and thus he would qualify for the ritual of the Triumph in Rome, the symbolic confirmation of fame:

> Si eso fuese verdad, eso bastaba
> para triunfar en Roma de Numancia,
> que es lo que más agora deseaba.

Recognition of the tragic waste of Numantia comes to Scipio only after Bariato demonstrates one more time the more noble spirit of Numantia.

The vacillation in the conduct and conviction of Scipio demonstrates Cervantes' understanding of realistic character development and his sense of the tragic. Scipio's recognition of defeat in victory increases the tragic dimension of the history of Numantia. Scipio is made to suffer for his excessive ambition and his reckless disregard for human life. Even wars of conquest are subject to certain standards of decency and morality.

PLOT STRUCTURE

Four basic movements make up the story of La Numancia: Scipio's efforts to defeat Numantia, Numantian efforts to resist the Roman attack, the Marandro-Lira love relationship, and the Marandro-Leonicio friendship. Numantia's plight is the center of interest. Cervantes chose to develop in some detail the events surrounding Scipio. The development of Scipio as a strong character creates a good foil for valorous Numantia but it divides the action and the interest between the two opposing forces. The physical separation of the Roman camp

from the besieged city predicated an episodic handling of the events in each location unless the two were to interact. They do, but on a limited scale. The Numantian ambassadors appear in the Roman camp and the Romans finally gain entry into the city. All other action between the two takes place in verbal exchanges shouted across the distance separating the city wall from the Roman lines. Except for Bariato's leap in the final scene, no other action between the Romans and the Numantians takes place on the stage--we do not witness the sally and struggles of Marandro and Leonicio nor any battle between the Romans and the Numantians. This kind of action is either narrated after the fact by persons who had been present or by on-stage personages, real and allegorical, as they witness off-stage action from a distance. The relationship of Lira and Marandro is intimate and logically requires privacy, thus contributing to an episodic separation of them from the other Numantians even though Leonicio does his best to involve himself in their affairs.

The episodic division of the action in La Numantia, rather than a skillful articulation of scenes, would not of itself seriously detract from the effectiveness of the play were it not for the rather static quality of the speeches and the verbal rather than acted representation of the action. Although later periods would become more sophisticated through experience and avoid the episodic structure, there was precedence for it in the historical development of mysteries and miracles in the feast-day processional plays, and in the closet-drama techniques employed by Seneca.

LANGUAGE, DECLAMATION, AND VERSE FORMS

In spite of the efforts of the poets, a national epic was not written in Spain in the sixteenth century. Students of the epic agree that epic poetry is generally produced during a period of national strength. Patric Dickinson expresses the opinion that the conditions for producing an epic are uncommon, that epic poetry and strong tragedy appear when a people emerge from a past of political and social unrest and look forward to a period of peace under a leader they can trust and respect:

> The important point is that Shakespeare and Vergil, both supremely great artists, lived in times where there was the same sort of unusual situation to deal with: a prolonged period of strife seeming to produce the ruler, in his just hour, who was for peace. The greatest artists . . . know the illusion and futility of the idea that war is a success. "Most great poems are concerned with wickedness, violence, and horror. But often, at least among civilized people, the whole tendency of the same poems is really towards peaceful goodness, humanity and reconciliation." So writes the greatest living Vergilian scholar, Professor W. Jackson Knight. His words are abundantly true of the Aeneid; and the progress of epic poetry in the Western world adds confirmation to them . . . Epic poetry in the West seems likely to appear after prolonged periods of strife. One might say, then why not all the time? But there are moments in which the majority of human beings are led to believe that the ruling minority is not working for the next period of strife, but consolidating on the last. This is called peace.[42]

It is difficult to characterize the national mood of Spain of the last half of the sixteenth century. It was not a period of clear-cut confidence in national goals nor a period of disillusionment with the unfulfilled promises of the past. The poetry of the major poets reveals

---

42. Vergil, The Aeneid, tr. Patric Dickinson (New York: Mentor Books, 1961), pp. 304-307.

pressures to make the age heroic. The poets chose elevated styles, exalted language, and themes which stirred patriotic emotions. The Battle of Lepanto, 1571, a much needed victory, was eagerly seized upon by the poets. The loss of the Armada in 1588 undermined public confidence and the poets turned away from heroic poetry.

The majority of the sixteenth-century tragedies were written during the decade of 1580-1590. A reading of these tragedies reveals that most of the tragedians were striving for sensational effects rather than an examination of the human condition. Strong drama--tragedy--like epic poetry, comes from periods of strong faith in the value and dignity of man. Cervantes, perhaps because of his long absence from the country, had the confidence to write a strong tragedy.

The plays written during the decade of 1580-1590 were displays of declamatory virtuosity. The style--an outgrowth of the two-fold influence of traditional high-flown oratory and Senecan bombast--suited both the writers and the audience. The illusion of action in the plays was in the spoken word, not in the acting. The neutral stage and the limited amount of props and costuming contributed in a very real way to this style of representation. It is not a question of better or worse technique, but of a different kind of theater than that which developed later.

The drama and heroic poetry of this period paralleled each other closely in verse form, language, choice of subject matter, and classical allusions. As remarked earlier, the epic poem became very popular after the appearance of Alonso de Ercilla's La Araucana. Bonilla and

Schevill have demonstrated that Cervantes knew and used La Araucana as a source of inspiration for many aspects of La Numancia.[43]

The principal epic poems of the last half of the sixteenth century--La Araucana (1569), Os Lusiadas (1572), and the Monserrate (1587) of Cristóbal de Virués--all inspired by the Italian epic tradition, employed the octava real exclusively in an effective union of verse form and content. The epic poem was a long narrative with little or no representation of dialogue, and the eleven syllable verse of the octava real suited its purpose well. However, extended use of the octava real in a play, especially in long speeches (and the writers were not wont to break the octave up in stichomythia), creates a monotonous effect. Scipio's opening speech, one octave, is very effective. His harangue of his troops is 104 verses long, thirteen octaves. Mario's reply, saying in effect, "Let's indicate our compliance with the general's order," takes up thirty verses. The last two verses of the fourth octave are spoken by two soldiers and then by the assembled army, a rare case of stichomythia. The peroration of "España" requires eighty-eight verses, the response of "Duero" requires ninety-six verses. The Numantians demonstrate a similar, though somewhat reduced verbosity.

Bonilla and Schevill counted the verse forms employed in La Numancia and provided the following tabulation:[44]

---

43. Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla, Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Comedias y Entremeses (Madrid, 1920), V, 280-356.

44. Bonilla and Schevill, V, 162-165.

Total verses	2,448
versos sueltos	74
percentage of total	(3.0%)
octavas	1,408
percentage of total	(57,5%)
tercetos	374
percentage of total	(15.2%)
redondillas	592
percentage of total	(24.2%)

The tabulation demonstrates that some seventy-five percent of the play is written in hendecasyllabic verse--a good indication that Cervantes visualized his treatment of the history of Numantia in epic terms. Octavas make up only eleven per cent of Los tratos de Argel, and the resultant effect is altogether different.

As in other plays of the day there is no particular concern for verisimilitude in language in La Numancia. All the personages tend to speak at the same level of erudition and sententiousness. Little concern for concision is evident. In matters of vocabulary there is a high frequency of Latinate words, and recourse is had to a stock of words which had gained a certain quality of dramatic impact through usage in classical heroic poetry and in the heroic poetry of Spain. Many of the words were derived from nautical terminology: "nave," "puerto," "mastiles," and "velas." There is also a high frequency of usage of words of Biblical origin that had been traditionally employed in human conflict: "justicia," "concordia," and "discordia."

THE EPISODE OF THE RAISING OF THE DEAD NUMANTIAN

Just as many of the speeches in La Numancia and the language in which they are expressed are designed for their rhetorical impact rather than for a more integrated function of moving the plot, there

are certain scenes that appear to have been included mainly for their ability to startle the audience. The most notorious is the scene in which Marquino, the Numantian necromancer, raises a youth from the dead in order to determine what the future holds for his people. This scene follows closely after the appeal of the priests to the gods has brought in response a series of bad omens: the fire on the altar is difficult to ignite, the flames and the smoke rise in opposite directions, the earth trembles and comets pass overhead ("Hácese ruido debajo del tablado con un barril lleno de piedras, y dispáres un cohete volador"), a squadron of eagles attacks a flight of birds, and a devil removes the sacrificial calf. The Numantians see in these happenings sure signs of doom.

It had already been agreed upon that Marquino would do whatever necessary to ascertain the cause of Numantia's misfortune. Cervantes could have merely reported Marquino's findings by a verbal report in the same manner that he employed to inform the spectator of much of the action. That he chose to depict the scene on the stage in detail indicates he considered it an important feature.[45] Subsequent generations do not share his opinion--the scene is frequently deleted in modern productions of his play or modern revisions of it.[46]

---

45. A similar situation involving the prophecy of a resurrected corpse is included by Juan de Mena in El laberinto de Fortuna, a poetic rendition of history. Mena found the witching scene of Lucan's Pharsalia irrestible, or, as Menéndez y Pelayo observed, "La fantasía de Juan de Mena, ardiente y algo tétrica, como la de Lucano, se enamoró de este episodio, y le transplantó audazmente a la historia de su tiempo." Antología de poetas líricos castellanos (Madrid: "Biblioteca Clásica," 1890), V, introduction p. CLXX.

46. Modern productions of La Numancia are discussed in Chapter XIII of this study.

In general the appeal of the "horror scene" endures to this day, although its inclusion is expected to be structurally and thematically relevant. Cervantes' inclusion of the tortured resurrection of the young Numantian fits into the Senecan mode of theatrics, but the origin of it can be traced back to the epic poem of Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, entitled De bello civili, commonly known as the Pharsalia. The effect that Lucan sought to achieve in his poem is explained by J. D. Duff: "It appears that his purpose is less to charm his readers than to startle them and make their flesh creep; and with this object he has constant recourse to extravagant exaggeration or repulsive detail."[47]

Throughout the Pharsalia there is a pervading sense of insecurity:

> . . . every heart was disturbed by presentiments of war; it was plain that the stern hour of final decision was at hand, and that doom was drawing nearer and nearer. Base minds quaked and dwelt upon the worst; a few, fortifying themselves beforehand for the uncertain issue, felt hope as well as fear. Among the helpless throng was Sextus . . . Fear urged him on to learn beforehand the course of destiny.[48]

The fear of the unknown also causes Pompeius to seek out the witch Erictho, a Thessalian woman who had the power to reveal the future. She searches out a corpse, and after performing various gruesome tasks, succeeds in recalling its ghost. She then lashes the corpse until the dead man speaks and reveals what he has seen

---

47. Lucan, The Civil War, tr. J. D. Duff (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), xi.

48. Ibid., p. 335.

in the realm of the dead. He finishes his revelation with the prophecy: "Let not short-lived glory trouble you; the hour will soon come that makes all the leaders equal . . . and the battle of the rivals settles nothing but their place of burial . . ."[49] The man then demands that he be allowed to die once more.

As the subject of the Pharsalia is civil war it was natural that it would influence the work of Juan de Mena in his epic poem, El laberinto de Fortuna, written during the reign of John II in the fifteenth century when internecine strife seriously affected the progress of the Reconquest. In El laberinto a witch is enlisted to determine the future of Don Álvaro de Luna, the king's favorite and the Condestable of Castile. The witch performs rites, encantations, conjurations, and threats upon the gods until she finds a body suitable for her purposes. After working hereself into a rage she takes a live serpent and scourges the body to force its spirit to return. It reports that the discord among Castilians is the cause of the troubles in the land, and that the Condestable will soon be deprived of all that he possesses.

Many authorities have pointed to the influence of El laberinto found throughout Cervantes' works--La Numancia, El trato de Argel, the Quixote, the Persiles, and the Viaje del Parnaso. Certain verses of La Numancia were obviously derived from El laberinto. That both authors took advantage of the nature of the events of their narration to draw moral inferences accounts in part for their episodic structure

---

49. Ibid., p. 365.

and for the consideration of many of the same themes: fortune, fate, fame, just war, national discord, avarice, and reason. Furthermore, the frequency of classical allusions creates a superficial similarity between the two works. However, there are enough differences in the witching scenes of both to permit the supposition that Cervantes was not only familiar with Juan de Mena's works, but also with the Pharsalia, a work that was widely read in the sixteenth century.

In La Numancia the body that Marquino seeks must be free of wounds and disease and only recently dead. In this manner Cervantes ties in the scene with the theme of sacrificial cleanliness and purity of spirit emphasized in the preceding sacrifices to the gods. This is at variance with the Pharsalia in which the witch opened the bodies of the dead in search of a proper host for a ghost, and with El laberinto in which the body of a soldier who fell in an unjust battle, and thus was denied burial, was chosen. Marquino invokes the spirits of Hell, then threatens and whips the dead body. Finally the body rises and reveals the outcome of the war:

> . . . Numancia . . .
> . . . acabará a las mismas manos
> de los que son a ella más cercanos.
> No llevarán romanos la victoria
> de la fuerte Numancia, ni ella menos
> tendrá del enemigo triunfo o gloria,
> amigos y enemigos siendo buenos.

The significance of the verse, "amigos y enemigos siendo buenos," seems out of place in the context of the impasse between the will of the Romans to conquer Numantia, and the contrary will of the Numantians to refuse surrender without honor. However, this attitude towards war was derived from the Stoic attitude towards good and bad fortune. Seneca considered the victory of Scipio and the defeat of

Numantia as equal opportunities for the exercise of virtue. In the Pharsalia, the resurrected body advised that the "battle of the rivals settles nothing." In La Numancia the unnamed "Cuerpo" has already indicated his detachment from earthly life and his displeasure with the prospect of having to go through the act of dying twice. Through death he has acquired that non-partisan objectivity of the dead which Leonicio observes: "que poco cuidan los muertos/ de lo que a los vivos toca." With the passage of time Spaniards would acquire a measure of that objectivity in regard to the Roman conquest of the Celtiberians--both Romans and Celtiberians, from a nationalistic point of view, would be regarded with indifference. Stoicism and objectivity explains the lack of development in La Numancia of dramatic conflict between a clear-cut protagonist and antagonist. Scipio, as several commentators have pointed out, is developed as an admirable figure who conducts himself well in the pursuit of a military objective. Imperialism, subject to the observance of certain fides, was a positive goal in Roman times and certainly was not disdained in sixteenth-century Spain. From the standpoint of dramatic technique, the result is what Bruce Wardropper finds in Juan de la Cueva's La muerte del rey don Sancho to be a "cuasi-empate," a stalemate of dramatic tension.[50] But since La Numancia is carried along by rhetoric and spectacle, the sixteenth-century viewed probably was fully satisfied with the result.

---

50. Bruce W. Wardropper, "Juan de la Cueva y el drama histórico," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, IX (1955), 154

THE ALLEGORICAL FIGURES AND RELIGIOUS RITUAL AS STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

The use of allegorical figures--Duero and her tributaries, España, Guerra, Hambre, Enfermedad, and Fama--has drawn more critical fire than any other aspect of La Numancia. It is as though Cervantes, through their inclusion, was committing some breach of esthetic principle, while in fact he was conforming to the dramatic conventions of his day. The presence and intervention of the gods in the affairs of men, and the personification of natural features (rivers, for example) was commonplace in the plays of the time, and the practice had a long-standing tradition in both classical and Spanish literature. These traditions were reinforced by the highly allegorical literature of the Italian Renaissance. Dante set the pattern for spiritual allegory, Petrarch for the personification of the profane. The coalescence of Spanish, classical, and Italian allegory can be seen in Juan de Mena's El laberinto de Fortuna. In that work the allegorical figures of Fortune and Providence appear in the real world and in allegorical other-worlds. Erasmus, in a light-hearted mood, spoke through the personification of Folly in Moriae Encomium.

Much has been written about the religious genesis of Greek drama, in which theater was a form of ritualistic expression. We also know that the Spanish secular theater was an outgrowth of the medieval church drama. There are broad grounds for finding in pre-Lopian plays the persistence of ritualistic forms and ritualistic spirit. This accounts in part for the stately character of these plays, a quality which goes beyond the normal pomp and splendor universally called for by theatrical practices.

Men are drawn to perform religious ceremonies by the primordial belief in supernatural power, the desire to render obeisance to that power, and by the practical needs of averting misfortune or procuring good fortune. These needs are psychologically satisfied by ritual. Ritual is spectacle and becomes of itself attractive. The attractiveness of spectacle is further enhanced by the opportunity provided for communal fellowship. Fellowship is strengthened and made more comfortable when it is surrounded by custom and tradition--a reliable status quo of idea, belief, and practice.

Ritual is a visual as well as a spoken representation. In its visual aspects it is more akin to the drama than any of the other literary forms. The Judeo-Christian religion not only has a large measure of priestly pageantry in ceremony and vestments, but also a great amount of spectacle, much of it highly naturalistic (for example, the Holy Week enactments of the Passion of Christ) that is as dramatic as the pagan classical dramatic tradition. The Church was still very much the center of Spanish communal life as the sixteenth century came to a close. The continued vitality of the Church conditioned the theater-goer of that period to approach the performance of a play, especially of a tragedy, in much the same spirit of expectation, if not reverence, as he would the performance of Church ritual, and thus we could expect to find that the dramaturgist employed some ritualistic techniques and theological concepts in the plays themselves.

The drama of the period shares many features with the sermon, the part of the ritual that tells what man is and how he is to live.

It has its own appeal and calls for a certain degree of artistry of presentation. Serious drama does the same, whether it does so more primitively or more sophisticatedly depends on the conditioning and personality of the author and the audience. At the time under consideration--the last of the sixteenth century--the audience was more accustomed to psuedo-morality representations than to the kind of play which came into its own later with Lope de Vega, and which though highly moral, put more emphasis on remantic aspects of life than on morality. Looked at in another light, it might be said tha the plays of this period of the Spanish Renaissance theater--the plays of Juan de la Cueva, Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, Cristóbal de Virués, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and Miguel de Cervantes--still clung to the ideology and esthetic traditions of the Middle Ages, while a few thematic and structural innovations were being tentatively introduced.

If we are to draw certain inferences of correspondence between ritualistic representation and dramatic representation we must keep in mind the methods by which the abstractions of creed were converted into visual representation which communicated not only the highly symbolic nature of Church ritual--the cross, the Lamb of God, the Dove of the Holy Ghost, the incense, the Holy Water, the washing of the sacramental vessels--but also the basic assumptions and ideas about life of the sixteenth-century Spaniard.

The foundation of understanding was that the universe was created by God and was continually supervised by him. Man was originally created by God in the image of God and thus would regain his god-like character in the next life by leading a God-pleasing

(virtuous) life while on earth. The natural forces of the universe, the planets, the stars, and the elements, were given a natural order in the creation and could be used by God as instruments of his will. Evil forces existed--the Devil and his subordinates--but they were to be shunned, put out of mind by sole recognition of the forces of good. The order of the universe encompassed all things. The governance of men was instituted by God to maintain order, and thus order in all its aspects was to be observed and respected as an instrument of God's will. Contention and strife could be avoided by a right relationship between men and with God. God was omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent. Because of these powers God constantly responded to the needs of man. Man's best interests were at times served by God's corrective action and this could involve human suffering.

The working out of God's plan from creation to ultimate fulfillment involved cyclic episodes in man's progress to perfection. Thus Adam and his cycle, Moses, Israel, David, and their cycles, on through primitive and pagan cultures that led to the cycles of ancient Greece and Rome which prepared the way for the coming of Christ. After Christ, a series of cycles involving various groups of the faithful would be required to carry the plan to finality.

The concept of cyclic progressions all pointing to the same fulfillment gave rise to an anachronistic view of history somewhat analogous to the arabesque-like trajectory of oriental historical thought. There is ample evidence of this homogenization of time in the medieval histories which demonstrate the need to relate the histories of all peoples to one continuum. More importantly, in

iconography and other church decoration and illustration, there was both the intentional and unintentional mixture of personages of different historical times, and the mixing of pagan philosophers with Doctors of the Church. This mode of anachronistic thinking was reinforced by the belief that the saints assisted God in the governance of the world, and that this assistance at times required their reappearance on earth. Thus the presence of St. James on the battlefields during the Reconquest was accepted as providential intervention not dependent upon natural laws relating to earthly life.

Alongside the above schema of general Christian belief (and the dramatic conventions discussed in a previous chapter) there existed the philosophical traditions of ancient Greece and Rome. Apart from their intellectual appeal these philosophical traditions were inseparable from the literature in which they were assimilated. A consideration of the literature of the sixteenth century must take into account the general Christian beliefs, the dramatic conventions, and classical thought, because all three were generally intermingled, or, as in the case of La Numancia, they were co-developed.

The appeal and currency of allegory in painting during Cervantes' time is apparent in the works of "El Greco." His dual portrait of St. Andrew, of Biblical times, with St. Francis, of the thirteenth century, is an example of the juxtaposition of time in the allegorical sense. This co-mingling of personages from different times as though they were contemporaries differs conceptually from the same technique employed in the depiction of the Last Judgment where all men of all times are brought together in resurrected life.

