CASTILIAN NATIONALISM AND MONASTIC INFLUENCE
IN THE "POEMA DE MIO CID"

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is essentially a re-evaluation of two issues in the Poema de mio Cid that have largely been ignored in the long-standing debate between the individualists and the traditionalists over the genesis of the poem. These are (i) the question of Castilian nationalism, and (ii) monastic influence on the epic. In the first issue, scholars and critics are generally in agreement that the PMC contains some very definite pro-Castilian and anti-Leonese sentiments, but the extent to which this political attitude is reflected in the work has yet to be determined. In the second issue, the theory that the epic in general had its origins in the monasteries situated along the pilgrim routes of Mediaeval Europe was first raised by the French scholar Joseph Bédier, but was refuted by the eminent Spanish academician Ramón Menéndez Pidal. As such, to date, the only critic who has attempted to apply Bédier's theory to the PMC is P.E. Russell. In this thesis, these two issues are subjected to a close re-evaluation based upon the most recent findings by the individualists who, since the death of Pidal and the publication of Colin Smith's edition of the poem, have revised many of the theories of the Spanish scholar.

This study is divided into four chapters. In the first, the Spanish epic in general is examined briefly to determine its nationalist and monastic content. Also included in this chapter is a relevant discussion of tomb-cults, relic-worship and pilgrimages during the Middle Ages. The second chapter focuses on the latest arguments presented by both the traditionalists and individualists on the
problems of historicity, authorship and dating of the PMC. In the third chapter, the PMC is studied closely with a view to finding manifestations of Castilian nationalism in the poem's major characters, actions and themes. The final chapter deals with the issue of monastic influence on the PMC. Apart from the poem itself, the history of the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña and its relationship with the Cid in fact and fiction are examined.

It will be seen from the last two chapters that the PMC contains more evidence of nationalistic fervour and monastic influence than is generally acknowledged. In other words, the poem exhibits some definite pro-Castilian and anti-Leonese sentiments. If we view the poem against the historical background of the period in which we believe it to have been written, the theory that the PMC was used for propaganda purposes becomes quite plausible. In the issue of monastic influence, again the possibility exists that the PMC was composed in San Pedro de Cardeña. The evidence, not only in the poem itself, but also in the chronicles of Spain and the histories of the monastery all indicate that a strong Cid cult existed in the Cardeña region after the death of the hero. It appears that the PMC was a part of this cult and may have been composed as the result of a crisis in the history of the monastery.

Dr. D. C. Carr
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INTRODUCTION

The year 1968 marks the turning point in the history of Cidian studies. It was the year in which Ramón Menéndez Pidal died, thus ending an era of almost complete domination of mediaeval Hispanic scholarship. During his lifetime, Pidal was recognized as the first and foremost authority in the area of mediaeval romance studies, and his works on the subject are voluminous. The work of Pidal was of such importance and scope that he was held in great esteem by all scholars and critics of the time. However, this respect was translated, all too often, into almost unconditional acceptance and obedience of Pidal's theories, an attitude that was by no means healthy in academic terms. To many, it would have been unthinkable to expound ideas or conclusions that went deliberately counter to those of the great scholar. During his lifetime, few critics openly opposed Pidal's theories and research. Those who did venture to oppose him proceeded with extreme caution and did not pursue the matter too deeply, in order not to offend the Spanish master, especially during the last decades of his life.

When Pidal died in 1968 there was, predictably, a sudden outburst of publications that began to re-evaluate the work of the master, and to challenge some of his conclusions. In the past ten years there has been a steady increase in the number of scholars who have sought new avenues of criticism from those established by Pidal. In the area of Cidian studies there are, at present, two opposing schools of thought: the "traditionalists", who continue to follow and defend the tenets of Pidal and who continue to work in his tradition; and the "individualists", a group of critics and scholars who have begun to question, if not
directly oppose, some of the interpretations and conclusions found in Pidal's works. The disagreement between these two parties lies mainly in their opinions about the genesis of the epic, centring primarily around the question of authorship. The traditionalists believe in a multiple-author theory, which maintains that the extant poem was the work of several authors. They believe that the original work was handed down through generations of juglares, each of whom altered and added material to the original to suit his own purposes and circumstances. The individualists, on the other hand, believe that the epic in its extant form was the product of a single author who may have woven into his work existing short poems, ballads and stories of the hero. This latter party is led by Colin Smith, who in 1972 published his own edition of the Poema de mio Cid (PMC), without the textual reconstructions that Pidal had included in his original three-volume edition.¹ The individualist school's principal objection to Pidal's work was that it was coloured by the scholar's emendations of the text, some of which were shown to be not entirely justifiable. Smith's text followed exactly that found in the manuscript of the poem, including all errors and omissions, and this has made possible new interpretations of the work. This edition has become the standard reference for most Cidian scholars.

Much of the controversy in PMC studies in the last ten years has been centred around the historicity, authorship and date of the poem. The concentration of academic activity in these three areas has been so intense that other problems and issues within the PMC have largely been ignored. I am not suggesting that these activities are superfluous; indeed, the study of the historicity, authorship and dating of the poem
must continue, for they form the basis of all subsequent interpretations, theories and conclusions. However, more effort should be made to examine other aspects of the poem based on the evidence and hypotheses that we now have. In other words, I am advocating more incursions, with new weapons, into territory that is, if not entirely new, then relatively unexplored. This thesis is intended to be such an incursion.

The basic intent of this study is to re-examine two issues in the PMC based on the present state of critical opinion about the poem. These issues are Castilian nationalism and monastic influence, neither of which has been investigated to any great extent. In the first issue, most scholars, in their studies of the PMC, have remarked in passing upon the political overtones of the poem, but none have produced what could be called a definitive study of the subject. It is my contention that the poem contains more pro-Castilian sentiment and propaganda than is generally acknowledged or accepted by critics. In the second issue, only one scholar, P.E. Russell, has attempted to show that the extant text of the PMC may have had ecclesiastical origins. His article is very comprehensive, and was inspired by Joseph Bédier's Les Légendes Épiques, a monumental study in which the theory of monastic origins of the French epics was expounded for the first time. However, mainly because of Pidal's rejection of Bédier's hypotheses, Russell's article has been largely ignored since its publication in 1958. I propose therefore to re-examine these issues in the light of the latest individualist opinions about the historicity, authorship and date of the poem.

This thesis will essentially be divided into four chapters. In the first, the issues of Castilian nationalism and monastic influence will be examined with reference to the other mediaeval Spanish epics in
general to determine their impact on those works. The second chapter will take into consideration the latest research by the individualists in matters of historicity, authorship and date of the *PMC*, as it is upon these opinions that this thesis depends. In the third and fourth chapters, the questions of Castilian nationalism and monastic influence in the *PMC* will be examined with direct reference to the poem itself. I will attempt to determine the extent of the influence that these two issues had upon the poem.

Some words of warning are necessary at this point. First, in reading this study, one must keep in mind the fact that my hypotheses are based on other hypotheses, which are by no means infallible. Second, my partiality for the arguments of the individualists should not be taken to indicate rejection of Pidal's work. This is not my intention. My desire is merely to explore new routes that have been opened through the efforts of the individualists. If, therefore, in this thesis, it appears that the theories of Pidal are not accorded their proper due, the imbalance is unintentional.

No one, least of all myself, can deny that Pidal's lifetime work has been of inestimable value in the field of mediaeval Spanish literature, philology and history. Pidal's prodigious output and almost total dominance in several branches of study was such that scholars even today still owe him an immense debt. The foundations of facts and theory that were laid down by Pidal were so extensively and solidly constructed that, as Smith himself admits, "even if one intends to disagree one finds oneself building on his base."  

I do not believe that it is the intention of the individualist critics to destroy Pidal's work *per se*. They are simply advocating a
re-examination and revaluation of certain areas of his research, as some points have not been satisfactorily explained. These points of contention have previously been avoided out of respect for him. One must bear in mind that Pidal was first and foremost a historian, and then secondarily a literary critic. His methods and theories undoubtedly reflect this bias, which may be corrected or refined by other methods of critical approach. Nevertheless, there will always be critics who disagree with Pidal's conclusions, but, as Smith noted, this constitutes a very genuine form of tribute to a man whose academic life and achievements assumed epic proportions. 5
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION


5Smith, RMP, p. 4.
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO THE ORIGINS OF THE SPANISH EPIC