Another painting of "El Greco," the "Burial of the Count of Orgaz," contains many elements shared with the literature of the day. According to legend the fourteenth-century burial of the Count was attended by St. Steven, of Biblical times, and St. Augustine, of the fifth century. In "El Greco's" representation of the scene the noble and eminent men of Toledo, contemporaries of "El Greco," are also in attendance. This allegorical juxtaposition of different times is also spatially allegorized by the depiction of the soul of the Count being received above in heaven by the angels, St. John, St. Peter (with symbolic keys), the Virgin, Christ, and the hosts of heaven. Attention is directed to the two planes, the terrestial and the celestial, by the two hands, one pointing to the deceased, and the other to heaven. The life-death relationship, and the past-present juxtaposition of personages, are brought together by the young page, in the prime of life, pointing to the dead Count. The presence of the Church is represented by the officiating priest, the two saints, and the monks of three orders. Fame is implied by the rank of those present, some of whom wear the cross of the Order of St. James. The theme of the painting--the reward for a virtuous life--is reinforced by the painting on the vestment of St. Steven which depicts his own martyrdom.

Cervantes conceived his play--a dramatization of the theme of the reward for a virtuous life--in much the same manner as "El Greco" conceived the elements of "The Burial of the Count of Orgaz." The play organizes life according to the fundamental concept of universal order, an order governed by a supernatural power. The supernatural power can be called upon for assistance. Ritual ceremony is the

means of communication between man and the supernatural. Virtue qualifies man for recognition and reward both in the present and in the future. The use of reason permits man to achieve virtuous conduct. Reason reveals that man has responsibilities that extend to the future as well as to the present and the past, and thus he must conduct himself accordingly. A present made painful by devotion to duty will be compensated for by achievement of virtue and the reward of fame. Cervantes was working with many of the elements employed by "El Greco"--elements long considered conventional in the miracles, moralities, and mysteries--and he was also working with elements derived from the Stoic tradition. Cervantes' play achieves a density of conceptual reverberations through the fusing of Christian doctrine and secular morality.

The ritualistic character of La Numancia is first established by the appearance of España and Duero at the close of the first act. An illusion of the play as enacted ritual is further enhanced by the discussions of the Numantians in the first scene of the second act. They recognize the governance of the cosmic order by a superior power, they seek to obtain the favor of that power, and they determine to insure that their conduct is not the cause of their bad fortune. In effect, from this point on they dedicate their actions as ritualistic, sacrificial offerings to the gods. Their attitude is summed up by the priest as he prepares to offer sacrifice:

> El vino, incienso y agua que trujistes,
> ponedlo encima, y apartaos afuera,
> y arrepentidos de cuanto mal hicistes;
> que la oblación mejor y la primera
> que se debe ofrecer al alto cielo,
> es alma limpia y voluntad sincera.

The imagery of repentance, oblation, clear conscience, and sincere will are taken up by the other Numantians and reiterated throughout the play. The sacrificial ceremony performed by the Numantian priests is later enhanced by the imagery surrounding the self-sacrifice of Marandro when he returns to Lira to offer her bread taken from the Romans at the cost of his own life.

The presence of the allegorical figures in La Numancia gives the play an allegorical quality much like that of the "Burial of the Count of Orgaz." Their presence suggests that the events taking place are of transcendental importance, that the role of Numantia is significant. In the first act España and Duero lend a stately and statuesque quality to the action as they solemnly consider Spain's plight. España's function parallels that of a Greek chorus, she supplies the voice of public conscience and the standard by which society judges the acts of its members. It is España who supplies the awareness of "discordia," the disunity that has permitted foreign invaders to conquer the land. España also fulfills a structural role by summarizing action that is not represented on stage. Duero also experiences the action from a point of view different than that of the characters. She speaks of the influence of the stars, the variability of fate, and predicts Spain will rise to the apex of world power in a future cycle of history.

In the final act Guerra, Enfermedad, and Hambre set the mood for the tragic ending of the play. They also perform the structural function of advancing the plot through rapid summaries of the action which they witness from their vantage point. The intervention of the supernatural powers in the affairs of men is again emphasized

by Fama as she closes the play with the prediction that the fame of Numantia will endure for centuries.

Without the allegorical figures and the ritualistic allusions La Numancia would be like "The Burial of the Count of Argaz" without St. Steven, St. Augustine, and the hosts of heaven. It would not have reflected that special way of thinking in universal terms that existed in Cervantes' and "El Greco's" time. But even so, Cervantes' later works reflect a shift to a more secularized attitude towards the relationships between man and the universe.

THE INTERPLAY OF FORTUNE, REASON, AND FAME

The ritualistic nature of La Numantia suggests a close relationship between man and the supernatural powers. The concept of the presence of deities on earth attending to problems as they arise is complemented by a running obligato of other ideas that fill out the complexity of Cervantes' thought. Cosmic intervention implies the possibility of the reward of virtuous conduct by the relief of suffering. However, the Numantians articulate a belief in fate as an unchangeable force, and fortune as an irrational, capricious turning of events, as strong as their conviction in the intervention of the gods. Fate and fortune are in turn opposed by reason, man's rational means of controlling the course of events, and virtue, not in the religious sense, but in the Stoic sense as a personal shield against good and bad fortune. Superimposed over these ideas is the concept of fame--the ultimate secular reward.

In the opening scene of the play Scipio directs his thoughts towards overcoming the lack of success that the Romans have

experienced in their war with Numantia. If Cervantes intended a moral and political message to be drawn from the play it is probably indicated by the last four lines of the following speech:

> El esfuerzo regido con cordura
> allana al suelo las más altas sierras,
> y la fuerza feroz de loca mano,
> áspero vuelve lo que está más llano;
> mas no hay que reprimir, a lo que veo,
> la furia del ejército presente,
> que, olvidado de gloria y de trofeo,
> yace embebido en la lascivia ardiente.
> Y esto sólo pretendo, esto deseo:
> volver a nuevo trato nuestra gente;
> que enmendando primero al que es amigo,
> sujetaré más presto al enemigo.

First in the order of Scipio's priorities is the removal of immorality:

> Primero es menester que se refrene
> el vicio que entre todos se derrama;
> que si éste no se quita, en nada tiene
> con ellos que hacer la buena fama.
> Si este daño común no se previene,
> y se deja arraigar su ardiente llama,
> el vicio solo puede hacernos guerra
> más que los enemigos de esta tierra.

Jugurta approves of the practicality of Scipio's plan and also mentions a problem that Rome, with its vast number of mercenary troops, is experiencing. This is perhaps an oblique reference to Philip II's reliance on large but amorphous forces such as that used against the Turk in the Mediterranean:

> No dudo yo, señor, sino que importa
> regir con duro freno la milicia,
> y que se dé al soldado rienda corta
> cuando él se precipita en la injusticia;
> la fuerza del ejército se acorta
> cuando va sin arrimo de justicia,
> aunque más le acompañen a montones
> mil pintadas banderas y escuadrones.

Scipio repeats Jugurtha's thoughts when he addresses his assembled troops:

> ¿Pensáis que sólo atierra la muralla
> el ariete de ferrada punta,
> y que sólo atropella la batalla
> la multitud de gentes y armas junta?
> Si el esfuerzo y cordura no se halla,
> que todo lo previene y lo barrunta,
> poco aprovechan muchos escuadrones,
> y menos infinitas municiones.
> Si a militar concierto se reduce
> cualquier pequeño ejército que sea,
> veréis que como sol claro reluce
> y alcanza las victorias que desea;
> pero si a flojedad él se conduce,
> aunque abreviado el mundo en él se vea,
> en un momento quedará deshecho
> por más reglada mano y fuerte pecho.

In these two octaves Scipio has summed up the course of history--a nation rises and is strong while its efforts are well directed; it falls when the will to maintain a sense of direction is lost. Scipio then derives a maxim from his thoughts, a maxim which comes as close as any to being the motto of Cervantes' life:

> Cada cual se fabrica su destino,
> no tiene allí fortuna alguna parte;
> La pereza, fortuna baja cría;
> la diligencia, imperio y monarquía.

The Romans and the Numantians sprinkle their conversations with empty exclamations about the cruelty of fate and the influence of the stars, but all along they recognize the role of their conduct in the shaping of events. Leonicio is the voice of reason on the Numantian side. When the priests experience difficulties with the sacrificial ceremonies Marandro asks Leonicio whether his hope for the future will be fulfilled or destroyed. Leonicio replies:

> Marandro, al que es buen soldado
> agüeros no le dan pena
> que pone la suerte buena
> en el ánimo esforzado.

Y esas vanas apariencias
nunca le turban el tino;
su brazo es su estrella o sino,
su valor, sus influencias.

Shortly, thereafter, when the prophecy of the dead youth discourages Marandro, Leonicio urges a more reasonable evaluation of what they have just witnessed:

Que todas son ilusiones,
quimeras y fantasías,
agüeros y hechicerías,
diabólicas invenciones.
No muestres que tienes poca
ciencia en creer desconciertos,
que poco cuidan los muertos
de lo que a los vivos toca.

These two arguments of Leonicio, and a prior one on the subject of Marandro's love for Lira, are interesting because they are reminiscent of the debates between reason and emotion in the various treatises of the remedies against fortune which were an inherent part of Stoic thought. Leonicio's interest in his friend's welfare is also reminiscent of the value that the Stoics placed upon friendship as a catalyst towards leading a virtuous life.

The Romans seek to achieve the defeat of Numantia through the exercise of good judgement ("cordura") and skill ("industria"). Both of these terms appear repeatedly in their speech. The Numantians recognize the skill of the Romans but they view it as a misdirected quality:

¡Pérfidos, desleales, fementidos,
crueles, revoltosos y tiranos,
ingratos, codiciosos, mal nacidos,
pertinaces, feroces y villanos,
adúlteros, infames, conocidos
por de industriosas, mas cobardes manos!

As the situation of the Numantians worsens they develop a certain sense of accountability for their lives. They progress from action directed by reason to action motivated by a desire to achieve fame. They realize that defeat is not disgraceful if the defeated acquit themselves honorably. Fame establishes a line of communications with subsequent generations and thus perpetuates itself. The desire for fame can be a positive value if it serves to motivate virtuous conduct. However, fame can have negative aspects if it is used to cover up questionable means to an end. Scipio admits as much when he replies to the Numantian accusation that his refusal to engage them in direct combat is cowardly: "y si en esto os parece que yo muestro/ un poco mi valor acobardado,/ el viento lleve agora esta vergüenza,/ y vuélvale la fama cuando venza."

La Numancia opens and closes with discussions of fame, and fame (sometimes expressed in synonyms, "gloria," "opinión," "honra," "honor," "memoria," "historia," and "nombre") is the dominant theme of the play. The theme of fame is concisely stated by a Numantian priest when he says in the second act, "Aunque lleven romanos la victoria/ de nuestra muerte, en humo ha de tornarse/ y en llamas vivas nuestra muerte y gloria." Fame is a concept deeply rooted in ancient and Castilian literature. Fame, apart from its esthetic-literary values, is intimately related to the life view of a culture. Long before the sixteenth century there was a strong literary tradition in Spain, of classical origin, that one of the principal functions of writers was to keep the memory of the heroic deeds of the past alive in the minds of subsequent generations. The purpose

was multiplex: the status of the writer of worthy deeds, like the bearer of good news, was enhanced by his communicative role; the recall of past greatness would inspire a rallying of present spirits; the assurance of fame through the custom of remembrance of the past would motivate citizens to perform their own worthy deeds; pride in the past would off-set the claims of rival nations who would seek to belittle the achievements of their adversaries; and finally, the pursuit of fame through service to the community would motivate virtue. This latter feature ties in well with the didactic purpose of literature. Cervantes had all these considerations in mind when he wrote La Numancia.

Cervantes, an ex-soldier, was a patriot seriously concerned with his country's welfare at a time when Spain's spirits were beginning to lag while the strength of other nations was rapidly increasing. Every age has its pessimists who prophesy decline, and its optimists who see change as progress for the better. Cervantes, as evidenced by all of his writings, was a sensitive observer of the reality that surrounded him. In his "Epístola a Mateo Vásquez," he openly stated his opinion that Spain should exercise its will against enemy aggressors. The underlying theme of La Numancia appears to be the same, that Spain should not permit its powers to decline and thus rest "olvidado de gloria y de trofeo," as Scipio found his legions. Through his service to his country and his writings Cervantes continues in a new age the custom of court chroniclers who served their king in the dual capacity of men of arms and advisors.

Many aspects of ideological content and literary expression found in La Numancia, in addition to adhering to the philosophical outlook of the chroniclers who took an interest in the history of Numantia, can be traced to certain specific works: El laberinto de Fortuna of Juan de Mena, the heroic poetry and prose histories of Fernando de Herrera, La Araucana of Alonso de Ercilla, and Os Lusiadas of Luis de Camoens. In those works the fate of the nation, fame, and its complementary values are the foremost topics. Juan de Mena called upon Fame in the Invocation of El laberinto de Fortuna; Alonso de Ercilla called upon Fame in Canto XXI of La Araucana. Their verses are very similar to the lines spoken by Fama at the end of La Numancia:

El laberinto

levante la Fama su voz inefable
porque los fechos que son al presente
vaya de gente sabidos en gente,
olvido non prive lo que es memorable.

La Araucana

La Fama engrandeciéndola, levante
mi baja voz, y en alta y sonorosa,
dando noticia della, eternamente
corra de lengua en lengua y gente en gente.

La Numancia

Vaya mi clara voz en gente en gente,
y en dulce y suavísimo sonido
llene las almas de un deseo ardiente
de eternizar un hecho tan subido.

Cervantes' life and his literary works indicate that he was concerned with fame.[51] The progress towards fame in La Numancia involves

---

51. It is interesting to note, as María Rosa Lida de Malkiel has pointed out, that two writers can be close friends, exchange literary and political ideas, yet one is highly concerned with fame

the virtues of honor, justice, reason, piety, courage, friendship, and devotion to country. It is the density of concern for the values that lead to fame that gives La Numancia an intellectual substantiality that sets it apart from the other plays of the period. La Numancia points to the esthetic incorporation of ideas in stage representation--idea representable--developed by Calderón de la Barca in the seventeenth century after a hiatus of a generation of writers of the Lopean school.

CONCLUSION

The exaltation of fame provides a fitting ending for La Numancia. The apotheosis of fame does not diminish the feeling of grandeur built up during the play, nor does it destroy the tragic quality of Numantia's destruction. The goal of tragedy is to demonstrate that man can rise with dignity and grandeur above the most awesome facts of life. Most aspects of man's existence are beyond his control--birth, health, the possession of property, position, the accidents of life. They are imposed through a complex network of causes and effects. Man's only weapons against chance are the faculties of his mind--the powers of judgment and reason. These faculties do not solve the cosmic problems but only lead to that self-knowledge whereby the limitations of human control are recognized. Patric Dickinson

---

while the other only pays it lip service. Such was the case of Juan de Mena, who was interested in the concept of fame, and the Marqués de Santillana, who was indifferent to the subject of fame. La idea de la fama en la edad media castellana (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), pp. 277-79.

finds this element of tragic recognition in the Aeneid: "Vergil's purpose is to present men in their environment bedeviled by the gods as they always will be, and simply say, 'This is what life is. These are the kind of things which happen.'"[52] Vergil's point of view is generally avoided by Spanish dramatists and this explains an aspect of the "Uniqueness of the Comedia"--Arnold G. Reichenberger's thesis that the optimism inherent in Christianity prevented a full development of the tragic view of life in the Golden Age:

> The question must be raised and answered why Greek tragedy, also a communal theater and so much more removed in the past than the Spanish, has survived the times and preserved its universal appeal ever since it was rediscovered during the Renaissance. The principal reason seems to be the difference in world view between the two national theaters. The Greek theater is tragic. It shows man, not as the child of God, but essentially alone on earth, pitted against inexorable forces stronger than himself, supernatural (Oedipus), political and social (Antigone), or emotional (Phaedra), and eventually doomed, but compensating for human powerlessness by the dignity with which he bears his fate.[53]

Cervantes' dramatization of the history of Numantia evidences that he was not opposed to the tragic view of life. Moreover, he alone in his generation of playwrights possessed the intellectual and artistic depth that pointed the way to serious and profound theater, a theater that could have survived the times and preserved its universal appeal to this day. But this was not to be because Cervantes interrupted his literary career to occupy himself with other matters and

---

52. Vergil, The Aeneid, tr. Patric Dickinson (New York: Mentor Books, 1961), p. 307.

53. Arnold G. Reichenberger, "The Uniqueness of the Comedia," Hispanic Review, 27 (1959), 306.

soon thereafter that prodigy of the Spanish theater, Lope de Vega, captured the public imagination with his new style of creating plays, a romantic style that minimized philosophical reverberations.

CHAPTER IX

The Poetic World of the Seventeenth Century

FRANCISCO MOSQUERA DE BARNUEVO

In contrast to the balance reached by Cervantes between history, morality, and esthetics in La Numancia, Francisco Mosquera de Barnuevo, an acquaintance of Cervantes,[1] wrote a long epic poem in royal octaves, La Numantina, with the apparent purpose of demonstrating his wide-ranging knowledge of history, ancient mythology, and ethics. The fifteen cantos of verse are accompanied by fifty-seven chapters in prose which explain the background of the narration and gratuitously supply additional erudite information. A secondary purpose of the work was the author's desire to publicly identify himself with the house of Barrio Nuevo, one of the "Doze Linages y Casas" of Soria.[2]

Considered as a work of literary art La Numantina is structurally and poetically third-rate.[3] Its significance in a study of the Numantian theme lies in the fact that it contains a wealth of the

---

1. Cervantes eulogized Mosquera de Barnuevo in the "Canto de Calíope," Book VI, La Galatea.

2. The full title reads, La Numantina de el licenciado D. Francisco Mosquera de Barnuevo, Natural de dicha Ciudad, dirigida a la Nobilíssima Ciudad de Soria y a sus Doze Linages y Casas a ellos agregadas. (Impresso en Sevilla, en la Imprenta de Luys Estupiñan, en este año de M.DC.XII).

3. "El tal poema es pobre y malo, de bajos y desmayados versos; ciertamente, y a pesar del elogio de Cervantes, el autor no era poeta, aunque sí humanista y muy erudito." Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, El teatro de Cervantes (Madrid, 1915), p. 150. An anonymous critic has recorded his reactions in one of the copies of La Numantina (R30632) held by the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. On the title page there appears the notation, "malíssima obra."

kind of information that appeared in later works, most notably the two plays of Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, La Numancia cercada and La Numancia destruída: historical and geographical detail, mythological allusions, and classical concepts such as fortune and fame. The same elements appeared in the chronicles in which the history of Numantia is found, but not with the same degree of emphasis and concentration as found in Barnuevo's work.

In a manner similar to the chroniclers before him, Mosquera de Barnuevo frequently digresses from his narration in order to editorialize and draw a moral from the events of the Numantian Wars. After describing Scipio's reform of the Roman camp, Barnuevo speaks to his contemporaries: "Estudiad Españoles, la enseñança."

Mosquera de Barnuevo went to greater lengths to incorporate elements of Greek tragedy into his poem than any of the other authors who treated the subject of Numantia. When only a few Numantians survive, and the end of their resistance is at hand, the ground opens up and the Furies appear, inciting the Numantians to fight on. The poem is ended when Teogenes, finding himself the sole survivor, falls upon his sword and then jumps into the flames of the burning city. Fame is invoked to preserve the memory of Numancia and the poem is ended.

Throughout the text names and facts are underlined with the word "ojo" appearing opposite in the margin. In Chapter XIV (folio 360), Mosquera de Barnuevo, commenting on Roman customs, in particular the courtesies extended to women, states: "que donde estuviessen no se hablasse ni tratasse de cosa deshonesta, ni lascivia, ni pareciesse persona desnuda, como oy se hace, aunque en las comedias se quebranta esto, como otros muy justas leyes." The anonymous commentator inked in the margin: "comedias obcenas ya no las ay."

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY POETRY

La Numantina was published in 1612, however, in spirit and in tone, it belongs more to the early sixteenth century than to the seventeenth century. The shift in the poetic mood, from heroic to reflective, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries becomes apparent when the poetry of Fernando de Herrera and Alonso de Ercilla is compared with the poetry of Francisco de Rioja, Luis de Carrillo y Sotomayor, Francisco de Trillo y Figueroa, or Francisco de Quevedo. The optimism of the sixteenth century is gone. The general poetic spirit of the seventeenth century is reflected in the poetic themes of desolation, melancolic contemplation of the fleetingness of life, the evocation of disillusionment through the contemplation of ruins, and gloomy thoughts about the past. "Triste," "muerte," and "engaño" are representative words of the vocabulary of the seventeenth-century poet. Many of the poets of the first part of the century were inspired by the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega and wrote poems similar to the following "Song" of Francisco de Rioja (1590?-1659):

A las ruinas de Itálica

Estos, Fabio, ¡ay dolor! que ves ahora
Campos de soledad, mustio collado,
Fueron un tiempo Itálica famosa
Aquí de Cipión la vencedora
Colonia fue; por tierra derribado
Yace el temido honor de las espantosa
Muralla, y lastimosa
Reliquia es solamente
De su invencible gente
Solo quedan memorias funerales
Donde erraron ya sombras de alto ejemplo;
Este llano fue plaza, allí fue templo
De todo apenas quedan las señales.

Leves vuelan cenizas desdichadas
Las torres que desprecio al aire fueron
A su gran pesadumbre se rindieron.