The epic is basically a heroic narrative in verse whose central theme is "the pursuit of honour through risk." Epics deal with the deeds and achievements of a particular hero or group of heroes, and may be orally composed, but certainly orally diffused. As such, they share many common features, and therefore it is not unusual to find that epics from culturally diverse nations have similar characteristics. From this has come the notion that they all descended from a common ancestor, but this is not so. Deyermond feels that "a more likely explanation is that the basic circumstances of oral composition and of diffusion to a popular audience tend to produce similar results wherever they occur."¹

The genre is divided into two principal types—the heroic epic and the literary epic. The former was composed mainly with a popular audience in mind, and was written in the vernacular. Literary epics, on the other hand, with their chief ancestry in Virgil's Aeneid, were usually written in Latin during the Middle Ages, and although they did share some similar characteristics with the heroic epics, they were intended mainly for a more learned and educated section of society. The difference between the two genres lies, therefore, in the audience and in the tradition in which the poets worked. This is not to say that learned men did not compose heroic epics. There is strong evidence, especially in Spain, that learned men did indeed compose heroic epics which were performed by a juglar before a popular
Deyermond states that "among many peoples, the best-known and best-loved epics tell of a heroic age, of a time, perhaps far distant when heroes were larger than life, a time which may inspire the lesser men of the present to emulate the deeds of their ancestors." The heroic age, to which Deyermond refers, is one that is primarily concerned with war, not merely for survival, but as an institution in which certain qualities of the protagonists may be realized to their fullest. C.M. Bowra enumerates the following characteristics of a heroic age. A heroic society may have humble beginnings and may limit itself to operating in a small area, and not necessarily a large empire, although this also occurs. In this society a small, special class of men rises to power through unity of purpose and determination. Their strength lies in their unity, and one man from among the group will stand out as their leader because of his superior character. This leader and his men work together closely to overcome obstacles in order to attain their common goal, and both parties are interdependent for their own benefit and survival. The men, therefore, are no less eminent than the chief, and the latter realizes that he requires them to attain his objectives. As Bowra says: "Without them he would never attain his full ambitions, and without him, they might never rise from obscurity." He goes on to say that "a heroic age is one in which the ruler is surrounded by remarkable men who go their own ways in considerable freedom but remain, even if with reservations and misgivings, under his command." These outstanding men see in their chief the embodiment of qualities that they most admire and this is enhanced by
the fact that he is sharing in their hardships and dangers. Their unity of purpose brings about their solidarity and they feel superior to all other men.⁴

As for the hero himself, he is usually, though not necessarily, a man who has been temporarily or unjustly cast out from his society. This status of outlaw frees the hero from his commitments to king and country and is advantageous to him because, as Smith says, he is then able "in relative isolation to show his greatness and perform acts which will ensure his return to society, to a society which will acclaim him and be morally the better for his return (or his example, if he has died in the attempt.)"⁵

Bowra lists four principal causes of heroic ages. They may come about as a result of: conquest, when memories of a better time are fostered because of the loss of territories; migration of a people to a distant land where they dream of past days and glories in their former country; failure of a political system which once appeared strong and firmly built; and lastly, when there is a psychological change as, for example, in the form of a religion that condemns, denies or discourages what once had been considered laudable.⁶ There are, of course, other reasons for the growth of the conception of a heroic age, but all can be summarized in one principal cause: that of yearning for the "good old days." If we follow Bowra's theories we see that the concept of a heroic age is born out of a time of crisis, or change, whether political or economical, for better or worse, and engendered by a people who are dissatisfied with the present. They yearn for a certain period in the past when things appeared better, and when men were men. The most typical form of poetic evocation of the heroic age is the epic.
Smith proposes another theory concerning the origins and causes of epic poetry. Although at first sight his views may seem to contradict those of Bowra, they should be taken as complementary rather than conflicting. Smith says:

The best epics are composed by far-sighted poets who can rise above limitations of time and place to take a broad view of a society and of a national destiny; they may become vital documents in a country's heritage and may establish national heroes. They are poems of hope not of despair. They tend to be produced when a people is active, advancing, confident in its power and certain of its mission, to the extent that in more distrustful ages the ideals and plots may seem naive, but even then we often find that our sympathy is readily enlisted on the side of a hero with fine qualities in a difficult situation.⁷

Both Bowra's and Smith's views lead to the conclusion that the epic may be the result or product of a crisis or of advancement in a society. To what extent this applies to the Spanish epic will be seen as we proceed.

It is generally accepted that there are four periods in the history of mediaeval Spain which can be referred to as heroic ages: the Visigothic conquest of the Peninsula; the resistance to the Moorish invasion; the Castilian quest for independence from León; and the lifetime of the Cid.⁸ Menéndez Pidal made a case for the influence of German epics (which were introduced by the Visigoths into the Peninsula) on the origin of the Spanish epic. This theory was rejected by Deyermond on the grounds that "the Visigoths were already Latinized when they crossed the Pyrenees, and no evidence has been produced for epics of their conquest of Spain."⁹ As for the Moorish invasion and the beginning of the Reconquest, Deyermond admits that there are indications that it inspired some contemporary epics, but he considers this evidence "unconvincing." He mentions stories contained in the
Cronica Sarracina (c. 1430) and the Chronica Visegothorum (late ninth century) dealing with the Moorish invasion, but states that there is no evidence to show that epics were composed about them. The Cronica Sarracina contains a fictitious account of the sexual intrigues in Visigothic Spain, and the appeal for help to the Moors to avenge family honour, thus causing the invasion. According to Deyermond, there is much evidence that this story was a branch of a folk-tradition that was prevalent in Europe, especially among the Germanic peoples. The Chronica Visegothorum's basic story is of a bishop who defected to the Moors, and also of a miracle wrought by the Blessed Virgin. Deyermond's opinion is that it savours of an ecclesiastical legend. From this, he concludes that "there are no grounds for believing that the events of the early eighth century, important though they were, formed the subject of epic poems whether at the time or later in the Middle Ages. The Moorish invasion was not Spain's heroic age." 10

Evidence of a heroic age becomes more abundant when we arrive at the beginnings of Castilian independence from León. Only one poem dealing with this era is extant, but others are known in some detail because of the fact that mediaeval Spanish chroniclers relied heavily on epic poems for their material.11 The extant poem is the Poema de Fernán González, and it deals with one of the first counts of Castile in his quest for independence from León. This poem was composed around 1250, but there are indications that the poet, who was from the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, based his work on an earlier, little-known epic referred to as the Cantar de Fernán González.12 The importance of the extant poem to our discussion of the Poema de mi Cid will be seen later in the chapter.
The *Siete Infantes de Lara* is another epic from this era, and although an extant text does not exist, Menéndez Pidal has attempted to reconstruct portions from the chronicles. Set in the reign of Garci Fernández, the successor to Fernán González, the story is almost entirely fictitious, the only authenticity being in the political situation used as background to the plot. The *Siete Infantes de Lara* is a story of family feud, betrayal and vengeance, and in Deyermond's opinion, was composed around the year 1000. This date is important, as it marks a great change in the status of Castile—her independence from the kingdom of León.13

Other epics dealing with this early period of Castilian independence include *La condesa traidora*, *Romanz del Infant García* and the *Abad don Juan de Montemayor*. The texts of these works have been lost, but their contents have been made known to us through the chronicles. The *Condesa traidora*, like the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, deals with Garci Fernández but concentrates principally on his private life. The *Romanz del Infant García* tells of the murder in León of the last count of Castile. As for the *Abad don Juan de Montemayor*, very little is documented. A Portuguese poem of the fourteenth century alludes to it, and there is a summary given in a chronicle from the late fifteenth century.14

It has been almost impossible to date accurately the aforementioned epics, but, according to Deyermond, "the most likely hypothesis is that several epics were orally composed at the time of independence, and that they established a pattern not only for other poems about the early counts and their contemporaries, but also for poems about the Cid, and for epics inspired by the French Carolingian cycle."15 All
these epics contain common characteristics in the treatment of their themes and especially in their purpose, and we shall examine them as we further develop our discussion on the PMC.

Of the few extant epics of Spain, two deal with the lifetime of the Cid. The first, and the most important of all mediaeval Spanish epics, is the Poema de mio Cid, which is the work under discussion in this paper. As we shall see later, several aspects of the PMC continue to be the subject of great controversy among literary critics. However, suffice it to say at this point that it was written around the beginning of the thirteenth century by a poet who was possibly a cleric but who most certainly had some legal training as well.