. . . . . .[4]

Itálica was a fitting subject for the poets of disillusionment because it was founded by Scipio Africanus, rose to become the most prominent city of Roman Spain, and then mysteriously disappeared. The ruins of Numantia evoke a similar mood in a sonnet by Francisco de Pinel y Monroy:

Estas piedras que miras esparcidas,
Fueron un tiempo muro; aqueste llano
Que contemplas desierto, a culto vano
Fábricas nobles obstentó erigidas.

Aquí más de una vez fueron vencidas
Las coronadas huestes del Romano;
Yacen del tiempo agora y del tirano
Olvido sus grandezas confundidas.

De las ruinas apenas se presume
Que fue Numancia, pues de tantas glorias
Ni a la ceniza perdonó la llama.

La edad, Fenisa, todo lo consume:
No adquiere la constancia más memorias;
Ni ha de tener la obstinación más fama.[5]

Later in the seventeenth century academies became popular and Numantia was occasionally used as the subject of their poetry. One such poem, by Álvaro Rodríguez, recited at an academy in 1674, is interesting because its last lines are reminiscent of Leonicio's conversation with Marandro in Cervantes' La Numancia:

---

4. Poetas Líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII, BAE, XXXII, 386.

5. This sonnet, and other poems on the theme of Numantia, can be found in an excellent article by José Antonio Pérez-Rioja, "Numancia en la poesía," Celtiberia, 4 (1954), 69-103.

. . . . . .

Muros son imaginarios
Sus cadáveres invictos,
Y solo a veneraciones,
Se han de assaltar los prodigios.
No fieis de las estrellas,
El vencimiento previsto,
Que en los triumphos belicosos,
Solo el valor es destino.[6]

It would not be difficult to imagine these lines being spoken by a character in one of Calderón de la Barca's plays.[7]

The use of the ruins of Numantia for the lyric expression of personal emotions rather than the use of the belligerent city for the expression of admiration of heroic action gives the measure of the psychological change that took place between the beginning and the end of the rule of the house of Hapsburg in Spain. As we shall see, the drama reflected a change in the characterization of the belligerents as chivalrous figures whose romantic sense of honor and concern with their personal emotions are stronger than their conviction in the rightfulness of waging war.

---

6. Academia que se celebró en Madrid en día de Pasqva de Reyes. . . Año MDCLXXIIII. (Ms. 15.565, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

7. In anticipation of the discussion of the Numantian plays of Rojas Zorrilla it should be mentioned that Calderón de la Barca sought to integrate lines similar to those above with his vision of life. Raymond MacCurdy points to this important aspect of Calderón's plays: "With regard to theme, he sought to provide his plays with a single unifying idea, an idea which in most of his serious plays stresses the moral responsibility of man. In keeping with this world view, Calderón expressed a plea, always implicit if not explicit, for justice and order so that man, under God, could live in harmony with nature, with his fellows, and with himself. Frustration and unhappiness follows inevitably when man persists in error or fails to dominate his passions." Raymond R. MacCurdy, Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: Twelve Plays (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971), p. 433.

CHAPTER X

The Numantian Theme Plays of Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla

The theater of Miguel de Cervantes and his contemporaries was superseded by the theater of Lope de Vega and a galaxy of other brilliant playwrights. Lope's theater, exuding confidence and security, was filled with action and intrigue, songs and popular customs, and evidenced a predilection for a lighter consideration of the human condition than the plays of his predecessors. Juan Luis Alborg finds a union between the spirit of the time and Lope's style:

> Lope animó toda esta inabarcable diversidad dramática con la palabra y el espíritu de sus propios contemporáneos, y la vistió con todo género de elementos tomados de la inmediata realidad nacional, costumbres populares, fiestas locales, cantos y danzas tradicionales; acercó a la sensibilidad del hombre de su tiempo cualquier acción apasionante sin cuidar con demasiado rigor detalles de exigencia erudita ni atormentarse por anacronismo de más o de menos, salvo en aspectos de mucho bulto, porque a Lope le importa siempre más la vida que la arqueología. Puestos en escena de esto modo, los temas más ajenos o cronológicamente distantes y hasta los motivos religiosos más sutiles, reviven en la comedia lopesca con el tono de algo próximo y habitual, sencillo y claro.[1]

Lope, of course, wrote plays based on battles and sieges, as the titles of some of them attest: El cerco de Santa Fe, El cerco de Viena por Carlos V, and La Santa Liga.[2] But his focus in these plays

---

1. Juan Luis Alborg, Historia de la literatura española. Época Barroca (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), p. 263.

2. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo suggests that Lope's play originally was titled La batalla naval but was changed to La Santa Liga in order to avoid confusion with Cervantes' play of the same title. Obras de Lope de Vega. Crónicas y leyendas dramáticas de España, ed. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, BAE, CCXXIII, 101.

was upon the personal affairs of individuals, not the battles themselves. Perhaps he chose not to dramatize the history of Numantia because it contains too much human suffering for his taste. Menéndez y Pelayo, commenting on four comedias written by Lope on the subject of the war in Flanders, says, "Parece que el mismo Lope hizo el mejor juicio de muchas escenas de estos dramas cuando dijo en una acotación de El asalto de Mastrique: 'Aquí no hay representación, sino cuchilladas.'"[3] Lope might have reacted in the same manner to the history of Numantia since he knew that his audience preferred lighter material.

Lope's practices supplanted the dramatic conventions of the past, became the dramatic principles of his time, and in turn became the dramatic conventions of the future. His codification in El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo, of the principles that he employed, contains many suggestions for the writing of entertaining plays. A few of his suggestions are particularly relevant to the Numantia plays of Francisco Rojas de Zorrilla, written some twenty or thirty years after Lope delivered his Arte nuevo before the Academy of Madrid, because they give the measure of the changes that took place in the theater after Cervantes wrote La Numancia. Lope suggested:

1. Unity of action should be followed, but the plot should be complicated in such a manner that the outcome is not a foredrawn conclusion. This suggestion was tempered by a caveat:

---

3. Ibid., p. 132.

> Adviértase que sólo este sujeto trama
> tenga una acción, mirando que la fábula
> de ninguna manera sea episódica,
> quiero decir, inserta de otras cosas
> que del primer intento se desvien,
> ni que della se pueda quitar miembro,
> que del contexto no derribe el todo.

2. Variety of all kinds enhances a play, but especially variety of verse forms if the forms are appropriate to the situation.

3. Variety within the bounds of credulity and propriety adds to the interest of a play. A woman who disguises herself as a man (for justifiable reasons) provides very entertaining complications of the plot.

4. Elements of the comedy and the tragedy can be combined.

5. A play should reflect the times for which it is written, ". . . imitar las acciones de los hombres/ y pintar de aquel siglo las costumbres."

Between the performances of La Numancia of Miguel de Cervantes and Numancia cercada and Numancia destruída of Francisco de Rojas Zorilla a lot of plays had passed over the boards. The accumulation and fruition of the esthetic developments of the Golden Age--Lope de Vega's art, Gongorism, Scholasticism--were pushing creativity to the extremes which we now identify as the Baroque. By Rojas' time the trends were dictated in part by intellectual maturity, in part by a search for originality predicated by the sheer mass of artistic production. Surely influential to some degree were the changes in social and political outlook brought by the passage of time and the turn of events. The momentum of the Reconquest, sustained but re-

channeled to form national unity and world dominion by the Catholic Kings and Charles V, had lost its energy during the reigns of the Philips, and by the reign of Philip IV was all but dissipated. Cervantes' La Numancia was written shortly after Portugal was annexed to the Spanish crown in 1580. Numancia cercada and Numancia destruída were written close in time to 1640, the year that the Portuguese drove the Spanish troops out of their country. These are bewildering plays because they lack unity of plot and demonstrate a perplexing lack of philosophical direction. Perhaps they display unity of action--a representation of man in action in a universe without order, or at best, an order loosely defined by vague notions of chivalric courtesy. Thus the theme of the plays is confusion, the confusion of leadership torn between emotion and reason. There is in the plays a superficial reference to a system of social order--the Roman Senate and its subordinate military apparatus with its hierarchy of rank, and the Numantian counterpart of government and a military organization--but so little attention, or respect, is paid to order that it is not an important feature. Rather, individual decisions turn on individual will. By chance or by design the lack of concern for social order is reflected in the unusual structural organization of the plays.

Many plays of Rojas demonstrate that he was not only a poet capable of highly lyric expression, but that he was also capable of creating good dramatic structure. He collaborated with and enjoyed the friendship of the best poets of his time, most notably Luis Vélez de Guevara and Pedro Calderón de la Barca. He was a highly original "thinker" who wrote his own kind of honor plays and created new

possibilities in the field of comic representation. Tragedy appealed to him and his tragedies are the most Senecan of his contemporaries. Above all, satire appealed to him. At the court Rojas Zorrilla had a reputation for a cutting wit, a wit that must have been devastating, for it seems that he came close to losing his life as a result of the part he played in a vejamen at court.[4]

In view of the demonstrable talent of Rojas Zorrilla, several theories are possible in explanation of his unusual treatment of the history of Numantia in his plays. There is the possibility that he came upon the story of Numantia, perhaps through a reading of Cervantes' play or Mosquera de Barnuevo's poem, liked its inherent dramatic qualities, researched the material, perhaps in Juan de Mariana's history, and then gave his lively imagination free reign in writing his plays. In doing so he came up with some admirable poetry, a good final act in the second play, but on the whole it just did not work out coherently. Added to this might be the possibility that he was working against a deadline and hastily put the plays together with no time for refining them.

There is also the possibility that these plays were written for a festival at the Buen Retiro, that Rojas Zorrilla understood the

---

4. ". . . the business of a vejamen was to deal out vituperation, not flattery, and Rojas soon got down to the job at hand. The targets for his barbs were many, but none came off so poorly as Alfonso de Batres, who had shared the vejamen with him the year before. Apparently, however, not everyone took his jests in fun. On April 24, 1638, one of the contemporary news bulletins (Avisos) recorded that Rojas had been murdered; and on May 22, the same source attributed his murder to unnamed persons disgruntled by his scurrilous vejamen." Raymond R. MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968), p. 20.

understood the occasion, knew his audience, and based his creations on these considerations plus his desire to maintain his reputation as an innovator.

A festive occasion would have called for a festive play, expecially at the court, for escape through frivolity in that setting would have had more appeal than serious drama. The Spanish calendar has always been replete with feast days, seasonal and religious. These feasts were celebrated with various entertainments--village games, dances, pageants, and pilgrimages. The juegos de escarnio and the rustic shepherd plays give an indication of the frivolity of the entertainments of the Middle Ages. Holiday traditions, and holiday frivolity, were certainly not dispensed with in the seventeenth century.

A holiday occasion provides an opportunity for communal frivolity, a special time during which there is implied social license to flout and make fun of the conditions and institutions which command respect on the normal days. This temporary inversion of values during holidays was, and is, tolerated as a natural and necessary release of reaction to restraint. C. L. Barber has demonstrated how Shakespeare incorporated the "saturnalian pattern" in many of his plays.[5] Erich W. Segal has demonstrated that the inversion of social

---

5. Cesar Lombardi Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy. A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom (Princeton University Press, 1959).

values formed the basis for the humor in the comedies of Plautus.[6] Rojas Zorrilla is perhaps at his best when he inverts the social order. His Entre bobos anda el juego, with its cynical characters, a protagonist who is a riduculous anti-hero, and an ending that is deceptively and ironically unhappy, is a satirical caricature of the stereotypical cape and sword play. Although all tragedies depend on extreme circumstances that amount to disturbances of the normal order, Rojas Zorrilla, in his search for truculence, sought out material that depicted man inverting and flouting the normal social order. Lucrecia y Tarquino, one of the most beautiful and moving of the Spanish Baroque tragedies, is motivated by the inversion of the social order by people in high places. Rojas Zorrilla's plots frequently involve disturbance of the social order by the principal characters paralleled by a burlesque of the main plot action by lower class characters.

Much could be made of the effects upon literature of Spain's political, spiritual, and economic decline during the seventeenth century. Philip III and Philip IV turned over the business of governing the nation to favorites such as the Count-Duke of Olivares and devoted themselves to pleasure. The reduction of the king's responsibilities and the concomitant need to find other outlets for time and energy accounted for the important theater of the period taking place in the palace rather than in the public corrales. The productions were lavishly staged and there was a constant need to surpass past

---

6. Erich W. Segal, Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

performances. The restricted and captive audience of the court, though jaded, was of an intellectual level that influenced the refinement apparent between the works of the generation of Lope de Vega and the generation of Rojas Zorrilla and Calderón de la Barca.

The festive court of Philip IV was not without its darker moments. Insight into the courtiers' awareness of a darkening of national hope can be gained from Rojas Zorrilla's last play, the auto sacramental entitled El gran patio de palacio. MacCurdy's comments reveal that the play openly depicted the gloom that had befallen the court:

> Here is an allegory (whether Rojas intended it to be or not) of Philip's court. The great courtyard of the Royal Palace--once thronged with actors and actresses, poets and buffoons, the scene of soirées and masques and literary contests--had become but weeping walls for the morbid king. The palace is besieged by malcontents and fakers, including those who want to be members of the military orders "and go about sowing genealogies." . . . Philip's court and its hangers-on had fallen on foul days indeed.[7]

If the occasion for which Numancia cercada and Numancia destruída were written was a court festival it would explain the inclusion in them of many elements of courtly behavior so reminiscent of chivalric, Moorish and pastoral novels. Although the ostensible conflict of the plays is war, it is never a dramatic conflict since belligerent confrontation between opponents is constantly dissolved into courtly exchanges of courtesies or lyric lament. This treatment of the history of Numantia is at the same time both romantic and satiric, and

---

7. MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, p. 23.

its effect would be more appropriate for a social event--two festive nights at the palace--than a tragic, darker development of the story.[8]

In the following synopsis of the plays it becomes apparent that no one branch of the plot, either alone or in combination with the other sub-plots, is ever developed to the extent that it becomes the main plot. Retógenes is the strongest candidate for protagonist, but he does not fulfill the role until the final act of the second play. His importance is over-shadowed by the central figure of Florinda, about whom the other characters orbit at variable distances determined by the daringness of their efforts to possess her. Of all the characters only Aluro, the father of Florinda, is able to chart his course according to the necessities of the defense of Numantia. On the Roman side Scipio alone is interested in carrying out the conquest of Numantia, but his resolution is feeble and intermittent, and the cause of the prolongation of hostilities.

The following summaries of the two plays contain the highlights of almost every incident in order to demonstrate the complex structure

---

8. MacCurdy is of the opinion that Rojas' plays were probably staged for a festive occasion: "Nothing is known about the original performance of Rojas' Numantia plays or, for that matter, the occasion that prompted their composition; but the final lines of Numancia cercada ("Y aquí mi autor . . ./ os suplica que mañana vengáis a ver el suceso/ de la invencible Numancia. . .") suggest that the plays were performed at a fiesta of more than one day's duration. However this may be, the stage directions indicate the author intended his plays to be lavishly staged." The Numantia Plays of Cervantes and Rojas Zorrilla, p. 112.

of main and subsidiary plots and to demonstrate the bizarre quality of Rojas Zorrilla's imagination.

A SUMMARY OF THE PLOT OF NUMANCIA CERDADA

The play opens as the Roman senators discuss the embarrassing problem of the prolonged war with Numantia. Tiberio suggests that they by-pass the settlement and ignore it. The other senators react violently to this suggestion and Scipio volunteers to take over the leadership of the army. In Numantia the leaders, Retógenes, Megara, and Olonio, in anticipation of the approaching election of a leader, each boast of being the greatest warrior. Aluro appears and redresses them for their discord at a time when concord is needed. Each of the three give reasons why he should be elected leader. Aluro rebukes them and brings them to agree outwardly to work together. Florinda appears and Retógenes laments her disdain of him. Florinda replies that but for divine influence upon her that causes her to be a warrioress, she would choose Retógenes as the object of her love.[9] Retógenes elicits a promise of marriage but she suggests that they

---

9. Florinda's personality strongly suggests that she is modelled after the warrior maiden Clorinda of the Gerusalemme liberata (Canto XII) of Torquato Tasso (1544-1595). The work was circulated in manuscript form for five or six years before it was published in 1581, about the time that Cervantes wrote La Numancia. It contains the paraphernalia of the epic--troops, battles, speeches, God, and his angels--but it is at odds with neo-classical theory because there is a mixing of the elements of romance with epic material. The mixture gives the work a certain tension rather than the serenity which that age preferred. Tasso could not suppress the impulse to include love along with heroic deeds, but the fact that he did caused him great anguish. That reluctance to depart from accepted literary practice marks the difference between the age of Cervantes and the age of Rojas Zorrilla.

consult her father. Aluro, Olonio, and Megara appear. Aluro advises Retógenes that the Senate has decreed that Retógenes is the war-time leader. Tronco and Olalla, a rustic couple, demonstrate marital discord and lack of reason in a comic barrage of bickering. In an aside Megara expresses resentment over Florinda's engagement. Tronco, after much argument with Olalla, tells Aluro of a chest that he uncovered while plowing. A leaden tablet within bears the Latin inscription, "Florinda will be the cause of Spain's downfall." Florinda tries to assuage her father's distress by assuring him that she, like Iphigenia, will give her life for her country. Retógenes tells Aluro that the tablet is a conspiracy hatched by Megara, Tronco, and Olalla. Aluro puts his faith in its validity, and because of his faith in the gods, he would be willing to sacrifice his daughter to save Numantia. Retógenes argues that it cannot be true, and if it were it would be unjust, and nobles do not validate injustice. He then uses his new office to prevent Aluro from proceeding to put his daughter to death. The priest scolds the people for putting their own interpretation on the prophecy. He has consulted the oracle and has determined that it applies to a Florinda (la Cava) of a future century. Olonio announces the arrival of Scipio and the Numantians express their unanimous desire to renew battle with the Romans.

In Act II a captured Roman soldier explains from the walls of Numantia the action before them in the Roman encampment. Roman legions are being joined by armies sent by allies--Iberians, Italians, French, and the Numidians with elephants under the command of their prince, Yugurta. The edict of Scipio is read to the gathered

forces--there are to be no more camp-followers, cooks, servants, beds, etc. The alarm is sounded as the Numantians approach. Tronco leaves for battle promising Olalla that he will perform great feats. Florinda is confronted in battle by Yugurta and Cayo Mario. They politely suggest to one another that the maiden is his, and each begs Florinda to accept him as her slave. Florinda accuses them of effeminacy and insists that they fight or surrender. Yugurta and Cayo Mario quarrel and then begin to fight each other. Scipio stops the fight. He had cast down his laurel and baton upon finding that his officers were not with their troops as they retreated from the Numantians. In shame the two officers leave to join their troops. Retógenes appears, fatigued from battle, and expresses the need to recall his troops before they overrun the Roman camp and become contaminated with the silver and gold to be found there. Scipio tries to talk to Retógenes as one leader to another but Retógenes responds arrogantly. Scipio then informs him that Numantia will be defeated by enclosure rather than by direct combat. He hopes that Numantia will not continue to defy Rome. Retógenes reminds Scipio that Numantia has a long history of successful defiance. Scipio responds that the situation is now different: he is the leader, the troops have been disciplined, and there are 60,000 of them. In reply Retógenes explains that six thousand Spaniards are more than a match for the Romans. Retógenes wants to fight Scipio but the latter refuses on the grounds that the approach of his troops would give him the advantage. As Retógenes departs he comes upon the laurel and baton which Scipio had thrown down in anger, and he sees in them a favorable sign.

Megara is brought captive before Scipio and boasts that he alone has been the one who inflicted such heavy damages upon the Romans. Scipio is amazed and expresses admiration of the Numantian spirit, but he adds that his fame will be greater than theirs. In a gesture of magnanimity he releases Megara. Cayo Mario then notices that the laurel and the baton are missing. He considers the loss an adverse sign but Scipio, well in historical character, attributes little consequence to it. As the group breaks up Megara draws Cayo Mario aside and tells him that the marriage of Florinda to Retógenes has brought him to treasonable intent. He offers to lead Cayo Mario and five hundred Romans into Numantia in return for Florinda. Cayo Mario agrees to the plan.

Tronco returns with his face disguised so that he can test Olalla's feelings for him. She asks the disguised soldier if he knows of the whereabouts of Tronco. He tells of seeing Tronco killing thousands of Romans but finally cut down. He is disappointed in her lack of sadness and so proposes marriage to her. Olalla's ready acceptance infuriates him. In defense she replies that she knew it was Tronco from the first. She puts an end to her beating by telling Tronco of the coming wedding festivities of Florinda and Retógenes.

The marriage takes place on the banks of the Duero as the priest offers sacrifice to the god of fertility. The musicians intone a wedding song that is interrupted by the appearance of Roman soldiers. The wedding party is caught by surprise without weapons. Cayo Mario takes Florinda captive and leaves. Aluro remarks that since the Romans had no further interest in the other Numantians once they had

subdued Florinda they must have taken her with lascivious intent. He advises Retógenes to appeal to Scipio.

In Act III Cayo Mario informs Megara that he is not obligated to turn Florinda over to a traitor and tells him to return to Numantia. A soldier reports to Yugurta that Cayo Mario took Florinda captive but failed to pursue the other Numantians. Yugurta passes the information on to Scipio. Cayo Mario asks that he be allowed to keep Florinda as he plans to marry her. Scipio advises Cayo Mario that his order in regard to women in camp applies to all. Retógenes enters telling Scipio of the capture of his bride. Scipio orders Cayo Mario to produce Florinda. Retógenes expresses his gratitude and Scipio again advises him to submit to Roman rule. Retógenes repeats his defiance.