The other epic written about the Cid is the Mocedades de Rodrigo, which gives an entirely fictitious account of the Cid's youth. According to Deyermond, the Mocedades is the latest extant epic of mediaeval Spain and perhaps the last ever to be composed. A literary epic, it garnered its material from a lost predecessor whose summary appears in chronicles of the first half of the fourteenth century. Considered by many to be the work of a juglar whom Deyermond refers to as "decadent", the Mocedades was written in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁶

If we examine the Spanish epic in general terms in the light of recent research, we see that Menéndez Pidal's theories on the historicity of the Spanish epics, if not proven incorrect in absolute terms, have at least been substantially revised in many essential details. Pidal believed basically that the epic served a social function in that it recorded history accurately. It has now been shown that all the aforementioned epics contain fictitious elements to a very high degree.
The amount of historical accuracy is minimal and, in many of them, their basis is formed upon local legends.

Until recently, and largely because of Menéndez Pidal's conviction that the Spanish epic was a historical document, there has been a dearth of criticism on the Spanish poems as a literary phenomenon. However, Pidal's theories have been challenged by many recent critics, and epics like the PMC have been studied as literary creations in their own right. The controversy over the issue of history versus literature in the PMC will be examined in the next chapter, along with certain other basic aspects of the poem. For the present, we shall concern ourselves with another point of contention regarding the Spanish epic. If we accept the idea that the epic fulfils a predominantly literary, rather than historical function, and since all literature has a purpose, we must then ask for what purpose the epics were composed. The answer can be expressed in one word—propaganda. This is taken to mean an "effort directed systematically toward the gaining of support for an opinion or course of action."17 The word leads one to think naturally in political or historic terms, but in the case of the Spanish epics, propaganda could also be understood from the point of view of ecclesiastical economics. In fact, the clergy may have been a more important element in the development of the epic genre than national politics or ideology.

The first critic to propose a theory concerning monastic influence on the epic was Joseph Bédier. In 1926, Bédier published his monumental study on the origins of the French epic. In this work, called Les Légendes Épiques, he advanced the view that the origins of the epics are closely linked to the monasteries, shrines, and relics of the pilgrimage routes in Europe. In Bédier's words:
Au commencement était la route. En tout pays, dans tous les temps, les hommes ont peuplé de légendes les routes vénérables. Le chemin qui va devant eux vers la terre qu'ils désirent, qui donc, prévoyant leur désir, l'a jadis tracé pour eux, un dieu ou un héros, Hermès ou Héraclès.\(^ {16} \)

Then again, in 1927, he was to write:

avant la chanson de geste, la légende, légende locale, légende d'église; au commencement était la route, jalonnée de sanctuaires.\(^ {19} \)

Bédier's theory in essence was that the connection between history and the epic lay in the religious legends that were perpetuated in the monasteries and shrines along the pilgrim routes. Although this theory has been queried by more recent critics, and is now in a very vulnerable position, one cannot discount it entirely.\(^ {20} \) Menéndez Pidal rejected off-hand the theory of Bédier, but then, his own theory of historicity has also been dismantled as an exhaustive explanation of the Spanish epic.

During the Middle Ages, pilgrimages were a very popular form of devotion. The places where Jesus Christ and his disciples, or other holy men, had lived inspired devotion and gave comfort to the mediaeval person.\(^ {21} \) Walter Starkie says:

Pilgrimages in the religious sense of the word appealed instinctively to man, as we can ascertain from the study of primitive religions. A pilgrimage for him meant the possibility of winning grace and getting into close contact with the great mysteries of his religion.... Even though St Jerome had said that the gates of Heaven were as open in Britain as in Jerusalem, religious teachers believed that special blessings could be obtained in places where saints and martyrs had died, and that men who had sinned could expiate their crimes at such shrines. A pilgrimage could be the easiest means of atonement, and so absolution was frequently granted by Papal Bull, upon condition that the penitent should visit holy places.\(^ {22} \)

There were three principal centres for pilgrimages during mediaeval times—Rome, Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela. Of these
three, Santiago de Compostela was perhaps the most popular. It had a
definite advantage over Rome in that it was situated in a country that
was occupied by the Infidel. Therefore a pilgrimage to Compostela
acquired the prestige of a crusade because of the difficulties inherent
in such an undertaking.  

On the other hand, the journey to Compostela was not as difficult
as to Jerusalem. The consensus was that "the pilgrimage to the Holy
Land was only for the valiant and adventurous spirits, who were pre-
pared to fight their way through hostile countries, and, moreover, the
Moslems of Syria were more furious and intolerant than the Moors in
Spain, who were disposed to trade and even to consort with their
Christian neighbours."  