Tronco, disguised as a Roman, seeks to prove himself a hero to Olalla by killing Scipio. He steals into the Roman camp seeking to avenge himself of Cayo Mario's treachery. Cayo Mario passes by on his way to an appointed duel with Yugurta. Megara severely wounds Cayo Mario and leaves as Yugurta arrives. Cayo Mario pleads with Yugurta to either kill him or carry him to his tent. Yugurta carries him off as Tronco appears believing that it was he who killed the Roman and that that Roman was Scipio. He is surrounded by soldiers but feigns drunkenness and tells them that he saw a Numantian enter the camp. Scipio finds that his guards have permitted Numantians to enter the camp and he also knows that Yugurta carried Cayo Mario to his tent. The Numantians attack the Roman camp. In a verbal exchange Retógenes tells of Tronco's entry and Megara tells that it was he who killed Cayo Mario. Retógenes returns the laurel wreath

and the baton to Scipio. As the battle gets under way Scipio and Retógenes are left alone. Retógenes refuses to fight Scipio as this time it is his force that is approaching and Scipio would thus be at a disadvantage. The Numantians return to camp pleased with another victory. The audience is asked to return the following day for the outcome of the conflict.

A SUMMARY OF THE PLOT OF NUMANCIA DESTRUIDA

Scipio, called to vigilance by honor, glory, and immortal fame, inspects the walls of Numantia disguised as a "Spaniard." He decides the time has come to begin an assault. Artemisa, uneasy over the absence of Yugurta from Numidia, has made her way to Numantia. Not knowing Scipio she tells him that she is looking for the Roman commander. He reveals that he is a Roman and she tells him that since Yugurta has not written to her she fears that he has fallen to the charms of the "Circes españolas." Scipio advises her of the order against women in camp but suggests that she dress as a man.

The gates of Numantia open and Retógenes appears in triumphal procession. Scipio leaves in anger to call his troops to battle. Megara suggests to Retógenes that the time is more appropriate for battle than for celebration. In the Roman camp Yugurta reproaches Artemisa for her show of disloyalty in following him to Spain and withdraws his promise to make her the queen of Africa. The lovers' quarrel is interrupted by the call to arms in the Roman camp. The Romans place ladders against the walls of Numantia. Cayo Mario and Yugurta again find themselves vying for Florinda. Their verbal exchange is witnessed by Artemisa and Scipio again finds his leaders neglecting their troops. Artemisa ascends the ladder just as Scipio

is advised to flee because an elephant, struck in the head by a rock thrown from the walls, caused the other elephants to panic and scatter the Roman forces.

In Act II Yugurta and Cayo Mario plead with Scipio to renew the attack but Scipio is firm in his resolve to conquer Numantia solely by siege. Three legions of Spanish allies arrive to assist the Romans against Numantia. The trenchwork is begun in earnest. Yugurta, in a change of heart, regrets that he rebuked Artemisa and goes off in search of her. Meanwhile, Artemisa, captive in Numantia, confides in Florinda. Retógenes, seeing Florinda in intimate conversation with this "man" is convinced that Florinda is unfaithful and he curses the fickleness of women. Florinda leaves to find Retógenes and he in turn takes the opportunity to confront the "Roman." As he attempts to force information from her Florinda returns, misinterprets the scene, and laments the fickleness of men. Yugurta appears in Numancia relying on the nobility of Retógenes to return Artemisa to him. Aluro explains the confusion and Retógenes gives Artemisa to Yugurta. In return for the favor Yugurta says he will leave the Roman army, but Retógenes replies that he will be more honored if he remains an adversary.

Retógenes, left alone, muses upon his greatness and the valor of Numantia. A flock of birds appear followed by an eagle. The birds alight upon the towers of Numantia as the eagle demonstrates its agility in flight. It lands on Retógenes head, momentarily a favorable sign, but then takes flight with the crown of laurel. Retógenes falls asleep and in his dream "Roma" and "Numancia" appear

debating their claims to fame. "Numancia" stabs herself to demonstrate that "Roma" will not conquer her. "Roma" laments the loss of a victory while the dying "Numancia" tells "Olvido" that the fame of Numantia will last eternally. "Olvido" fades away as Retógenes awakens. Confused and saddened by the dream, Retógenes sees the Numantians retreating from a Roman attack. Megara informs him of the completion of the encircling trenches. Retógenes announces that they will attack the trenches, and that they will construct boats to cross the Duero and bring back supplies.

In Act III Scipio points out to his officers that Numantia is being defeated by intelligent means rather than by force of arms. Scipio is told that the Numantians are crossing the river at night for supplies and orders that barricades be erected in the river. Scipio's main concern is that Retógenes will not be taken captive. Scipio tells that he had the right hand of all the young men of Lutia cut off as a warning to neighboring peoples who would assist Numantia. Retógenes returns to Numantia and tells of his activities during the night. He had unsuccessfully attempted to secure aid. They decide to kill all of their animals for food, but as a condition precedent to eating meat each Numantian must first drink Roman blood. Olalla and Tronco argue over some bread that Tronco took from a soldier. Tronco explains that as they are one in marriage her body will be sustained if he eats all of the bread. The Numantians attack the Roman defenses with suicidal vigor. Scipio denies permission for his troops to engage in offensive battle and once again he asks Numantia to surrender.

The Numantian priest reports that he has been ordered by the gods to reveal the future as a consolation to the Numantians. He foretells that Numantia will not be conquered by the Romans and that in the future Soria will succeed her and Spain will rule the world. The Numantians accept the prophecy with pride and resignation. Florinda takes poison and bids farewell to Retógenes. The men prepare to die in combat among themselves. The Romans notice that the Numantians no longer come out to attack. A captive tells Scipio that they are reduced to eating human flesh. Retógenes, the last survivor of the suicidal duel, finds that Florinda's young brother is the only other surviving Numantian. He gives the keys to the city to the boy and kills himself in view of the Romans. The boy then jumps to his death in the Duero. Scipio laments the loss of a victory and orders the town destroyed.

THE CONTRASTS BETWEEN CERVANTES' PLAY AND ROJAS' PLAYS

The only extensive analysis of Rojas' two plays is found in Raymond R. MacCurdy's article, "The Numantia Plays of Cervantes and Rojas Zorrilla: The Shift from Collective to Personal Tragedy," referred to earlier. That analysis demonstrates that the creation of individual personalities, and strong personalities at that, affects the treatment of many of the aspects also found in Cervantes' play--fame, fortune, pride, love, civic duty, and reasonable conduct. By shifting the dramatic interest to a few principal characters Rojas could have brought the tragedy of Numantia into sharper focus. But this was not intended as the characters are highly unstable and consequently difficult to identify with. Retógenes, for example,

"vacillates between 'arrogancia' amd 'moderada jactancia.' He also vacillates between self-pride and pride in his city."[10] He is also possessed of a "violent ambition to overcome the mistress of the world, [this] is the cause of the city's fall."[11] He boasts, "represento a Numancia," but he only occasionally represents the peoples' interests.

Rojas placed greater emphasis on the role of fortune--also used in the sense of "that which happens"--than Cervantes had, and thus the characters have more freedom and more responsibility. MacCurdy compares the works of the two authors:

> It is, moreover, in the treatment of fortune that Cervantes' and Rojas' plays differ so greatly in plot progression. In La Numancia, to be sure, there are many references to the harsh fate which dooms the city. Here, fate is an inexorable force that cannot be resisted or evaded. There is no respite, no hope, as the city's plight goes from bad to worse on the way to inevitable extinction. On the other hand, in Rojas' tragedies, in keeping with his conception of the dramatic, inexorable fate is replaced by variable fortune. On more than one occasion, victory is within reach of the Numantians; and if it is fated that victory should elude them, Rojas attempts to show that they are in some measure responsible for their fate.[12]

MacCurdy finds a point to the various sub-plots which spin off of Florinda's beauty:

> Heretofore we have spoken of the rivalry which she occasions as so many "sup-plots," but this, I think, misses the point. Numancia cercada and Numancia destruida are plays in which war and love constitute two actions,

---

10. "The Numantia Plays of Cervantes and Rojas Zorrilla," p. 113.

11. Ibid., p. 115.

12. Ibid., p. 111.

> for as Yugurta says, "se precia mucho Marte de cortesano en Numancia." At times these actions appear to develop and progress independently, at times they progress simultaneously and in a parallel manner, and at times they are fused (as, for example, when Cayo Mario and Yugurta lead the assault against Numantia, they are beaten back as much by the beauty of Florinda as by the sword with which she opposes them, thus initiating their rivalry for her love and putting a temporary end to the siege. It is the alternation and occasional fusion of the actions of war and love that give Numancia cercada and Numancia destruida their peculiar rhythm.[13]

The alternation between love and war is made integral to the plot, as MacCurdy points out; however, it seems to me that that peculiar rhythm, though it provides the variety and the kind of complication that prevents the outcome from becoming a foredrawn conclusion, as suggested by Lope de Vega, is achieved at the expense of a dilution of the dramatic interest for five acts and gives the play an episodic quality. Part of the difficulty encountered in analyzing the structural aspects of Rojas' plays is a result of the difficulty of establishing whether Rojas conceived the plays as a humorous satire, a near-farce, a comedy ironically becoming a tragedy, or a tragedy in his own Baroque mode. If the spirit of the play was meant to be saturnalian in order to coincide with the festive mood of the audience, then the purpose of the repetition of cycles of dereliction of duty in favor of amorous pursuit becomes logical. The problem of interpretation of the plot and structure of Rojas' two plays is analogous to the difficulties encountered by Shakespearean critics with Troilus and Cressida, a play concerning the siege of a city interrupted by amorous intrigue. If the play was written for performance before

---

13. Ibid., p. 108.

university students at the Inns of Court, it is a triumph in the use of irony. If it was written for performance at one of the public theaters, it is structurally and thematically a baffling anomaly in Shakespeare's production.

The use of the comic characters, Olalla and Tronco, effectively reinforce and accentuate the lack of solidarity among the principals and the lack of discipline on the part of individuals. Their antics would have met the approval of Lope because they realistically represent another facet of life within Numantia.

MacCurdy finds that Rojas used the theme of fame as extensively as Cervantes did as a motivating force, the principal differences being that Rojas failed to verbalize the sublimation of Numantia as effectively as Cervantes did, [14] and that Rojas made the desire for fame a personal rather than a communal motivation.

So it is that these two plays have many strong points and many weak points. This led MacCurdy to categorize the second play as a "very uneven tragedy,"[15] "redeemed too late from cheap claptrap, alas, to salvage Rojas' Numancia destruida from mediocrity."[16]

CONCLUSION

Cervantes wrote La Numancia at a time when didactic morality was still a dramatic convention, when he was still personally convinced of the perfectability of man through the practice of virtue and the use

---

14. Ibid., p. 111.

15. Raymond R. MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), p. 43.

16. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy, p. 27.

of reason, and when he still had faith in the social and political systems of Spain. Cervantes pressed his characters down with inexorable fate but gave them the strength to accept that fate as an accident of life to be met with dignity. Seventeenth-century literature evidences the loss of confidence in the old values, a general disillusionment with the unfulfilled expectations of Renaissance humanism.

Rojas Zorrilla lived and worked within that later time when leadership turned to frivolity to avoid difficult problems. It is my opinion that Rojas Zorrilla's plays must be read in the light of the framework of escapism and frivolity. The theme of the plays--discord or lack of structure in social order--is treated in two veins. First, in a festive mood in which the usual social values are flippantly inverted. Secondly, as the plays progress, in a satirical mood that grows progressively bitter as the festive mood is exhausted.

The satire is most humorous when, in typical Baroque fashion, the appearances are immediately given the lie by reality. In Numancia cercada the opening scene in the senate appears to open on a serious note as the statesmen of Rome exchange opinions in octavas reales. But the appearance is undercut by the irony of the boasting of two veterans of service in the Iberian peninsula. Tiberio asks Fulvio, who is supporting the faction that wants to avenge themselves of their losses at Numantia, for his impressions of the situation in Celtiberia:

Tiberio: Diga Fulvio Nobilio de la suerte
que en Celtiberia militó tres años.

Fulvio: Sujeté la nación bárbara y fuerte,
puesto que recibí infinitos daños.

Cayo Mario: ¿Y yo no fui de España rayo y muerte?
Solo a mí con cautelas, con engaños,
me pudieron vencer.

Tiberio: Todos volvistes
con infamia de allá, y agüeros tristes.

Cayo Mario: Numancia muera, en fin; que es vituperio
del Senado romano que se oponga
una humilde ciudad a tanto imperio.

Standards have been inverted--losing is winning, Numantia, a small foreign city, should not have the audacity to stand for its rights. In Numantia Retógenes, Megara, and Olonio are anxious to put themselves before the good of their country in order to obtain personal glory. The aggrandizement of self at the expense of others becomes the pattern of the social behavior in the plays. The Roman officers are willing to desert in order to pursue their own ends. The Numantians are no better. Megara would sell out Numantia just to have Florinda. Retógenes would offer Numantia as ransom for Florinda. And so it goes, one principal character after another fails to live up to the expected standards of conduct. Scipio commits no serious breaches of conduct but neither does he exercise his leadership and instill order in his staff.

Perhaps the strangest action of the plays is the triumphal procession organized by Retógenes. There has been no decisive victory, on the contrary, Scipio's siege is beginning to have serious effects on Numantia, yet Retógenes calls for celebration. Scipio, inspecting the walls of Numantia, is surprised by the festivities: "¿pero qué ruido y alboroto es este?/ Las puertas de Numancia están abiertas/ y a entrar por ellas un tropel confuso/ de gente viene . . ." Then

the stage direction follows:

> Al son de cajas, tompetas, y chirimías salen todos los que pueden con ramos de palmas y de olivas, arrastrando estandartes romanos, pintadas en ellos unas águilas; y después Retógenes triunfando en un carro a quien tiran dos leones; en estando en medio del tablado, cesa la música, y cantan; y lleva el laurel en la cabeza.

Retógenes' speeches of self-praise, within the context of the on-going war, and his fanciful chariot, suggest the comic figure of the Lord of Misrule, a favorite figure in the revels of Elizabethan England, who for the day of the festival reigned over the inversion of order.[17]

Rojas, following Lope's dicta, wrote a play for his times. Numancia cercada and Numancia destruida should be looked upon as a rich, varied, and at times bizarre spectacle, fit for a performance at a court festival. We should not look too deeply for the kind of moral significance found in some of Rojas' other tragedies or in Cervantes' La Numancia. We expect drama to be substantial and significant, a play of both ideas and emotion. Perhaps we should suspend that criterion when we examine a museum piece from the court of Philip IV.

---

17. Chapter 3, "Misrule as Comedy; Comedy as Misrule," of S. L. Barber's Shakespeares Festive Comedy, provides an interesting discussion of the impersonation of the Lord of Misrule in the histories and tragedies as well as in Shakespeare's comedies.

CHAPTER XI

The Numantian Theme in Eighteenth-Century Drama

The eighteenth century in Spain was a contradictory period, now difficult to assess objectively after the intervention of the various successive esthetic movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Basically there were two opposing esthetic movements throughout the eighteenth century. The neo-classical movement sought to renovate Spanish literature by replacing the native traditions with "new" esthetic principles derived from French interpretations of the classical tradition. The opposing group, the traditionalists, reacted adversely to foreign influence and were still cultivating traditional native themes and styles. Both groups desperately sought a new synthesis of some kind. Their efforts became strained and they grasped at externals rather than giving expression to their real feelings. As a result, the literature of the eighteenth century, whether proceeding from the neo-classical camp or from the traditionalists, lacks emotional and intellectual conviction. The neo-classical playwrights who strove for serious, lofty, and refined drama could not suppress their inherited national traits and were prone to slip from their lofty perches and include in their plays the very kind of elements that they considered corrupting in the plays of Lope and Calderón. The traditionalists, in their uninspired imitations of Golden Age plays, lethargically introduced the posturing and the high-flown language of neo-classical heroes. In their search for some measure of originality they further corrupted their art by progressively exceeding the fantasy of the preceding plays that served as their models.

It is significant that twentieth-century critics have found only one eighteenth-century play that can stand on its own as a significant work of art--Vicente García de la Huerta's La Raquel. The remainder of the eighteenth-century plays are of interest chiefly for their historical value.

Two Numantian plays survive from the eighteenth century. One demonstrates the limitations of neo-classicism in the Spanish mode, the other demonstrates the stagnation and hollowness of the Baroque mode in the hands of a writer who did not possess the Baroque spiri .

Although the first half of the century was not a productive period for the theater it was a period of intellectual and literary debate that prepared the way for later activity. In the 'fifties and 'sixties most plays were written with the foreknowledge that they would never be produced. Joseph López de Sedano (1729-1801), editor of the Parnaso español and a student and translator of the French drama, commented in the prologue to his tragedy, La Jahel, that he would have supplied stage directions except that " . . en España no se escriben tales obras para representarse, no son compatibles con las monstruosidades que tienen tomada la posesión de sus teatros, en donde se abomina, y del todo se ignora lo que es arte, regularidad, y buen gusto, y sólo reina la confusion, la indecencia, el pedantismo, y la última barbarie, sostenidos de una antigua vergonzosa y mal tolerada costumbre." [1]

---

1. Joseph López de Sedano, La Jahel (Madrid, 1763), p. xlv.

One would expect that an author who reacted so strongly to the defects of others would himself be able to present a play that responded to artistic principles rather than to the dramatic conventions which the public had been conditioned to appreciate. However, Sedano, whose Parnaso español indicates that he did not possess profound literary perception, lacked understanding of the dramatic medium; and while he avoided some of the pitfalls that he had singled out, he also failed to instill dramatic force in La Jahel. Ivy L. McClelland makes the following observation about the play:

> His vision of tragedy, however, was uncertain. Often it amounted to an hallucination. Before his mind's eye appeared a theme ennobled by biblical association and dressed in poetic language of Old Testament grandeur suggested, perhaps, by his readings in Herrera whom he included in the Parnaso. All too readily he then identified the lofty thought with a mere loftiness of speech. He is one of many Spanish slaves of rhetoric who, believing themselves to be dramatic pioneers, thought that a grandiose exterior automatically supplied an inner sublimity.[2]

Sedano's Numantian play, Cerco y ruina de Numancia, exists only in manuscript form and the date of its composition is not known. The manuscript must not have circulated very widely because if it had, it surely would have drawn withering comments from Sedano's many adversaries with whom he engaged in a running critical battle for years. McClelland's comments about La Jahel hold for the Cerco y ruina de Numancia. It has no features that save it from mediocrity. It lacks direction in plot and theme. The language and the imagery strive for eloquence but are hollow. The verses are without life. The dénouement is perplexing. A summary of the plot proves that the

---

2. Ivy L. McClelland, Spanish Drama of Pathos: 1750-1808 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970), I, 119-120.

Baroque mode, in an exhausted state, and the neo-classical mode, in an unassimilated state, are not compatible.

The opening scene of Cerco y ruina de Numancia, set in rugged and harsh mountains, strains for the affectiveness found in Calderón's La vida es sueño. There is a furious storm, and a bolt of lightning strikes the mountain and opens up the cave in which Olonio has been sealed. In terror, the lone figure of Porcia (dressed as a man), the daughter of the disgraced Roman consul Mancino, trembles and says:

> Benignos Dioses templad
> la atroz formidable guerra
> con que los cuatro elementos
> su inmenso poder ostentan,
> ¡Qué horror! todo el aire es fuego
> Diluvios toda la tierra
> Y a los pavorosos ecos
> del trueno, los montes tiemblan.
> El inconio de los rayos
> Voraz, encunde las sierras.
> ¡Parece que desunidas
> las celestiales espheras
> Se desprenden contra el mundo
> A convertirle en pavesas!

Olonio, an ancient man who holds an exquisite lance in his right hand, replies, "¡Ay de mi infeliz!" After expressing further wonder at the discord of the elements Porcia helps Olonio down from the cave. She says that she is in search of the prophet Olonio. He identifies himself and says that she is to take the lance to Numantia along with some written instructions.

Lucio convenes the governing council of Numantia. He tells them that he sent Mario (Porcia) to find Olonio. Meguera then speaks, providing an exposition of the Roman siege, and he finishes by asking the Numantians to strive for a moral victory:

que aunque la Numancia muera,
renacerá de sus hechos
para vivir siempre eterna
en el general aplauso
de las plumas o las lenguas.

In response Lucio awards Meguera the hand of his daughter, Tirsi. Porcia returns with the lance. She explains that she undertook the dangerous mission in order to repay in part the compassion which Numantia displayed when they accepted her father. She tells them of Olonio's words, ". . . Numancia/ es preciso que perezca/ si la lanza se malogra." Tirsi is placed in charge of guarding the lance in the temple.

In Act II Scipio rests in a chair as he awaits a reply from the Numantians in response to his order that they surrender or be destroyed. He orders Yugurta to admit to his tent any Numantian messenger. He then falls asleep pondering the conflict between the senate's order to destroy Numantia and his affection for Tirsi. Meguera appears with Numantia's written reply: "Prius flamiis combusta quam armis Numancia victa." Scipio, dreaming, speaks in his sleep:

Suspende
Tirsi tu esquivez divina
que si contra patria hacer
tirano, el honor me obliga.
Amor también me conduce
a que un alma siempre fina
sacrifique sus afectos
a tu beldad peregrina.