In this way Santiago de Compostela assumed great importance among
devout Christians of Mediaeval Europe. Thousands of pilgrims made the
journey each year to the shrine of St. James the Great, who was pur-
ported to have preached the Christian doctrine in north-western Spain.
The tomb of Santiago de Compostela had been revealed to Bishop Teodomiro
of Iria in a vision in 814. Alfonso II, the Asturian king, had a
church built in honour of the saint, who in turn, showed his grateful-
ness by aiding the monarch to victory over the Moors at Clavijo in 834.
By the eleventh century, Compostela was already well known in England,
and in the next century, Archbishop Diego de Gelmírez ranked it as one
of the most important with Jerusalem and Rome.

Pilgrimages became a very common activity in Europe as the Middle
Ages progressed. They also became one of the major industries of
Mediaeval Europe, so much so that guide books were written to aid the
pilgrim. Places such as the churches, monasteries and sanctuaries
along the pilgrim route in Northern Spain were listed, and special hostelries were established to accommodate the poorer pilgrims.\textsuperscript{25}

According to Starkie:

> By the twelfth century the multitudes that journeyed to Compostela from all parts of Europe were so great that they were compared to the clouds of stars of the Milky Way, and Dante in the Convito speaks of the galaxy - "the white circle which the common people call, Way of St. James."\textsuperscript{26}

It must be borne in mind, however, that not all pilgrims visited Compostela in order to perform penance. For many,

Their motive often arose from a mental contract they had made with St. James himself. They pledged themselves to undertake the pilgrimage and make an offering at the Saint's shrine, if he would grant their request. For this reason the journey was not always one of penitence, but sometimes one enabling the pilgrim to express his gratitude in the form of a costly offering to the Saint. In this way the treasures of the Cathedral of Santiago and of all the other churches along the road grew in wealth and prosperity.\textsuperscript{27}

Much of this "wealth and prosperity" came from the persons of high rank who undertook the journey. Compared to Jerusalem and Rome, far more high-ranking people—Popes, kings, cardinals, archbishops and dukes—visited Compostela than the other two centres. This fact was recognized and quickly capitalized upon by religious institutions along the route. Although theoretically every pilgrim who visited the tomb of St. James was to be considered equal to his fellow, preferential treatment was accorded by the clerics to the richer devotees, who rewarded them with gold and silver. Such a reaction on the part of priests and monks in churches and monasteries along the pilgrim route is natural in view of their Spartan existence and dependence upon alms and donations from outsiders. This quest for economic gains invariably led to attempts by churches and monasteries to enhance their individual stature and therefore attract more pilgrims to their doors. Two ways
in which this could be accomplished were: the possession of relics of
saints, and the possession of relics of famous historical personages,
supported by legends of these heroes.28

The veneration of the relics of saints was the focal point of much
debate and controversy in the early Church. In Western Europe, this
practice was very common by the beginning of the fifth century.
Jonathan Sumption explains the phenomenon thus:

The cult of the saints was the counterpoint of the fear of
evil. Just as men tended to associate evil with objects
familiar to them, so they attempted to give a human quality
to the forces of good.29

Relics consisted of not only the saint's body (or part of it), but
even objects that had been in contact with the saint or his shrine.
Such articles were deemed to have miraculous powers and were in great
demand in Mediaeval Europe. The belief in the powers of relics was
such that "churchmen sought to acquire relics of the apostles, martyrs
and saints in order that they might promote the 'holiness' of the
church to which the relics were brought."30 This faith in relics was
not restricted only to the uneducated. Gregory of Tours was reputed to
have made the following suggestion:

"He who wishes to pray before the tomb," writes Gregory,
'opens the barrier that surrounds it and puts his head through
a small opening in the shrine. There he prays for all his
needs and, so long as his requests are just, his prayers will
be granted. Should he wish to bring back a relic from the
tomb, he carefully weighs a piece of cloth which he then
hangs inside the tomb. Then he prays ardently and if his
faith is sufficient, the cloth, once removed from the tomb,
will be found to be so full of divine grace that it will be
much heavier than before. Thus he will know that his prayers
have been granted."31

Such a suggestion may appear ridiculous to us today, but it
adequately demonstrates the frame of mind of the mediaeval man and the
importance of relics to him.
The Churches themselves were aware of the attitudes of the people toward relics, and did not hesitate to exploit this knowledge toward economic ends. The more relics the church or monastery had, the more attractive it would be to pilgrims passing along the route to the Holy Shrines. Relics were an inducement to the pilgrim to visit the Church where he would offer alms and donations. In this respect, relics were a source of income for the establishment, and the monks who recognized this potential immediately were not above producing fraudulent articles to show to the public as relics.