Meguera is astounded as Scipio continues to converse with Tirsi in his dream. He raises his daggar but Scipio awakens and diverts the blow. Meguera leaves Numantia's reply and departs.

Porcia laments the fact that her secret love, Meguera, is going to marry Tirsi: "Amo a Meguera, él ignora mi amor y aun también mi

sexo." Porcia drugs Tirsi and hurls the lance from the temple just as Meguera enters. She begins to explain her actions but is interrupted by the approach of several Numantians. She only has time to tell Meguera that she is a woman. Meguera decides to cover up for her as a point of honor. He tells the Numantians that he found Scipio asleep, decided that Numantia should rely on its own valor, returned to the temple, and threw the lance to the Romans. His speech is so convincing and stirring that the Numantians quickly agree that he did the right thing.

Meguera seeks out Porcia and demands an explanation of her disguise. Tirsi overhears their conversation and Porcia's statement of the dedication of her life to Meguera. After Porcia departs Tirsi confronts Meguera with one word, "Hablad." Meguera explains that he defended Porcia because she had endeared herself to the Numantians. Tirsi then understands why she fell asleep and why the lance is missing.

As Yugurta leads the Romans up scaling ladders Meguera leads the Numantians through a side gate. The Romans are routed but new legions arrive and turn the defeat into victory. Meguera orders Caravino to return to the city, convene the survivors, and give them a certain liquor so that the Romans will not triumph over the Numantians. Caravino asks for an explanation and Meguera deceives him by telling that the liquor will have beneficial effects:

> Al momento que lo beban
> el más decrepito anciano,
> la mujer debil, el joven
> sin experiencia, el soldado
> más tímido, sentirán
> en sus almas un sagrado
> ardor, un bélico impulso

tan poderoso, tan alto
que no podrán resistirles
juntos todos los romanos.

But in an aside he reveals that the liquor has other properties:

Cautamente he ocultado
que está en la bebida Celia
que apenas desde los labios
para al pecho, cuando enciende
en el corazón humano una rabia vehemente
y afectos desesperados
tales, que según escriben
los Naturales más sabios
buscarán unos en otros
su muerte, ruyna y estrago.

The final act, usually the strongest in most Numantian plays, breaks down in Cerco y ruina de Numancia. Lucio vacillates between anger towards his daughter for having fallen asleep in the temple, and love because she will soon be dead. His spirits are revived by Tirsi and Porcia as they express their love for him, their respect for his office, their love for Numantia, or their desire to fight to the end. Carabino tells them of the effects of the liquor upon the other Numantians. He narrowly escaped with his life after serving the beverage. Caravino expresses his love to Porcia and asks her permission to lead her to safety. As the leaders go to the square where the Numantians are fighting among themselves they find that fissures have opened in the earth through which flames and furies are escaping. The descriptive language becomes quite grotesque:

Ya como imposible miro
de tanta pena, el remedio
toda la ciudad está
hecha un vivo mortífero
sus calles ríos de púrpura
parecen pues va corriendo
tanta sangre derramada
de los cadáveres cuerpos
que infaustamente navegan
en el mar que forman ellos.

The Romans come out of their camp to observe the fires in Numantia. They are met by Porcia who asks Scipio to exercise clemency and save Numantia. She also asks for the return of the lance. In the temple the Numantians attempt to attack their leaders. There is a lot of talk about the respect due kingship. The leaders decide to drink the liquor also and put an honorable end to Numantia. Just as they are touching the glasses to their lips Scipio and his entourage enter. The Numantians arrogantly defy the Romans. Scipio offers amnesty to Numantia under terms that completely dissolve the dramatic conflict of the play:

> Declaro en nombre de Roma,
> cuya autoridad suprema
> reside en mi, que Numancia
> vencedora de sí misma
> no fue vencida por mi
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Y para dar de ello pruebas
> haré que marchen mis soldados
> arrastrando sus banderas
> con tambores destemplados
> y con músicas funestas.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Y porque ninguno olvide
> y Roma tampoco pueda
> abstenerse de cumplir
> cuanto os promete mi lengua
> y debe firmar mi pluma
> dejaré en Numancia presas
> las águilas del imperio
> hasta que aprobadas vengan
> todas mis resoluciones
> y declaraciones hechas.

Meguera is reluctant to accept Scipio's offer because of his own role in the death of so many Numantians and his sensitivity to public opinion:

> ¿Que´ dijera
> el mundo cuando supiere
> que después de la sangrienta
> desolación de Numancia . . .
> que ha sido por mi dispuesta
> para no mirar sus gentes
> a captiverio sujetas
> consentía en vivir yo?

The Numantians then unanimously decide to drink the celia. Porcia enters with the lance, and strange music is heard that immediately pacifies the Numantians. The resolution of differences permits Tirsi and Meguera to renew their plans for marriage. Scipio, in an aside, indicates his consent: "Corazón calla, y respeta/ el honor, pues el amor/ de Tirsi fue vana idea." Porcia confesses her love for Caravino, and Meguera ends the play with an explanation that Numantia became the cornerstone for the foundation of Soria.

It is difficult to imagine why Sedano chose the history of Numantia for the plot of a play that has so little in common with the historical incidents and the implications of the tragic destruction of a people. Apparently Sedano took one aspect of Luzan's Poëtica, the section dealing with peripeteia and anagnorisis, and made it the governing principle of his handling of the plot. Luzán studied Aristotle's Poetics and defined reversal and recognition in the following manner:

> Peripety is a change of fortune contrary to what the incidents of the action may have promised up until that point; not just any change, but a sudden and completely unexpected change. Agnición, or recognition, as the name implies, is the sudden transition from

> ignorance to the knowledge of the identity of a person, or of some deed, which gives rise to friendship or enmity between the persons who are destined to be happy or unhappy in the drama.[3]

Luzán theorized that variety and complication of plot achieved through reversal and recognition were desirable because such plots are "more marvelous, more intricate and, consequently, more pleasing, and more likely to move the emotions of the spectators by the unexpectedness of their incidents."[4] However, reversal was intended only to momentarily excite the spectator; it was not intended to motivate and determine the resolution of the dramatic conflict. Luzan's principles were complex and intended to be integrated so that the resultant effect would achieve the chief purpose of neo-classical literature--didacticism. Sedano's handling of the reversal of Numantia's fate, facilitated in part by the intervention of the magic lance, comes as a surprise, but it is a surprise that creates absurd complexity, not complexity with coherence.

THE NUMANCIA DESTRUIDA OF LÓPEZ DE AYALA

Ignacio Luzán's Poética was perhaps the most influential single document of the neo-classical movement. In the second half of the eighteenth century there was a neo-classical revolt in Spain among the men of letters. The intense activity of the revolt was mainly carried out at a theoretical level--through debates, tracts, articles of literary criticism, and discussions in tertulias--and in actual

---

3. Ignacio de Luzán, La Poética, o reglas de la poesía en general (Zaragoza, 1737). p. 324. Translation by John A. Cook, Neo-classic Drama in Spain (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1959), p. 35.

4. Ibid., Luzán, p. 325; Cook, p. 35.

practice the revolt was influential but by no means did it revolutionize the Spanish theater. One reason for the lack of any noticeable improvement in the drama as a result of the application of the neo-classical precepts was the fact that most of the proponents of the reform movement were intellectuals but not creative artists. Thus Ramón de la Cruz, who achieved great popular success with his sainetes, could chide his elitist critics with remarks like the following:

> I want to correct myself, I want to imitate you, and I ask you not for precepts, for I know where they are written, but for examples; I am waiting for models of those perfect works produced by your invention and composed by your pens in order that they may serve as a foundation for that correctness you rant about.[5]

The general emphasis of neo-classicism was upon good taste--elevated thought expressed with clarity. The principles propounded by Luzán were directed towards achieving good taste. He recommended moderation (restrained imagination and suppression of Gongoristic tendencies), decorum, verisimilitude, the observance of the three classical unities, and, above all, he insisted upon a didactic purpose. There was a certain stuffiness connected with neo-classicism. In poetry it was the age of the ode, a neo-classical form chosen to express such marginally poetic themes as patriotism, technological progress, political development, and the beauty of man-made order. The followers of Luzán were highly critical of the dramatists of the Golden Age because those authors violated most of the neo-classical precepts.

The activities and attitudes of the neo-classical theorists were influential upon a large group of playwrights. Thus there was a

---

5. Cited by John A. Cook, Neo-classic Drama in Spain, p. 241.

proliferation of plays written in the neo-classical mode (with insipid results). and many French plays were translated and adapted to the Spanish stage; but the public, and many playwrights such as Sedano (as we have seen) and later Luciano Francisco Comella (1751-1812) continued their preference for trite and banal versions of Golden Age plays. The impulse to imitate Golden Age plays was born of a nationalistic reaction to foreign modes. Thus the Spaniards turned away from translations of French and Greek drama, and plays modelled after them, to Spanish themes and sentiment. This patriotic reaction in literary matters was a reflection of Spain's belief that she was being victimized by foreign powers.

The middle ground between Spanish neo-classicism and Spanish traditionalism is well illustrated by a Numantian theme play written by Ignacio López de Ayala, who in theory was a proponent of neo-classicism, but in practice was less than a purist. López de Ayala was a member of the tertulia of the Fonda de San Sebastián, founded by Nicolás Fernández de Moratín. This influential group was made up of the leading members of the intelligentsia of Madrid and was protected by the Count of Aranda, the minister of Charles III.[6] López de Ayala held the Chair of Rhetorics and Poetics in the Reales Estudios de San Isidro, and he was the Corrector y Censor de Comedias, the latter a post advocated by Cervantes that did not become a reality until the regulatory-minded eighteenth century.

---

6. For details on the activities of this influential group see Chapter 5, "The Age of Aranda: Tragedians of the Fonda de San Sebastián," of Ivy L. McClelland's two volume study, Spanish Drama of Pathos: 1750-1808 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970), I, 165-195.

With all of his connections and qualifications one would expect that any play which came from Ayala's pen would be a paradigm of formality, high seriousness, and good taste. His tragedy, Numancia destruida (1775),[7] meets that expectation, yet it is also a strange mutation derived from combining elements of Golden Age drama, Greek tragedy, and the sensationalism of Senecan drama.

Cervantes used the history of Numantia for a tragedy of collective suffering. Rojas Zorrilla shifted the focus of his plays from the collective plight of Numantia to the individual problems of several principal characters. The conflicting interests, the all-pervasive dissension, the alternation between pathos and comedy, the complication of the plot, the lack of dramatic structure, and the random use of allusions to classical mythology point to an over-all esthetic principal which shaped the play--the representation of discord. This esthetic principle takes on added significance if it can be related to a general philosophical and psychological attitude towards the state of order in the nation and in the universe at the time Rojas Zorrilla wrote the play.

The theme of López de Ayala's play is also discord, but he handles the development of the theme through a direct discussion of it rather than through a representation of it. López de Ayala used many of the same elements as Rojas Zorrilla to complicate the plot of his play and to add variety as compensation for the monotony of the action

---

7. This play is now readily available in an edition edited by Russell P. Sebold: Ignacio López de Ayala, Numancia Destruida (Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1971).

and the predetermined outcome of the siege. Sedano also sought complication and variety, but without the same degree of moderation that Ayala achieved. Ayala's play has its warrior maiden, reminiscent of Florinda, and a dama disguised as a man. A summary of the plot demonstrates that López de Ayala was more concerned with the neo-classical principles than was Sedano, and thus his handling of the theme is more disciplined and coherent.

The initial stage setting is not changed throughout the play. In the background there is an impressive temple with a statue of Endovélico, a Celtiberian god, before it. To the right are tombs and a tree. To the left are the trenches and the camp of the Romans. The action of the play is completed within the space of one day.

Act I opens with Megara's hasty return from the trenches in order to determine why the Numantians are raising such a cry before their god. They inform him that it is the day indicated by the oracle of Hercules for the end of the war. Megara tells them that the war is progressing well, the Romans are afraid to fight, the surrounding villages have indicated that they will come to Numantia's aid, and the Numantians are offering ever stiffer resistance. Terma, Megara's sister, says they have exceeded the endurance of suffering, that Numantians have become cannibals, and that she has premonitions of disaster. Megara replies:

> Triste Terma, fatal sacerdotisa,
> perpetua voz de míseros presagios,
> el hombre emprende, y logra, si es constante,
> la virtud sola. El ser desventurado,
> o ser feliz, de su elección no pende.
> ¿Cuántas veces verás a los tiranos
> triunfantes y a los héroes perseguidos?
> ¿Pretendes que Numancia, atada al carro
> y en triunfo conducida al Capitolio,

de Roma burla sea, del mundo escarnio?
La hambre, la sed, heridas, sangre y muerte
gustosas son al ánimo esforzado. (I, 111-122)[8]

Dulcidio, the priest, then tells Megara that they have eaten everything but the venerable tree that stands in the center of Numantia. Megara's report that the village of Lutia will offer aid is scorned by Terma:

¡Designio vano!
Pues si insensible España yace esclava,
si besa sus cadenas, si al Senado
obedece gustosa, ¿han de alistarse
por Numancia, a quien ven con desagrado
reprender su vileza? (I, 142-147)

Dulcidio then reports on the details of his visit to the oracle of Hercules:

El dios se anima, su deidad se acerca,
Hércules habla, y oigo como un llanto
del dios invicto domador de monstruous,
que en acento distinto ha pronunciado:
--Por dejar sola a España, de la Europa
a Africa separé. ¡Oh afortunados
si nadie os conociera!
A Numancia imitad. Catorce años,
por vivir libre de los hados, triunfa.
Dulcidio, el Duero es sangre, el Tibre llanto,
Roma luto y temor. De vuestra patria
inmortal será el nombre, se en su pena
la espada elige y huye la cadena.-- (I, 175-187)

Olvia, a warrior maiden and another of Megara's sisters, discusses with Aluro the war that has interrupted their courtship. Olvia swears that she will not rest until she has killed the Roman who killed her brother, Olón, whose shade does not leave her. She then asks Aluro a difficult question, "Which do you love the most, me or

---

8. Act and line numbers refer to the 1971 edition of Numancia destruida edited by Russell P. Sebold.

Numantia?" She insists upon an answer, and he reluctantly answers that he would put his country before her. She begins to explain something to him involving Yugurta, but breaks off and says she will conclude the explanation at another time.

In Act II the Numantians prepare to receive Yugurta. Dulcidio reminds his people of the Romans' deceitful use of negotiations and treaties:

> La política Roma, si en la guerra
> no triunfa de los pueblos, da partidos
> aparientes; suscita en ellos bandos
> civiles; deja alguno ennoblecido,
> para echar la cadena a los restantes;
> satisfacciones da a los ofendidos
> pomposos, pero inútiles; recibe
> por asociado un pueblo, o por amigo,
> y es declararlos por esclavos nobles.
> Todo en utilidad de su partido
> cede. De sus promesas me recelo;
> pues fastidiados de tan largo sitio,
> no pudiendo con armas sojuzgarnos,
> con partido falaz quieren rendirnos. (II, 383-397)

Yugurta arrives and explains to the Numantians that he is delivering Mancino to them as a symbol of Rome's rejection of the treaties that he had made with Numantia. Megara demands that the legions return, that they place themselves in the same situation as at the time of surrender, and that they then open negotiations as they had before. Yugurta leaves and Megara orders that the captured banners from the battle with Mancino be returned to the Romans.

The Numantians decide to sustain themselves on the flesh of their own townsmen chosen by the drawing of lots. Megara assents to the plan on the condition that his name be placed in the drawing.

Act III finds Olvia and Aluro continuing their earlier discussion. They are pleased that the plan to commit cannabalism will

thwart the Roman plan to conquer Numantia. Aluro also finds it as a way out of the strange dilemma that Olvia has been trying to explain to him. But she then explains that Jugurta, when he delivered Mancino, repeated a prior offer to pass over with his troops to the Numantian side if she promises to marry him. Olvia leaves the decision to Aluro. He tells her to reject the offer but she persists until she has his consent:

> Adiós, Olvia. Con tu nuevo
> amante feliz vive, vive ufana;
> goza de amor el delicioso incendio.
> A mí fortuna avara me destina
> de pesar a pesar, y de un tormento
> a otro mayor. ¡Cruel naturaleza,
> que amor me diste a la que amar no debo! (III, 777-783)

Aluro is chosen to die by the drawing of lots. He tells Dulcidio, his father, that he accepts without hesitancy because:

> Nací para mi patria;
> por la misma viví, por ella muero.
> Acuérdate, señor, que me inspiraste
> en mi niñez que el único trofeo
> a que debía anhelar un numantino
> era a sacrificarse por su pueblo. (III, 824-829)

Megara convenes the people under the communal tree. The meeting is opened with a prayer to Endovélico that sums up the attitude of the Numantians:

> Dios grande, dios sangriento,
> Endovélico fuerte, cuyo culto
> la sangre es que derrama nuestro acero,
> salva a Numancia, y sin piedad inspira.
> Honor, gloria, no vida, pretendemos. (III, 875-879)

Scipio arrives and is invited to sit beneath the "sacred" tree. He tells Megara to surrender. Megara replies that the Numantians have a duty to protect all of Spain from domination: "en aqueste

recinto, en este suelo/ habita la nacíon, aquí domina./ Para vencer a España has de vencernos."

Megara then refers to the disunity of Spain as the cause of her problems:

> sus mismas armas
> volvió España cruel contra su seno.
> Este reino infeliz, abandonado,
> desunido, engañado, forjó él mesmo
> con sus infaustas manos la cadena
> que había de oprimir su heroico cuello.
> ¿Cuántas veces, las haces ordenadas
> crujió el padre español, audaz y necio
> la honda contra su hijo? ¿Cuántas éste
> venció a su padre, degolló a su deudo?
> No los ultrajes, pues; los que hay rendidos,
> no los vencisteis, se vencieron ellos. (III, 1031-1042)

Megara then adds, in language that would have met the approval of Seneca's Baroque disciple, Rojas Zorrilla, that there is only one way to enter Numantia honorably; "Para entrar en Numancia, con la espada/ has de abrir puerta en nuestros mismos pechos."

In Act IV Terma tells Dulcidio that she fears that her sister is preparing to do something sinister, perhaps go over to the Roman side. Dulcidio ignores her and preaches to the people about disunity:

> España ciega,
> divididas provincias, ¿hasta cuándo
> derramaréis feroces vuestra sangre
> por ser de Roma míseros esclavos?
> ¿Qué furor es, discordes españoles,
> audaces destruir vuestros hermanos
> por ensalzar vuestro enemigo? Fuerzas,
> ¡Oh, ciegos! dais a su implacable brazo
> que después volverán contra vosotros. (IV, 1039-1147)

Dulcidio leads the prople to the cemetery where the Numantians killed by the treachery of Servio Galba are buried. Their death reminds Aluro of the problem of dissension: "Venguemos nuestros padres./ Almas gloriosas, héroes sacrosantos, dioses que condenáis las disen-

siones/ de las Españas. . ."

Olvia goes out to meet Yugurta and tells him that she has decided to assent to his request and thus it is time for him to come to the aid of Numantia. Seeing the tomb of Olón, he boasts of having killed him. Olvia leaves in anger and, upon meeting Aluro, tells him that she cannot go through with the plan because Yugurta killed her brother. Aluro asks Dulcidio to convince Olvia that she must save Numantia. She gives Dulcidio her sword to deliver to Yugurta as a sign of her compliance. Megara appears, elated by Numantian victories that indicate that the prediction of the oracle is about to be fulfilled.

Act V takes place at night. Olvia waits for Yugurta. Terma, who has been following her sister, struggles with Olvia to prevent her from committing some act of treason. Aluro, hearing them, thinks that Yugurta is attacking Olvia. He does not recognize her because she is disguised as a man. He wounds her with his sword. Olvia thinks she has been wounded by Yugurta, but Terma tells her that it was Aluro. When Yugurta arrives Olvia tells him that her love for him was real and that he must aid Numantia if he has any affection for her. Yugurta wants to fulfill Olvia's dying wish, but Terma, remembering the prophecy, tells him that his help will destroy Numantia. The Numantians are now experiencing misfortunes at every quarter. Terma says this is the day she has been anticipating for so long. Megara briefly confuses his people by saying that he is going to the trenches to plead with the Romans. At the trench he tells Scipio that the furies are inciting the Numantians to die and asks that the Romans now kill them so that they will die in battle. In reply Scipio hurls them a sword and a chain, thus giving them the choice mentioned in the

oracle's prophecy. Dulcidio speaks:

> Ya no hay remedio,
> Megara generoso. Vino el día
> de horror y muerte. Fuimos numantinos,
> hubo Numancia, dominó su imperio,
> vencieron sus campeones. Sus ruinas
> mostrará el caminante al escarmiento
> de la discorde España. Esta es la espada,
> éstas son las cadenas, que severo
> Hércules indicó porque adquiriese
> tu patria en su exterminio nombre eterno. (V, 1734-1744)

Megara recognizes the moral to be drawn from Numantia's experience. Spain will suffer as long as it does not self-reliantly determine her own course, just as Numantia presently suffers as a result of Olvia's attempt to obtain the aid of a foreigner:

> Ya, cielos misteriosos, vuestras voces,
> ya vuestra obscura providencia entiendo.
> Morimos por que España en nuestra muerte
> sienta su esclavitud, por que sus hierros
> quebrante; por que advierta que en sí misma
> confiar debe, y no en valor ajeno.
> Y aun morimos por pena; pues faltando
> Olvia incauta a las voces de los cielos
> imploró auxilio extraño. (V, 1745-1753)

By now the Numantians are solely concerned with gaining fame in order that a future Spain will be incited to great deeds ("que activa excite a generosos hechos a la futura España). They kill themselves by various means. Terma takes poison and delivers to Megara his infant son. Megara again speaks of the discord of Spaniards:

> Quien lo causa,
> ¿llorará este desastre? Acusa al
> cielo las discordias de España. Ingrata madre
> que vuelves tu furor contra tu seno,
> que tu corazón fiera despedazas,
> provincias desunidas, celtiberos
> crueles, insensibles lusitanos
> que olvidáis de Viriato los ejemplos,
> hermanos, enemigos de Numancia,
> de vuestra división ved los excesos,
> en nuestra muerte ved vuestros delitos.