The cult of the saints was also closely allied to the cult of heroes. In both, the attitudes and practices were similar. Martial heroes became objects of worship because they were considered to be "milites Christi," defenders of the faith. As such they were worthy of the glory of saints. A good case in point is the heroes of the Chanson de Roland. Jan de Vries explains:

Churches and monasteries already boasted of the possession of graves and relics of these martyrs at an early date, and legends were bound to be woven around them. Thus it is told that Charlemagne had his paladin Roland buried in the church of Saint Romain at Blaye, with Roland's famous horn, the Olifant, laid at his feet. Later, however, the clergy of Saint Seurin in Bordeaux were said to have appropriated it. The grave of Bishop Turpin was supposed to be at Saint Jean de Sorde, while Belin, situated in the Landes of Bordeaux, was able to boast of holding the bodies of the holy martyrs Oliver, King Ogier of Denmark, Duke Garin of Lorraine, and many other warriors of Charlemagne. It was related in legend that Charlemagne had taken them there himself and had them interred in a collective grave. A sweet odour emanates from there and the sick who inhale it are cured by it.

As in the case with saints, not only were the bodies of heroes considered precious, but so were the relics, things that the heroes touched or used. Jan de Vries tells us that "the sword and shield of Ogier of Denmark were shown to the believers in Farmoutier, while the
shield of Guillaume d'Orange could be worshipped in Brioude." Such relics of persons from secular legends were in great demand during the Middle Ages. Occasionally relic worship would encompass even non-Christian figures. A good example is that of the Viking Gormont from the song of Gormont and Isembart. The abbey of Saint-Riquier in Normandy is reputed to possess his cup among her treasures, and although strictly speaking, it would not be considered a relic in the true sense of the word, it was proudly exhibited. As de Vries notes, "it is a fact that something preserved in a church by this very means acquires an odour of sanctity." The conclusion that one draws from all this is that there existed a close relationship between the Church and heroic legends. De Vries warns, however, that we should not conclude, from the above statement, that the Church was therefore responsible for the creation of the legend, as Bédier proposed. Thus, there exist two polarized views on the monastic origins of the epic. On the one hand stands Bédier's theory that the epics were created in the monasteries along the pilgrim routes. Bédier's opinion is that certain practical priests, wishing to further the fame as well as the economic conditions of their parishes, encouraged **juglares** to compose poems about these heroes and to diffuse them in the market places. De Vries does not accept this theory. For him the legend came first:

> The church only took it to its bosom. Before the Olifant could find a place in a church it must have been made worthy by a preceding tradition. That tradition could only be heroic legend.

Both these opposing theories by de Vries and Bédier appear valid and logically founded, but to this day, the issue remains unresolved. However, as far as the Spanish epic is concerned, Bédier's theory appears to be more applicable. When one examines each extant epic, one
finds quite extensive evidence of clerical influence and purpose. Deyermond, in speaking of the raison d'être of the Spanish epic, puts forward the view that in Spain:

The two most obvious purposes for epics would be political or economic propaganda for a monastery or a church, and the provision of material for chronicles. Spanish epics were used for both of these ends, as well as for the almost universal purpose of informing, entertaining, and inspiring the people as a whole.38

From the above, one can deduce Deyermond's position in the question of the relevance of tomb-cults to the epics. Indeed he himself confirms his partiality to the theories of Bédier when he says:

The stimulation of pilgrims' interest by a collection of relics associated with a saint or a national hero, and best of all by his tomb, was a favourite tactic of medieval churches and monasteries. If a hero was commemorated by an epic poem, this was still more useful, and in some cases an epic was composed for this purpose.39