> Nuestro es el golpe, y el impulso vuestro.
> ¿cuándo ejecutarás, nación discorde,
> lo que puedes? (V, 1087-1900)

Megara decides to kill his son rather than let him fall captive to Scipio, but his sword falls from his hand. The niño says goodbye to his father and enters the flames of the burning city. Scipio and his troops enter the city. Megara, after warning them that there is a system of justice in the world, throws himself into the flames. Scipio, now addressed with the honorary surname of "Numantino," attributes the defeat of Numantia to discord:

> A Cartago
> Yugurta, la venció el romano esfuerzo;
> Numancia a sí se vence. Su ruina
> gloria da a España, a Roma vituperio.
> Discordes españoles, si a Numancia
> se hubiera reunido vuestro aliento,
> como a la España mandan los romanos,
> mandara a Roma el español denuedo. (V, 1995-2002)

ANALYSIS OF NUMANCIA DESTRUIDA

The characteristic that distinguishes López de Ayala's play from the other Numantian plays is the disciplined organization and integration of its elements. It gives the feeling that the author, because of his training as a scholar and teacher, prepared an outline of his plot and characterizations, and then followed it. Disciplined organization and consistency of character were the most needed aspects of Spanish drama. The neo-classicists' contribution of organization was felt long afterwards, even after the Romantics brought a new mode of expression.

López de Ayala observed the unity of time by ingeniously completing the siege in a single day, the final day of the war indicated in the prophecy of the oracle. The limitations imposed by the observance

of the unity of time required that a lot of diverse incidents take place without detailed development, but the unity of place holds the action together and makes the whole feasible and believable. Ayala indicates at the beginning of the play that the setting is constant ("la escena es inmutable"). There is unity of action because all of the individual actions, even Olvia's manipulation of Aluro and her attempts to either kill or join Yugurta, are directed toward the main plot centering on the siege. Unity of theme is achieved by the characters' frequent verbalization of the effects of disunity.

Characterization is one of the principal vehicles of dramatic content. López de Ayala's characters are believable but so restrained in the expression of sentiment because of the limiting requirements of good taste that they seem emotionless, stylized heroic figures. Their resounding language further contributes to a feeling that they are elevated above the normal plane of human sentiment and that their suffering does not bring them down to the level of the audience. Olvia, superficially a sister in spirit to Sophocles' Antigone and Electra, is so deeply affected by the death of Olón and so committed to avenging his death that her emotional involvement, bordering on hysteria, vitiates her capacity to reason and casts doubt upon her affection for Aluro. Terma has only one dimension. She, like Cassandra, the prophetess of Troy's doom, is the ever-present voice of pessimistic fatalism. Aluro is an admirable character made emotionless by his devotion to reason. But he comes the closest of any of the characters to responding in a believable human way to personal misfortune. Megara, a man of reason and outstanding qualities of leadership, is portrayed as a man with no faults. He is totally committed to

the problems of Numantia, and thus no other facet of his personality is developed. The war and the death of his father have stripped him of emotion.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the characterization and the general tone sought by López de Ayala conformed to the esthetics of the Spanish neo-classical poets who thought that they were conforming to the spirit as well as to the structure of Greek and French models of tragedy. They sought the highly refined and intellectually appealing effect of tragic force derived from verbal agility and irony, and thus they wanted to keep the expression of emotion as restrained as possible within the context of the action. But tragedies put into the words of another language and the structure of another formula lose their essential qualities. The subtle and elevated verbal skills of Corneille and Racine, transported to the Spanish works, remain devoid of philosophical implications.

López de Ayala occasionally employed the Greek technique of communicating a character's emotional response through another personage's description of observed behavior, as in Terma's description of Olvia's perturbation:

> Que turbada, irresoluta,
> inquieta; ya tranquilo, ya alterado
> su rostro, mira a Aluro, aparta triste
> su vista; ve a Numancia, aumenta el llanto;
> mira al campo romano pensativa;
> recorre las trincheras; de mi hermano
> considera el sepulcro, y se enternece. (IV, 117-123)

However, Olvia herself withholds her suffering from Aluro and her brother and sister and thus the audience never shares her distress. It is an emotional distance that the neo-classicists wanted to maintain. It is an emotional distance that we would like to shorten.

Spain was beginning to regain the will to assert herselt as an independent member of the community of nations at the time that López de Ayala wrote Numancia destruida. The poets of the tertulia of the Fonda de San Sebastián followed the national trend in a shift toward the use of national themes in literature.[9] The poets aspired to express their feelings of nationalism through tragedy. The level of their tragic mood was "high," a term defined by I. M. McClelland in the following manner:

> The terms 'High' and 'Low' Tragedy are used for convenience to distinguish two broad aspirations or traditions. 'High' Tragedy refers to drama of concentrated pathos on a grand scale, dealing with the calamaties, and public repercussions of the calamities, of elevated persons, and normally, though not invariably, employing a conscious rhetoric that aims at poetic sublimity: drama, for instance, of the Greek and neo-classical traditions, Elizabethan tragedy, and some Golden Age drama. By 'Low' Tragedy is understood drama concerned with the griefs of ordinary human beings. . .[10]

Concentrated pathos, the evocation of compassion and sympathy, requires that the characters not only be submitted to unfortunate and painful situations, but that they also convey their suffering and strive to master their plight rather than become victims of it. Poetic sublimity requires, in addition to nobility of character, a density of philosophical reverberations which affirm the value of man and the value of cosmic order. Drama void of poetic sublimity lacks the essence of tragedy. López de Ayala made emotion subsidiary to neo-classical composure and posturing, with the result that

---

9. José Caldalso also wrote a play based on the history of Numantia, La Numantina, now lost. Cadalso died defending Gibraltar against the British.

10. Spanish Drama of Pathos, I, vii, viii.

Numancia destruida is an outward show of unfortunate events without the inner truth of artistic tragedy.

The austerity of the stage and its fixed setting, the formal phrases of distress, the flights of verbal eloquence, the occasionally striking poetry, the lengthy speeches (Megara's talk with his young son runs to thirty-four uninterrupted lines of hendecasyllabic verse; his final speech, addressed to Scipio just before he hurls himself into the flames, takes up forty-one verses), and the mild dramatic tension give the play the quality of a poetic recitative. However, Numancia destruida has some strong points and is superior in some respects to the Numantian plays that were written before it. The message of the need for national unity to secure liberty is clearer and more forceful than in either Cervantes' of Rojas Zorrilla's plays. The plot is greatly simplified and less episodic than those of its predecessors. The completion of the action after night-fall gives the play an added dramatic touch as the fires of the burning city light up the darkness. The constant presence of the tree on stage as a symbol of historic continuity and communal unity effectively reinforces the theme of the play.

Certain gruesome details--the decision to resort to cannibalism, the death of Megara's child, the sacrificial rites rendered to Endovélico, and the scene of the severing of the hands of the Lutians (omitted by López de Ayala in the final version at the suggestion of Nicolás Moratín[11]) are out of harmony with the general refinement of

---

11. Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, BAE, II, xii.

the play and are surprising in view of Ayala's commitment to the canons of good taste. McClelland suggests that López de Ayala compromised his neo-classical convictions in order to cater to the public taste:

> . . . the dramatist is exaggerating some of the less creditable qualities of heroic tradition in general and of Cervantes' Numancia in particular. Even the Comella of El sitio de Calés . . . had no cruder relish for blood-and-corpse harangue than Ayala at his worst. . . One suspects, then, that the public found Numancia destruida pleasurably hair-raising. The Fonda de San Sebastián would have been distressed to think that this was so, but an optimistic intellectual will sometimes unwarily make facts fit his convenience. Ayala in his innocence, then, came under the prevailing influence of sensationalism, and was only saved from the final disaster of bad taste by memories of the masculine strength of Herrera. It is unfortunate that his over-literal mind should have fastened on the more primitive aspects of tragic pathos.[12]

López de Ayala read Numancia destruida at the Fonda de San Sebastián in 1775, and three years later it was performed for seven successive days in a public theater in Madrid. It was not a significant popular success until forty years later when the famous actor, Isidoro Maíquez, who had performed it two years earlier, in 1816, with some success, decided to produce it again. The times were right for a patriotic play, and Maíquez, known for his energetic interpretations of heroic roles, gave his all in the role of Megara. It was López de Ayala's Megara but not López de Ayala's play. Antonio Saviñón had revised López de Ayala's play and this is the version that Maíquez performed.

---

12. Spanish Drama of Pathos, I, 187. A caveat is in order: Cervantes' La Numancia was not available in 1775 when Ayala wrote his play.

SAVIÑÓN'S NUMANCIA

The simplified title of Saviñón's play, Numancia, is an indication of the simplification of the text achieved by means of a drastic cutting of López de Ayala's Numancia destruida. Saviñón wrote the revision in 1813, but it was not published until 1818. The title page bears the word "refundida," but no credit is given to López de Ayala. Saviñón deleted more than nine hundred of Ayala's verses, and he rewrote many of the original lines in order to make them more fluent. By completely deleting the role of Olvia he simplified the roles of other characters. Yugurta appears only in the scene in which Mancino is delivered to the Numantians. Aluro, without Olvia, has a very minor role. Terma's sole function is to dwell on the present and future sufferings of the Numantians. In López de Ayala's play the personalities of the two sisters are inconsistent with the character of the Numantians. Their carping, arising out of suspicion and mutual distrust, detracts from the spirit of High Tragedy. Yugurta's infatuation with Olvia and her consideration of his offer of marriage debases both of them. The elimination of these interferences with the main plot strengthens the unity of action and ennobles the atmosphere surrounding Megara, who now clearly is the central figure of the play. Disunity, the main theme, is purified and concentrated in the problem of disunity at a national level rather than disunity at a local level generated by bickering sisters and lovers' problems.

Much had happened between 1775, when López de Ayala wrote the original, and 1818, when Isidoro Maíquez gave his final performance of Saviñón's revision. The British colonies in North America had

declared their independence; the French had a revolution and replaced the monarchy; Napoleon had placed his brother on the throne of Spain after taking advantage of the dissension between Carlos IV and Fernando, his son, and between Fernando and the court favorite, Manuel Godoy; the Spaniards had fought a bitter war against the French that they called the "War for Independence;" and the polarization between liberals and traditionalists which had been serious throughout the eighteenth century became more extreme after the Constitution of Cádiz and the restoration of Fernando VII. All of these opposing and conflicting movements weakened the unity of the nation but strengthened the desire of each faction to regain unity according to its own particular ideological credo. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori is of the opinion that the word "independencia" was substituted for the word "libertad" throughout Maíquez' performances in order to make the play conform to the patriotic fervor of the times.[13]

---

13. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Isidoro Maíquez y el teatro de su tiempo (Madrid, 1902), p. 154.

CHAPTER XII

The Numantian Theme in the Nineteenth Century

As far as the Numantian theme is concerned the nineteenth century is of minor importance. The only two extended works based on the history of Numantia are so separated from the mainstream of the literary movements of the time that a reader, unaware of their dates of composition, could easily identify them as belonging to the seventeenth century.

The first work, an anonymous epic poem entitled Numancia destruída, appeared in print in 1864.[1] It was the first of three planned volumes. The other two never appeared in print. The author conceived the scope of his work much in the same manner as Mosquera de Barnuevo had organized his epic poem, La Numantina. Volume I consists of six cantos, a total of some seven hundred octaves of hendecasyllabic verse. Cantos I through V provide the background for the epic struggle that was to follow in the subsequent volumes. The poet's version of the founding of Numantia departs from the usual chronical tradition: ". . . después de la guerra de Troya vinieron varios capitanes griegos a poblar España. . . supónese que éstos, internándose posteriormente fundaron la ciudad de Numancia." The goddess of love intervenes and Scipio is soon ensnared in a tangle of amorous intrigue. Perhaps if the work had been completed

---

1. P.U.T., Numancia destruída (Madrid: Pascual Gracia y Orga, 1864).

the author would have gotten to the subject of Numantia's heroic defense as indicated in the introduction:

> Bien conocida es la historia de la invicta Numancia, astro brillante de las glorias españolas . . . Ejemplo tan sublime de heroicidad y denuedo que parece fabuloso, y de que no presenta otro igual la historia bien merece ser celebrado por la trompa épica.

But the poets of the nineteenth century were unable to summon the heroic spirit needed to sound the epic trumpet convincingly. The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid holds one copy of Numancia destruída. As yet it has not caught the imagination nor piqued the curiosity of its readers because there are pages throughout that have not been cut open. Requiescant in pace.

The second work on the Numantian theme in the nineteenth century, Último día de Numancia, a play in three acts by Gaspar Bono Serrano, was published in 1875.[2] It is preceded by a long dialogue entitled, "Macías y yo," that is more interesting than the play itself because it provides insight into the state of affairs in Spain a half century after Larra had analyzed the problems of his time. Macías laments the low condition of Spain, once "tan poderosa y tan grande y feliz en otro tiempo, y tan desventurada hoy, tan pobre y raquítica y prosaica." He recalls a long line of illustrious Spanish kings, and when asked by "Yo" why he has not included Charles V, he replies, "Porque con él comenzó la decadencia de España con tantas malditas guerras fuera de nuestra patria, las cuales nos produjeron mucho mal y poquísimo bien." Macías states that he would never have con-

---

2. Gaspar Bono Serrano, Último día de Numancia (Madrid: Aguado, 1875).

sidered writing Último día de Numancia but for the fact that the turn of national events convinced him that Spaniards need to take inspiration from the glories of the past. "Yo" then reviews the Numantian plays of Cervantes, López de Ayala, and Saviñón. He is of the opinion that Saviñón improved López de Ayala's play:

> . . . suprimiendo con discreción un episodia amoroso, que aisladamente considerado es muy bello, pero inoportuno en una obra dramática, en que el amor a la patria no debe aparecer ahogado por otros amores o amoríos.

Macías agrees that the love scenes detract from Ayala's play, but he offers no explanation why he complicated his own play with similar touches. Macías then criticizes the inclusion of a conflict between the pagan and the Christian Numantians in El Último día de Numancia:

> . . . otra licencia tuya me parece más inverosímil. Otros vates no se la hubieran tomado. No es fácil. Te has empeñado en dar cierto dolorido, cierto matiz o tinte religioso al Último día de Numancia, y no contento con hacer viajar a la postrera de las Sibilas hasta las orillas del Duero, supones que dos o tres familias numantinas veneraban al verdadero Dios, y seguían y guardaban la ley natural, ni más ni menos que los primeros pobladores de España, que sin duda no trajeron por acá la idolatría, como se sabe de cierto la trajeron después los Celtas, y sobre todo los Fenicios, los Griegos, Cartagineses y Romanos.

"Yo" explains that the depiction of certain Numantians as Christians is verisimilar because missionaries have found in various parts of the world that certain individuals have followed natural law before it was introduced by Christians.

Bono Serrano's alter egos discuss the problem of disunity at great length, tracing the problem from Celtiberian times to the present. Their discussion of contemporary Spain leads them to think

of Cervantes:

> Si viviera Cervantes, y viera la actual situación de España, es bien seguro que llorando lágrimas de sangre con voz de trueño, repetiría aquellos sus patrióticos y nobles y valientes versos de su Numancia: "¿Será posible que continuo sea/ Esclava de naciones estrangeras?. . ." ¡Qué noble y pundonoroso, qué ilustre y distinguido español era el Manco de Lepanto! Algo más leal y elevado era su corazón que el de los Lermas y Olivares, y sobre todo que el de no pocos de nuestros contemporáneos mandarines, que tienen en tal situación a la madre patria, que está poco menos que con el estertor de la agonía, y las convulsiones de la muerte.

The dialogue of "Macías y Yo" complements and illuminates the play that it precedes. The awareness of the lack of national cohesion explains why nineteenth-century Spaniards could not summon the heroic and tragic vision as their sixteenth-century ancestors had. Bono Serrano's play is vitiated by the lack of confidence in the vitality of Spain.

A SUMMARY OF <u>ÚLTIMO DÍA DE NUMANCIA</u>

In Act I Retógenes returns wounded from battle and asks Megara for permission to marry his daughter, Himilce. Megara insists that he wait until the war is over. Retógenes feels a certain urgency to marry because he has heard on the front lines that Yugurta is in love with Himilce. Sibyl, an Alburnean sibyl, appears with the message that Scipio wants peace. She asks the Spaniards why they do not unite:

> ¿Por qué los valerosos españoles
> En peligro común todos aliados
> No destrozan las águilas de Roma,
> Cual unidos pudieran?

Scipio pleads with the Numantians to surrender. Yugurta interrupts to ask for Himilce's hand. Aluro tells the Romans that

they might be the more highly civilized but the Numantians have "la voz tranquila de razón natural." He accuses the Romans of worshipping idols such as Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, and Bacchus, and asks how Sophocles, Demosthenes, and Homer can possibly compare with Solomon, Job or the Psalms. Yugurta asks Himilce ("dulcísima alondra") to sing. She complies in order to demonstrate to the Romans the riches of Numantia. Finally, fighting breaks out. The stage directions then prescribe that Himilce faint when Scipio and Retógenes begin to duel. Yugurta picks her up and leaves. Megara and Aluro lead the Numantians into battle against the Romans. Scipio is wounded by Retógenes who leaves "furioso y llamando a su esposa en destemplados gritos, y iracundo a Yugurta."

In Act II Scipio, with a bandage on his head, returns to seek peace. Retógenes returns with Himilce and is congratulated by Scipio. Sibyl steps forward and again speaks of the disunity of the Spaniards:

> Que por desgracia están hoy desunidos,
> Siendo hermanos, cual de unos mismos padres
> (como los españoles) todos hijos?
> Unión, unión, amados españoles.
> Por vivir en discordia divididos,
> De agresores tiranos estranjeros
> Víctimas iay! sereis siglos y siglos.

Megara asks the sibyl how she gets her information. She replies that she has visions and in one of them a message was brought to her by an angel telling her to go to Numantia and inform the citizens that they will not triumph over Scipio as long as they worship Endovélico. Aluro replies that this means that Heaven wants the Numantians to worship the protector of Israel against the Egyptians. Sibyl plays her harp and sings of the greatness that will follow the crucifixion

of Christ. The Numantians stone her and Himilce is seriously wounded. Sibyl foretells of an age when the sixteenth-century ideal of universal empire will be fulfilled:

> Día vendra feliz allá en remota
> Época venturosa . . . Un cetro mismo
> Regirá paternal mil y mil pueblos,
> Imitadores de Numancia dignos.
> Dorado siglo brillará en España
> El día aquel en que africanos, indios,
> Y los de Asia, todos compatriotas,
> Tendrán un solo idioma, un solo rito.

Sibyl then turns to Scipio and tells him that he will die an obscure death. Her authority: "Yo lo digo/ Y lo dice severa por mi boca/ La voz omnipotente del que dijo/ Sea la luz . . ."

In Act III Megara and Retógenes are interrupted by the demented cries of Terma asking for bread, justice, and her husband, whom Yugurta has killed. She then falls dead. In the final battle all of the Numantians except Aluro are killed. Several Romans attack him from behind and kill him. Scipio is angry because he had given orders to spare Aluro so that he could be paraded in the triumph. Sibyl chides the Romans and Scipio orders her arrest. The soldiers who advance towards her are struck by lightning and the Centurion kneels and prays to Jove. The Sibyl advises him not to blaspheme on the spot where Numantia, oppressed by foreigners, went down in fame while Scipio gained the reputation of a coward.

CONCLUSION

The anonymous "P.U.T." and Gaspar Bono Serrano had grandiose intentions, but they failed to give artistic dimension to their literary mutations of the history of Numantia. Bono Serrano's Último día de Numancia represents the last retrogressive attempt by

Spanish playwrights to write a new Numantian play based on formulas of the Golden Age.

The Romantic dramatists of the first half of the nineteenth century did not use the Numantian theme. They probably passed it by because the collective nature of the struggle at Numantia opposed their predilection for the individualistic protagonist and because the primitive pre-historical period of the Numantian War did not offer the mystery and chivalric idealism that they found in the legends of the Middle Ages.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the dramatists also passed up the Numantian theme. Galdós, who perhaps would have been the most likely writer to have taken an interest in the theme of Numantia, limited his examination of national defense and patriotism in his Episodios nacionales to that period between the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805, and the death of Fernando VII in 1833. Each age seeks the legends that best express its preoccupations and aspirations. Cervantes shaped the history of Numantia to his purposes and the result rings true. "P.U.T." and Bono Serrano erred in choosing the Numantian theme to express feelings alien to it. Galdós and the writers of the "Generation of '98" did not use the history of Numantia when it did not fit their feelings.

CHAPTER XIII

The Numantian Theme in Twentieth-Century Literature

THE DRAMA

In the future anthropologists, philosophers, and psychologists may be able to draw inferentially an understanding of twentieth-century Spain from the record of theatrical productions. We know, for example, that the eighteenth century was a sophisticated period during which the men of letters became intellectually convinced that the tragic spirit of ancient Greece should be recaptured and cultivated. But it was not an age of faith and the artists lacked the vital conviction of the nobility of man and faith in a universal order that somehow accounted for man's deeds. The plays of the period are intellectual but not spiritual reconstructions of the tragic spirit.

The productions of Numantian plays are representative of the main movements in the theater of the twentieth century. There has been the perennial attempt to recapture the past through plays of classical form, and an opposing effort to dispense with the old in favor of new forms that express the social, psychological, and political protests of the age.

The history of Numantia is inherently tragic--men are made to suffer painfully by an inexorable outside force from which there is no physical escape, yet they escape spiritually by soaring on the conviction that honor, love, and glory are the ultimate values of human life.

The epic and the tragic dimensions of the history of Numantia have not thus far been utilized in original works in the twentieth century. There have been, however, occasional productions of Cervantes' La Numancia. These productions reflect either an attempt to faithfully render Cervantes' play, or to alter it to make it relevant to a current ideological interest. The latter kind of production reveals that the political and social instability of the twentieth century has created a climate alien to the tragic spirit.

As far as I have been able to determine the first performance of a Numantian play in Spain in the twentieth century, the first performance of Cervantes' La Numancia since the sixteenth century[1] took place in Madrid in 1937 when the Republican-held capital was under siege by the Nationalist forces. The revision was written by Rafael Alberti and the production was directed by his wife, María Teresa León, in the Teatro de Arte y Propaganda del Estado (in time of peace known as the Teatro de la Zarzuela). One would expect, due to the time and circumstances, that Alberti distorted Cervantes' play in

---

1. There is a legend, popular among literary historians, that La Numancia was performed in Zaragoza in 1808 during the siege by the Napoleonic army. Supposedly the Spaniards were inspired to acts of heroism by Cervantes' verses. The legend probably had its origin in a misreading of the memoirs of Queipo de Llano, a romantic figure who served in the besieged army. He wrote: "Sin muro y sin torreones, según nos ha transmitido Floro, defendióse largos años la inmortal Numancia contra el poder de Roma. También desguarecida y desmurada, resistió al de Francia con tenaz porfía, si no por tanto tiempo, la ilustre Zaragoza . . ." José María Queipo de Llano, Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España, BAE, LXIV, 109.

order to convert it to an instrument for the expression of contemporary political ideology. However, Alberti did not emasculate Cervantes' text. He deleted some parts, most notably the scene in which Marquino raises the dead Numantian, and he did insert some lines. His main revision consists of an introductory interlude in which Macus and Buco, clowns fron the Italian popular theater, make an appearance. Alberti commented on his version as follows:

> La presente edición de La Numancia, de Cervantes, no es la fiel, erudita, del investigador meticuloso y, por otra parte, respetable. Es simplemente, como ya indico en la cubierta, una adaptación y versión reactualizada con miras de representarse en un teatro de Madrid--¡en un teatro de Madrid!, ¿comprendéis?--, a poco más de dos mil metros de los cañones y bajo la continua amenaza de los aviones. Siento un sincero temblor al escribir e insertar estas líneas al frente de una obra que ha de ser llevada a nuestra escena en circunstancias tan terribles y extraordinarias.[2]

In the following year, 1938, Alberti wrote and produced "Cantada de los héroes y la fraternidad de los pueblos,"[3] a recitative sponsored by the Alianza de Intelectuales Antifacistas and performed by members of the "Guerrilla del Teatro del Ejército del Centro" in homage to the departing International Brigades. This work, like the revision of La Numancia, is very restrained and contains none of the propagandistic rhetoric of the times. It is a distillation of La Numancia in which España confronts two soldiers,

---

2. Quoted by Ricardo Domenech in his introduction to Miguel de Cervantes, La Destrucción de Numancia (Madrid: Ediciones Taurus, 1967), p. 20.

3. Rafael Alberti, "Cantada de los Héroes y la fraternidad de los pueblos," bound with De un momento a otro (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, n.d.), pp. 175-201.

one loyal to his country, the other, dissident ("faccioso"), with dialogue centered on the traditional theme of national disunity. A soldier of the Internationale pledges the support of foreign nations, and Fraternidad pronounces that all peoples of the world who desire justice are comrades. Selections from "Canción de los numantinos" and the "Numantian Overture" of Jesús G. Leoz, together with the "Internationale" and the "Hymn of the Soviet Republics," provide the musical background for the spoken parts. The restraint, the refusal to write political diatribe, marks the artistic stature of Alberti.

In 1948 Francisco Sánchez-Castañer, then professor of literature at the University of Valencia, directed a production of Cervantes' La Numancia in commemoration of the fourth centennial of Cervantes' birth. The production was staged in the Roman theater in the ruins of Sagunto by university students. The costumes were designed on the basis of information derived by Adolf Schulten, the German archeologist who spent seven years excavating and studying the site of Numantia. The principal modification of Cervantes' work was the substitution of a ritual dance in place of the sacrifices celebrated by the Numantian priests. In the final act the action on the stage was complemented by large fires behind and to the sides of the stage.[4]

---

4. Reviews of this production can be found in Valencia atracción (Revista de la Sociedad Valenciana Fomento del Turismo), 161 (June 1948), x-xi, and 162 (July 1948), 8; Manuel Díez-Crespo, "El teatro clásico en nuestros escenarios actuales," Clavileño, I (1950), 47-51; and A.B.C., June 8, 1948, p. 19. A plaque in the Roman theater at Sagunto is inscribed as follows:

En la primavera de MDCCCCXXXVIII cara al mare nostrum
y en el colosal y originalísimo escenario natural
formado por el castillo y la cavea y orchestra de este

There was another open-air production of La Numancia in 1956. The company of the Lope de Vega Theater of Madrid, under the direction of José Tamayo, performed Nicolás Gonzáles Ruiz' revision of Cervantes' play in the town of his birth, Alcalá de Henares. The play was staged on the steps of the Church of Santa María (just off the square on which the façade of the University faces). This version closely followed Cervantes' text.

During the 'fifties and the 'sixties the French took an interest in Cervantes' La Numancia and produced versions of it in 1952, 1953, 1955 (performed at the International Festival of Dramatic Arts, Salat, France), and in 1958. Again, in 1965, a new version by Jean Cau was produced by Jean-Louis Barrault, first for the Festival of Avignon, and then for the Odeón Theater in Paris. This version was staged as a recitative with extensive ballet choreography. The costuming indirectly alluded to the war in Vietnam.

In the following year the 1966 season of the Teatro Español was opened with a production of Cervantes' La Numancia that was probably

---

teatro romano presentóse La Numancia de Miguel de Cervantes en el IV centenario de su nacimiento. Destacados críticos españoles y extranjeros encomiaron tal dramatización. Sucesivas sesiones con auditorio pleno llegado de todo el ámbito nacional son testimonio de clamoroso éxito. Creó y dirigió dichas representaciones teatrales en personal versión literaria y escénica el Dr. Francisco Sánchez-Castañer, Catedrático de la Universidad de Valencia y como actores alumnos universitarios. En memoria del acontecimiento y para exaltación del príncipe de los ingenios españoles el illmo. ayuntamiento de la muy leal ciudad de Sagunto acordó grabar este mármol. Año MDCCCCLI.

influenced by the previous French production and by the theatrical principles of Brecht which were then in vogue in theatrical circles throughout the Western World. (Bear in mind that the Teatro Español is subsidized by the Spanish government). Cervantes' text was followed closely with few changes. Some of the longer speeches were divided among players, the appearances of the allegorical figures were combined, but no scenes were cut. The director, Miguel Narros, sought to subtly suggest the timeliness and the timelessness of the Numantian theme by dressing the Romans in Nazi uniforms and the Numantians in the clothing of the partisans of World War II. The weapons and the personal effects--rifles, watches, and cigarettes--were modernized to heighten the effect of contemporaneity.

Francisco García Pavón, the theater critic for Arriba (Órgano de F.E.T. y de las J.O.N.S., Fundado por José Antonio Primo de Rivera), was not offended by the allusions to Nazism but questioned the esthetic soundness of the idea:

> Nada de todo esto aisladamente puede considerarse malo; pero sí desafinado y un tanto incoherente. Yo creo modestamente que los grandes mitos deben residir antes en intenciones más soterradas, intelectuales y sensitivas que en el mero cambio de parlamentos.[5]

He was disturbed by the lack of tension in the production which permitted certain scenes, the prophecy of the Duero, for example, to pass by the spectators without stimulating a reaction.

Lorenzo López Sancho, writing for A.B.C., reviewed the history of productions of La Numancia and found that they were almost always

---

5. Francisco García Pavón, "'Numancia', en el Español," Arriba, 4 Oct. 1966, p. 23.

motivated by political considerations but that the latest production was influenced by a desire to conform to the reigning theatrical conventions:

> Miguel Narros la ha traído de nuevo para abrir con ella su período de director del Teatro Español, y por consiguiente, sin alusiones políticas, como una renovación desinteresada de la tragedia cervantina. No me explico por qué, al hacerlo así, ha seguido servilmente huellas ilustres en la escenografía mundial al permitirse la inútil licencia de vestir a los romanos de nazis y a los numantinos de partisanos. El anacronismo sólo se justifica cuando tiene una intención. La de proclamar la intemporalidad de la pieza, la eternidad de esa virtud colectiva de un pueblo capaz de preferir la muerte a la esclavitud, no coincide precisamente con esa temporalización--por cierto ya inoperante en la sensibilidad de esta hora--, que tuvo su objecto y su eficacia hace unos lustros.[6]

Writing for Ya, Nicolás González Ruiz, the writer who had made the textual modifications for the 1956 production of La Numancia at Alcalá de Henares, questions the judgment of Miguel Narros' use of political symbols in order to make the play relevant to the contemporary situation:

> La "Numancia" no ha tenido suerte. Siempre se la ha puesto con segunda intención. Y ahora no han faltado las segundas intenciones, aunque queremos creer que son más limpias que las de costumbre. Se puso la "Numancia" durante nuestra guerra en el teatro de la Zarzuela, cuando los milicianos rojos se querían hacer pasar por numantinos. De aquello más vale no acordarse. No hace mucho se ha puesto la "Numancia" en París, y allí parece que los soldados de Escipión eran racistas. ¿Queda algún vestigio de esta postura en la que vimos anoche? No la insinuaríamos siquiera si unas botas altas y unos extraños cascos de romanos no nos lo trajeran a la memoria. Y bien está que para los franceses los

---

6. Lorenzo López Sancho, "El Teatro Español abre con una nueva versión de la 'Numancia,'" A.B.C., 5 Oct. 1966, p. 95.

numantinos sean los "maquis." Pero nosotros tenemos la obligación de ver las cosas más a derechas.[7]

All of the mentioned critics report that the uncut version of Cervantes' play was not only long but also lacking in dramatic interest. Lorenzo López Sancho remarks that the audience respectfully maintained their patience out of a sense of duty:

> Sin el gran repeto de un público culto a Cervantes y a su obra, los espectadores hubieran manifestado el aburrimiento, el cansancio que desde la mitad del segundo acto flotaban en la sala como si hubieran surgido de la perfumada humareda que obligó a huir a algunas personas de las primeras filas.

López Sancho's remarks are reminiscent of the criticism of La Numancia that has been formulated by the literary critics since the play was discovered in 1784:

> Necesitaba la acción más viveza, más fuerza y menos solemnidad mayestática. Las escenas finales pierden toda eficacia en el estatismo a que muchos actores han sidos obligados y por curioso azar brillan más las cobardías y los desmayos de algunos numantinos que el heroísmo de los demás. Si el adaptador que se ha permitido trastrocar el orden de algunas intervenciones, y trocear--acertadamente--varios largos monólogos, se hubiera decidido a podar parlamentos, a ensayar una aceleración progresiva del ritmo verbal al mismo tiempo que del movimiento, esta nueva "Numancia," solemne y pesada, hubiera ganado mucho.

López Sancho describes the reaction of the audience as the play came to an end after three hours:

> El público estuvo dividido. Hubo una gran mayoría neutral, correcta, atenta y respetuosa, pero fría, y dos minorías, una entusiasta, que aplaudió y coreó con bravos, y otra hostil que silbó e inició timidamente algun pateo. Si estos antagonismos significaran pasión teatral serían magníficos. Mucho me temo que expresen otras cosas.

---

7. Nicolás González Ruiz, "'Numancia,' de Cervantes, en el Español," Ya, 4 Oct. 1966, p. 36.

Current aficionados of the Spanish theater, both native and foreign, are frustrated by the dearth of serious drama performed in Madrid and the provinces. There is an occasional engaging work, but at the present time the Spanish stage is almost completely dominated by imported foreign dramas (mostly of English origin), light comedy of native origin, and musicals with vapid plots that provide excuses for song and dance routines.[8]

One of the ironies of the twentieth century is the relationship, sometimes antagonistic, between artist and spectator: as the level of the general acumen and sophistication of the public rises, the artist feels more compelled to explain the intent of his creation. At times the explication is so blatant that it suggests a lack of confidence in the public's ability to grasp the obvious. This compulsion to explain is a symptom of the basic loss of faith in the value of man, a situation that has caused writers of the twentieth century to avoid a tragic treatment of the human condition and adopt instead solutions of the melodrama--the separation of good from evil by simple lines and the resolution of conflict through easily digestible principles of poetic justice.

---

8. While La Numancia was playing at the Teatro Español in 1966 it was competing with El Hombre de la Mancha at the Teatro de la Zarzuela. Spanish critics did not agree with the pronouncements of the billboards, "¡El mayor éxito artistico!," "La más famosa comedia musical de todos los tiempos," and "¡Dos horas inovidables con el más universal y español de los personajes!," but the public granted it a more enthusiastic reception than that reported for La Numancia.

Tragic characters are noble characters because they represent the aspirations of a society that believes in the greatness of man. A society that does not believe in the greatness of man does not dress the representatives of its aspirations in kingly robes--kingly robes and noble comportment are now absurd in view of the triviality of man.

The latest Numantian play, written by Alfonso Sastre, but not published or performed, provides some insight into the effects that the social and military conflicts of this century have had on the tragic mode, and this in turn explains the public's turn to lighter theater. Sastre uses the theme of Numantia to strike out against the political order of the day and the clichés of modern life. His play, Crónicas romanas, is interesting because it points out that the possibilities for developing the tragic dimensions of the Numantian theme in the second half of the twentieth century are limited.

Sastre's esthetic problems arise from his desire to achieve a powerful theater of revolution. Farris Anderson explains Sastre's artistic and political vision as follows:

> The underlying intent of Sastre's epic theatre is to place before the spectator the image of a world that can be changed--a world in which cause-and-effect relationships are arbitrary and reality is fluid. . . . He had seen theatre as investigation and agitation--as a means of helping humanity to see through the immobilizing myths that confound man's understanding of his world--and he had been aware that naturalism posed a formidable obstacle to this objective by lending repectability to a familiar but unacceptable world order.[9]

---

9. Farris Anderson, "The New Theatre of Alfonso Sastre," Hispania, 55 (1972), 840, 846. Most of Sastre's later plays remain unpublished because they reflect his militant socialism. Crónicas romanas exists only in manuscript form and thus my information on the play comes from the summary and comments of Farris Anderson, who

Sastre would destroy the myth that man can rise above his base condition through heroic action. In an analysis of a protagonist in another of Sastre's plays, Farris Anderson says:

> Sastre's . . . is an effective example of the demythified hero: the "human" hero, the giant of history who has been encrusted and distorted by legend and is now again reduced to human proportions, in order that his genius be recognizable in human terms and inspirational to contemporary human endeavors. The protagonist . . . lies, fears death, wavers in his convictions, is sexually impotent, and has bowel movements. He is the antithesis of the mythic hero but the epitome of the superior man. His vision offers humanity an expanded understanding of itself, and Sastre's characterization implies that this vision can be more convincingly transmitted by a fellow human than by an idealized caricature of man.[10]

Sastre attempts to shock the spectator by presenting the familiar in an unaccustomed manner. In Crónicas romanas, for example, the spectator expects to view the Numantians sorrowfully carry out the decision to deny the Romans a victory by committing suicide. Sastre parodies the expected:

> Scene xxii is characterized by a grim black humor, produced by the citizens' exaggerated courtesy in helping each other commit suicide before the Romans enter the city. Scene xxiii is introduced by this stage setting: "Cuando vuelve la luz, amanece y hay todos los muertos posibles, en las más distintas posiciones, amontonados, en escena. También, todos los objectos posibles, en un gran montón abigarrado, especialmente muebles y vestidos colgados como espantajos. Están ardiendo, en gran hoguera. Los pocos supervivientes echan aún sus últimas pertenencias.[11]

---

has had access to the playwright's works and has published his findings in Alfonso Sastre (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971); and in the above cited article.

10. "The New Theater of Alfonso Sastre," p. 844.

11. Ibid., p. 842.

Another technique utilized by Sastre is to have actors move out among the audience or arise from within the audience and supply illuminating remarks to insure that the point of the play is not lost on the audience or on the players. Sastre employs this technique at the end of Crónicas romanas:

> In the play's final scene there is a total fusion of fiction and reality. As a Roman soldier is about to destroy the flag of the occupied city, a student comes from the audience onto the stage. He asks the actor not to destroy the flag and announces to the audience that students have decided to occupy the theatre and use it for revolutionary cultural events. More students climb onto the stage, one of them bringing news that police have surrounded the theatre. Another announces that Alfonso Sastre has been arrested in the lobby. A student begins to recite a revolutionary poem. He is interrupted by cries from the audience: a gentleman has suffered a heart attack, the police are entering the theatre . . . As the tension and confusion reach maximum intensity, one of the "students" laughingly breaks the mood and tells the audience:
>
> > Aquí acaban nuestras "Crónicas Romanas," mientras la lucha, en mil lugares, continúa. ¡Ah! No sería raro que a la salida se encontraran con la Policía de verdad. Por si acaso, lleven preparada la documentación, y buena suerte. (Telón. A la salida, si no ocurre en realidad, algunos actores-policías pedirán la documentación a los espectadores más sospechosos.)[12]

Sastre and many contemporary playwrights view the theater as an instrument for opening the eyes of the unenlightened to the fact that social conditions, good or bad, are the products of myths fostered by society. By destroying myths on the stage the playwrights then hope to free the mind of bias so that reality can be viewed in revolutionary ways. They are given over to dialecticism, and in their works there is

---

12. Ibid., p. 843.

an imbalance in the mixture of the dulci et utile. In the opinion of Farris Anderson, "Sastre's long, complicated dialectical process has brought him to a profound vision of revolution, and to an art form appropriate to that vision. In transforming his perceptions into a modern revolutionary theatre Sastre has perhaps brought the Spanish theatre just a bit closer to the European currents from which it has been removed for the past three decades."[13]

When Cervantes initiated the use of the Numantian theme in Spanish drama, he sought to make an optimistic statement through his play of man's ability to survive in the midst of adversity. His vision of man was positive. Sastre's negative vision of man and the depiction of that vision in Crónicas romanas, represent steps in the process of man's loss of self-esteem. Whether some positive benefit will accrue from the current demythification of epic figures and national heroes remains to be seen.

THE LYRIC DIMENSION OF NUMANTIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although it was known for centuries that the hill to the north of Soria where the Merdancho River joins the Duero River was the site of Numantia, it was not until late in the nineteenth century that the location of the site was conclusively established. Ever since the coming of the Goths the site had been used as a source of building stone and thus few traces of a settlement were visible by the nineteenth century. In 1853 Eduardo Saavedra traced the old Roman roads and found that the Roman itineraries confirmed the location of Numantia.

---

13. Ibid., p. 846.

Subsequent excavations established the presence of extensive ruins and the site was declared a national monument in 1882.

Kaiser William II of Germany, the honorary regimental commander of the Numantian Dragoons, furnished funds for the further excavation of Numantia in 1905. German archeologists, led by Adolf Schulten, discovered the remains of a prehistoric Celtiberian settlement with surrounding walls, and the Hispanic-Roman town built upon the ruins of Numantia.[14] The Spanish government has continued to finance the excavation and restoration of the site.

The resistance that Numantia offered the Romans suggests that the town was a formidable fortress, but Adolf Schulten speaks of the surprise that Scipio must have experienced when he became aware of its smallness and weak position:

> ¡Y qué asombro no sería el suyo al ver la diminuta ciudad en la baja colina! ¡Este era pues el peligroso enemigo, que hacía veinte años que mantenía en jaque a Roma y que no sólo había rechazado de sus murallas a varios ejércitos, sino que los había derrotado en la llanura donde la superioridad romana podía desplegarse! Por la mente de Escipión cruzó la imágen de Cartago, la otra enemiga hereditaria de Roma, que él había destruído doce años antes. ¡Qué chiquito se le aparecía sin embargo aquel nido de los iberos frente a la poderosa capital africana, con sus gigantescas murallas y la formidable protección que le ofrecía el mar por tres partes! Y esa ciudad ibérica podía no obstante alabarse de haber obtenido sobre Roma éxitos muchos más importantes que los de Cartago en sus últimos tiempos.[15]

---

14. Adolf Schulten wrote an extensive report of the "results of the excavations:" Numancia. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1905-1912, IV (Munich: F. Bruckman, 1914-1931). This work was condensed by Schulten and published in Spanish: Adolfo Schulten, Historia de Numancia, tr. Luis Pericot Garcia (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1945).

15. Historia de Numancia, p. 143.

Ricardo de Apraiz, the director of the Numantian Museum in Soria, recalls the anticipation of the people of the region as they awaited the revelations of the excavations:

> Soria entera estaba pendiente de los hallazgos. Tal vez éstos venían a defraudar un poco las esperanzas creadas al calor de la imaginación. Esto ocurre siempre, en mayor o menor grado, con las excavaciones arqueológicas. Muchos se habían forjado la idea de una gran Numancia, ciudad digna rival de Roma por su grandeza. El romanticismo que no es una moda literaria ni un ismo pasajero sino algo consustancial con lo español, tenía forzosamente que resentirse al ver aparecer los pobres muros y cimentaciones de aquellas casas pequeñas. No era la Numancia imaginada por Cervantes ni la pintada por Alejo Vera, ciudad de altos torreones y fuertes murallas de sillares escuadrados, puertas monumentales. No aparecían las termas, el foro ni los templos.[16]

The unearthing of the real Numantia had positive effects upon the Spanish authors who visited the site. The members of the "Generation of '98" had initiated a new response to Spain's past. They were particularly attached to the harsh heartland, the meseta, of which Numantia is a part, but the city is not mentioned by name by any of the writers of the "Generation of '98," not even by Antonio Machado, although he lived in Soria for a number of years. However, their appreciation of the land contributed a later lyric response to the site of Numantia.

José Ortega y Gasset visited Numantia and found that the excavated walls and streets did not stimulate within him a conventional patriotic response. His reaction was ambivalent. He was moved by the landscape around him and the clear air of the region. He was reminded

---

16. Ricardo de Apraiz, "Numancia inmortal. Tres notas de la actualidad," Celtiberia, VI (1955), 128.

of the over-dramatization of the history of Numantia that had obscured the fundamental values of the Celtiberians:

> Porque es lo cierto que en lugares como Numancia no sabe uno qué sentir. Hay hombres envidiables, provistos de un espléndido patriotismo de convención que al llegar aquí se sienten inmediatamente legítimos herederos de las virtudes que ejercitaron los arevacos, y son capaces de inclinar el torso sobre el bisel del cerro, tender hacia el valle el puño e insultar a Escipión Emiliano. Son los mismos que ante los dibujos rupestres de Altamira experimentan doméstico orgullo, por considerar a los cavernarios dibujantes como gente de la familia. Por mi parte, no sé qué sentir sobre esta colina famosa. En rigor, lo único que me conmueve hondamente es la magnífica desnudez del panorama y la gracia con que el sol actual vierte su fluída exaltación sobre está tierra limpia. En cambio, de los arevacos me separan, no sólo veintitrés siglos, sino cosas mucho más difíciles de salvar. Así, todos los discursos donde el nombre de Numancia, conjugado con los de Otumba y Lepanto, ha servido para idiotizar a mis compatriotas; así también, los innumerables cuadros académicos en que la ciudad celtíbera, rendida al hambre, está representada por unos mozos desnudos, de rolliza carnalidad, que en correctas posturas de cuadro plástico yugulan a sus mujeres o perforan las propias entrañas. Ciertamente que la historia de Numancia es una página de las más pulcras y simpáticas que hay en la historia. Estos arevacos . . . poseían una egregia porción de dignidad. A las infidencias de los capitanes romanos respondieron siempre con inspirada nobleza.[17]

Ortega y Gasset's visit to Numantia was close in time to the publication of España invertebrada, a work in which he extensively examines the dichotomy of unity/disunity from a historical perspective and raises the theory that the greatest motivating force of national unity is a national goal, "la idea de grandes cosas por hacer engendra la unificación nacional," a theory that is partially in conflict with the idea that great leaders provide the impetus for unity. In this

---

17. José Ortega y Gasset, Obras Completas (Madrid: Revista del Occidente, 1950), II, 329.

respect the meaning of Numantia has come full circle from Cervantes to Ortega y Gasset. Cervantes associated Numantia with the attainment of national goals through the exercise of virtue and reason. The intervening writers associated Numantia with grandiloquent gestures of patriotism. Ortega y Gasset associates Numantia with the need to combine virtue with intelligence, and for him, as for Cervantes, Scipio represents an admirable paradigm:

> Roma atravesaba un período de corrupción. Intrigas de subsuelo decidían del nombramiento de los generales que, ineptos y venales, desmoralizaban las legiones y agostaban las provincias. Un puñado de celtíberos bastaba para poner en franca huída a todo un ejército de latinos. No hubo más remedio, a la postre, que enviar contra los numantinos a un hombre apto, honesto e inteligente, y entonces Roma tuvo que enviar a un "intelectual." Porque esto era Escipión Emiliano, única figura respetable que había a la sazón en la alta vida de la República. Es frecuente que los militares mediocres pretendan excusar su falta de adiestramiento mental, diciendo que ellos son soldados, como si el ejercicio bélico eximiese a los hombres de ser cultivados y sagaces. Por esta razón conviene recordar que los grandes capitanes han sido siempre gente letrada, de fina espiritualidad y exuberante afición a las ideas y las artes. . . Hombres como él, obcecados en el estudio, son los que mayor bien han solido labrar a su patria, y no los que casquivanamente se entretienen dictaminando sobre el patriotismo de los demás.[18]

Ortega y Gasset's comments convey the solid intellectual reaction to Numantia of one twentieth-century Spanish philosopher, but they do not evidence the lyrical response that the monument and its surroundings are capable of stimulating. It was Gerardo Diego, a poet who resided in Soria two decades after Antonio Machado, who expressed the lyric dimension of Numantia, the essence that remains after the

---

18. Ibid., pp. 329-30.

rhetorical heroics of the past are stripped away:

Revelación

Era en Numancia, al tiempo que declina
la tarde del agosto augusto y lento,
Numancia del silencio y de la ruina,
alma de libertad, trono del viento.

La luz se hacía por momentos mina
de transparencia y desvanecimiento,
diafanidad de ausencia vespertina,
esperanza, esperanza del portento.

Súbito, ¿dónde?, un pájaro sin lira,
sin rama, sin atril, canta, delira,
flota en la cima de su fiebre aguda.

Vivo latir de Dios nos goteaba,
risa y charla de Dios, libre y desnuda.
Y el pájaro, sabiéndolo, cantaba.[19]

Another poet, Aurelio Rioja, a resident of Soria, has also captured the memory of what Numantia once was and how that memory is sustained at the site by natural elements rather than by man:

Ruinas de Numancia

Bendita soledad en tu grandeza,
alabada sencillez la de tus ruinas.
En recuerdo, dos aras por el tiempo desgastadas
y, a modo de homenaje de la Naturaleza,
un macizo de cardos, una zarza de endrinas,
coronando el recinto de tierras calcinadas.

Esta soledad sublime a tu memoria,
desnuda de altiveces que acusen vanagloria,
sin fetiches orlados de vacía arrogancia,
éstas son tus ruinas, ésta fue Numancia.

---

19. Gerardo Diego, Soria (Santander, 1948), p. 149.

No hacen falta trompas, sirenas ni rimas.
Tu poema aromado de tomillo y espliego
lo cantan las tardes, las cumbres vecinas,
lo cantan las nubes rojizas de fuego.[20]

Ortega y Gasset, Gerardo Diego, and Aurelio Rioja, intelligent and capable men, well aware of man's inevitable divisiveness and imperfections, have directed their creative energies toward transcending the human condition, toward avoidance of the tyranny of negative introspection. Perhaps the trend in the theater, now negative, will tend toward artistic fulfillment when poets return to the theater.

---

20. Aurelio Rioja, Soria canta (Soria, 1948), p. 125.

CHAPTER XIV

Conclusion

Five hundred years have passed since Diego de Valera wrote his Coronica abreviada. The history of the use of the Numantian theme in Spanish literature since Valera's time provides an interesting record of the Spanish vision of the nature of man. The record confirms what we already know about the Western World in general, that from the sixteenth century onwards it has become increasingly difficult for man to take a positive attitude about his value in the universal order of things.

The history of Numantia survived the Dark Ages because it was a part of the history of Rome. Certain aspects of Roman thought, most notably Stoicism, were assimilated into Christian thought early in the development of the Church. The Stoic philosophy balanced the exigencies of the individual, society, and the cosmic order through the concepts of virtue, reason, patriotism, and fame. The Christian system of thought placed God at the apex of the universal order, but otherwise its organization of the fundamental relationships between the individual and the state was very similar to the view of the Stoics. The coalescence of classical thought and Christian doctrine gave a special flavor to the works of Spanish writers of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance.

A reading of Cervantes' La Numancia reveals that it was written for an audience that accepted Christian doctrine as a matter of course. At that time a virtuous life was both a social imperative

that had its reward in self-respect and the respect of the community, and a religious imperative that had its reward in the after-life. The recognition of the need for virtuous conduct was the cornerstone of societal cohesion. If ever there was an ideal psychological moment for the literary usage of the Numantian theme it was the sixteen century.

Rojas Zorrilla's Numantian plays reveal that there was a growing awareness in the seventeenth century that the social order was not in the ideal balance envisioned by the humanists and the Christians, and, furthermore, there was no indication that the social climate was going to change for the better. And, in fact, faith in the dignity of man lost ground in the seventeenth century.

The controlled structure of López de Ayala's Numancia destruida reflects the intellectual climate of the eighteenth century in which the dignity of man was temporarily elevated by the possibility of the correction of man's imperfections through the exercise of enlightened reason. However, even though the Numantians created by López de Ayala are correct in their relationships with one another, they lack conviction in the transcendence of their acts that the Numantians of Cervantes' play possessed.

The literary works of the nineteenth century which employed the Numantian theme were half-hearted attempts to conjure up the faith of the past and thus escape from the two main movements of the age--positivism, which denied man's ability to comprehend the abstractions of faith in the universal order (or in the extreme, denied the intervention of the supernatural powers in the affairs of men), and the endemic political disunity brought by the ever-increasing fragmen-

tation of the social consensus. The success of Saviñón's Numancia came in that period after the War of Independence had awakened an interest in national unity. But the real measure of the status of conviction in the dignity of man is to be found in Goya's Disasters of War or his studies of Ferdinand VII and his council.

In the twentieth century some performances of Cervantes' La Numancia indicate an attempt--not broadly supported--to revive the plays of the Golden Age and perhaps recall the Cervantine vision of the dignity of man. Other dramatic versions of the history of Numantia reflect the will of certain political factions to convert the theater to political purposes for the expression of raw ideological ideas. The latest usage of the Numantian theme can perhaps be justified from a social viewpoint (assuming that there is sincere identification with the spirit of Numantia), but from an esthetic viewpoint it is disappointing because it contravenes the basic function of the artist--the creation of affirmations and the realization of beauty. Man has need of the ideal in order to cope with the real.

The vision of the dignity of man associated with the history of Numantia has suffered a progressive diminution since the time of its conversion to a literary theme. That diminution is principally the result of the ever-widening divergence between faith and knowledge that has occurred since that era when Cervantes wrote La Numancia. The familiarity generated by the repeated usage of the Numantian theme and the appearance of so many national heroes in the twenty-one centuries that have intervened since the Numantians took their stand against the Romans have also contributed to a general diminu-

tion of the significance of Numantia. But in spite of the loss of much of its heroic glow Numantia still retains a feature that will insure its memory for many more centuries--the ruins on the hill above the Duero in the midst of a large valley of stark beauty that possesses a spirituality that speaks of the eternal renewal of the primordial relationship between man and nature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Academia que se celebró en día de Pasqva de Reyes. Ms. Biblioteca Nacional. Madrid, 1674.

Alberti, Rafael. De un momento a otro. Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, n.d.

Alborg, Juan Luis. Historia de la literatura española. Época Barroca. Madrid: Gredos, 1967.

Alfonso X. Primera Crónica General de España. Ed. José Filbueira Valverde. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Ebro, 1966.

Anderson, Farris. Alfonso Sastre. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971.

_____. "The New Theatre of Alfonso Sastre." Hispania, 55 (1972), 840-847.

Antología de poetas líricos castellanos. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica, 1890.

Arpraiz, Ricardo de. "Numancia inmortal. Tres notas de la actualidad." Celtiberia, VI (1955), 128.

Astin, A.E. Scipio Aemilianus. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Aub, Max. "Lo más del teatro español en menos que nada." Papeles de Son Armandans, 55 (1960), 11-38.

Barber, Cesar Lombardi. Shakespeare's Festive Comedy. A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Bergin, Thomas G. Petrarch. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970.

Bernardo, Aldo S. Petrarch, Scipio and the "Africa"--The Birth of Humanism's Dream. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1962.

Bono Serrano, Gaspar, Último día de Numancia. Madrid: Aguado, 1875.

Casalduero, Joaquín. "La Numancia." Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, II (1948), 71-87.

_____. Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes. Madrid: Aguilar, 1951.

Castro, Américo. El pensamiento de Cervantes. Barcelona: Editorial Noguer, 1972.

Cervantes, Miguel de. La destrucción de Numancia. Ed. Ricardo Doménech. Madrid: Taurus, 1967.

_____. Obras completas. Ed. Ángel Valbuena Prat. Madrid: Aguilar, 1967.

Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del Siglo XVI. Ed. Leo Rouanet. 2 vols. Madrid, 1901.

Cook, John A. Neo-classic Drama in Spain. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1959.

Correa, Gustavo. "La Fama en Cervantes." Hispanic Review, XXVII (1959), 280-302.

Cotarelo y Valledor, Armando. El teatro de Cervantes. Madrid, 1915.

_____. Isidoro Maíquez y el teatro de su tiempo. Madrid, 1902.

Diego, Gerardo. Soria. Santander, 1948.

Díez-Crespo, Manuel. "El teatro clásico en nuestros escenarios actuales." Clavileño, I (1950), 47-51.

Fernández de Moratín, Leandro. Orígines del teatro español. Obras. Vol. II of the BAE. Madrid, 1852.

García Pavón, Francisco. "'Numancia', en el Español." Arriba, 4 Oct. 1966, p. 23.

Gil y Zárate, Antonio. Manual de literatura. 2 vols. Madrid, 1847.

González Ruiz, Nicolás. "'Numancia', de Cervantes, en el Español." Ya, 4 Oct. 1966, p. 36.

Guevara, Antonio de. Epístolas familiares. Vol. XIII of the BAE. Madrid, 1866.

Hermenegildo, Alfredo. Los trágicos españoles del siglo XVI. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Fundación Universitaria Española, 1961.

Historia de España. Ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956. II, 119-120.

Knoll, Robert E. Christopher Marlowe. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969.

León, Fray Luis de. Obras. Vol. XXVII of the BAE. Madrid, 1866.

Lida de Malkiel, Rosa María. El concepto de la fama en la edad media castellana. Mexico, 1950.

_____. La idea de la fama en la edad media castellana. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952.

López de Ayala, Ignacio. Numancia destruida. Ed. Russell P. Sebold. Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1971.

López de Sedano, Joseph. Cerco y ruina de Numancia. Ms., n.d.

_____. La Jahel. Madrid, 1763.

López Sancho, Lorenzo. "El Teatro Español abre con una nueva versión de la 'Numancia.'" ABC, 5 Oct. 1966, p. 95.

Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus. The Civil War. Trans. J.D. Duff. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928.

Lynn, Caro. A College Professor of the Renaissance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

MacCurdy, Raymond R. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968.

_____. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958.

_____. Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: Twelve Plays. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971.

_____. "The Numantia Plays of Cervantes and Rojas Zorrilla: the Shift from Collective to Personal Tragedy." Symposium, XIV (1960), 100-120.

Mariana, Juan de. Historia de España. Vol. XXX of the BAE. Madrid, 1854.

Marlowe, Christopher. The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus. Ed. Frederick S. Boas. New York: Gordian Press, 1966.

McClelland, Ivy L. Spanish Drama of Pathos: 1750-1808. 2 vols. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. La Crónica General de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1938.

Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. Obras Completas. Bibliografía Hispano-Latina-Clásica. Vol. V (Horacio). Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1951.

_____. Obras completas. Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria. 6 vols. Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1941.

Morales, Ambrosio de. La Coronica General de España. Alcalá de Henares: Iuan Iñiques de Lequerica, 1574.

_____. Las Antigvedades de las Civdades de España. Alcalá de Henares: Iuan Iñiques de Lequerica, 1577.

Mosquera de Barnuevo, Francisco. La Numantina. Sevilla: Luys Estupiñan, 1612.

Navas-Ruiz, Ricardo. "'Zaragoza': Problemas de estructura." Hispania, 56 (1972), 247.

Ortega y Gasset, José. El tema de nuestro tiempo. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1923.

_____. Meditations on Quixote. Trans. Evelyn Rugg and Diego Marín. New York: W.W. Norton, 1963.

Pérez-Rioja, José Antonio. "Numancia en la poesía." Celtiberia, 4 (1954), 69-103.

Petrarca, Francesco. The Triumphs. Trans. E.H. Wilkins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Poemas Épicos. Ed. Cayetano Rosell. Vol. XVII of the BAE. Madrid, 1851.

Poetas Líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII. Ed. Adolfo de Castro. Vol. XXXII of the BAE. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1966.

Polybius. The Histories. Trans. W. R. Paton. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922.

P.U.T. Numancia destruída. Madrid: Pascual Gracia y Orga, 1864.

Queipo de Llano. Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolucion de España. Vol. LXIV of the BAE. Madrid, 1854.

Quintana, Manuel José. Obras completas. Vol XIX of the BAE. Madrid, 1852.

Randel, Mary Gaylord. The Historical Prose of Fernando de Herrera. London: Tamesis Books, 1971.

Raymond, Irving Woodworth. Seven Books of History Against the Pagans--The Apology of Paulus Orosius. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Reichenberger, Arnold G. "The Uniqueness of the Comedia." Hispanic Review, XXVII (1959), 303-309.

Rioja, Aurelio. Soria canta. Soria, 1948.

Rodríguez-Moñino, Antonio. "Reaparición de un manuscrito cervantino." Anuario de Letras, IV (1964), 269-275.

Romancero general. Ed. Agustín Durán. Vol. X of the BAE. Madrid, 1854.

Saniñón, Antonio. Numancia. Madrid: Ibarra, 1818.

Schevill, Rudolfo and Adolfo Bonilla. Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Comedias y entremeses. 6 vols. Madrid: Graficas Reunidas, 1915-1920.

Schlegel, August Wilhelm von. Uber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur. Heidelberg, 1809.

Schulten, Adolf. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1905-1912. 4 vols. Munich: F. Bruckman, 1914-1931.

_____. Historia de Numancia. Trans. Luis Pericot García. Barcelona: Editorial Barna, S.A., 1945.

Segal, Erich W. Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales. Trans. Richard M. Gummere. 2 vols. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1920.

_____. Four Tragedies and Octavia. Trans. E. F. Watling. Baltimore: Penguin Classics, 1966.

Tichnor, George. History of Spanish Literature. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1963.

Timoneda, Juan de. Rosa gentil. Valencia: Juan Navarro, 1573.

Valbuena Prat, Ángel. Historia de la literatura española. 4 vols. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1972.

Valera, Mosén Diego de. Crónica de España abreviada. Sevilla: Alfonso de la Barrera, 1481.

Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. Obras de Lope de Vega. Crónicas y leyendas dramáticas de España. Ed. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo. Vol. CCXXIV of the BAE. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1969.

Vergil. The Aeneid. Trans. Patric Dickinson. New York: Mentor Books, 1961.

Wardropper, Bruce W. "Juan de la Cueva y el drama histórico." Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, IX (1955), 54.

Whitby, William M. "The Sacrifice Theme in Cervantes' Numancia." Hispania, XLV (1968), 205-210.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME	Jason Martín Rogers-Rodríguez
MAILING ADDRESS	921 Carlisle N.E. Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106
BIRTHDATE BIRTHPLACE	February 7, 1932 Santa Fe, New Mexico
EDUCATION AND DEGREES	Santa Fe High School. Santa Fe, New Mexico. Graduated, 1950. University of New Mexico. 1950-54. B.A. Major: Geology Minor: Spanish Mexico City College. México, D.F. Summers of 1952 and 1953. University of New Mexico. 1968-70. M.A. Major: Spanish University of New Mexico. 1970-74. Ph.D. Major: Spanish Peninsular Literature Minor: Luso-Brazilian Literature Minor: Comparative Literature
DISSERTATION	"The Numantian Theme in Spanish Literature."
SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS	Fulbright-Hayes Grant, Spain. Academic year 1972-73. N.D.E.A. Portuguese Institute, Summer 1970.
PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	Graduate Assistant. Department of Modern and Classical Languages, University of New Mexico. 1968-1970. Beginning and Intermediate Spanish. Teaching Assistant. Department of Modern and Classical Languages, University of New Mexico. 1970-72., Fall Semester of 1973, and Fall Semester of 1974. Beginning and Intermediate Spanish. Visiting Lecturer, University of Texas of the Permian Basin. Spring Semester, 1974.
MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. Modern Language Association. Sigma Pi Iota.