The Spanish epics, upon close examination, do bear out this opinion. The Poema de Fernán González is perhaps the best example of monastic influence on epic poetry. Classified by Deyermond among the epics about the first counts of an autonomous Castile, it exhibits definite connections between the hero Fernán González and the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. For one thing, the poem is not written in the traditional epic metre, but rather in the learned cuaderna via and more importantly, we know that it was composed in the monastery. The poem itself is based on a real personage, but the historical facts have been manipulated by the writer, and the poem "owes more to folklore than to the historical facts."40 The main theme of the poem is the winning of autonomy for Castile, but that it was designed to increase the fame of the monastery of Arlanza and its attraction to pilgrims cannot be denied. Deyermond elucidates:
The hero's relations with the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza form an important part of the story. Fernán González loses his way when hunting (a frequent opening of an adventure in folklore). His quarry takes refuge in a hermitage, the hero is stricken with remorse for his unintentional violation of sanctuary, and promises to build an adequate monastery on the site. The monk Pelayo correctly prophesies a victory in the coming battle, and thereafter the destinies of Fernán González, Castile and Arlanza are closely linked.  

From the above quotation, one can see that the Poema de Fernán González was used for ecclesiastical purposes. As Deyermond points out, both content and form point in this direction:

The nature of its main narrative, the audience at which it appears to aim, the number of folk-motifs that it incorporates, and perhaps the irregularity of its metre (which seems to be much greater than that of other cuaderna via poems) - all of these point to its being a heroic epic composed by a monk as propaganda.  

Thus, the main motive of the Poema de Fernán González was the economic interests of the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. The secondary motive was Castilian patriotism, as evidenced by the attempts of the poet "to identify Castile with the Reconquest and the best interests of Spain as a whole."  

The Poema de Fernán González is not the only example of clerical exploitation of epic material although perhaps it is the best example. Others include the Siete Infantes de Lara, La condesa traidora, Romanz del Infant García, and the Mocedades de Rodrigo.  

The Siete Infantes de Lara, based on an authentic political background, was exploited by the churches which claimed to possess relics of the seven brothers. As Deyermond says:

The story that the poem told was, although fictitious, one that carried conviction: the parish church at Salas de los Infantes displayed as relics seven skulls which were allegedly those of the betrayed brothers, while two monasteries claimed to possess the authentic seven tombs.
La condesa traidora is another epic of this period, dealing with the count Garci Fernández and his family. There is no text for this epic but summaries of the plot are given in the chronicles. The story, referred to as scandalous and sensational by some critics, has what Deyermond calls "carefully developed ecclesiastical connections." The story begins with the foundation of a monastery by the count Garci Fernández, and ends with the burial of the evil countess Doña Sancha at the monastery of San Salvador de Oña, with an explanation as to the origins of the monastery's name. In another chronicle, Garci Fernández is buried at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. Deyermond states that "as far back as we can trace the epic of La condesa traidora, its ending is of predominantly monastic interest." He is quick to add, however, that this does not mean that in its original form, the poem had such an ending. Nevertheless, the possibility of this cannot be entirely rejected.

The Romanz del Infant García is another lost epic set in the eleventh century. Mentioned in the Estoria de España, it tells of the murder of the last count of Castile in León. The ecclesiastical connections are found in the fact that there were two competing tombs of the Infante García, one in León and one in San Salvador de Oña, with epitaphs which give two differing accounts of the murder.

In the Mocedades de Rodrigo we have probably the greatest documented example of monastic influence on the epic. As we have stated before, the story and the figure of the Cid portrayed in this epic are entirely fictitious. An extensive study of the Mocedades was undertaken by Deyermond and published in his book Epic Poetry and the Clergy. Perhaps the most interesting facet of this epic, and one which interests
us here, is the fact that the author shows himself to be very interested in the history of the diocese of Palencia. This aspect has nothing to do with the plot of the story and did not appear in the lost version of the poem. As such it provides the modern critic and scholar with food for thought about monastic influences on the epic. The *Mocedades* shows signs of decadence in its techniques and approach, and is not generally considered a good poem, though Deyermond argues that it has been underrated. The composer was surely a learned man, most probably a cleric, and the poem was "composed in order to support the claims of the diocese of Palencia at a critical moment in its history." In the fourteenth century, the diocese of Palencia found itself declining in prestige and power, and subjected to depredations by Castilian nobles. Also, it was in dispute with the city of Sahagún over territorial rights and privileges, the failure of the University of Palencia and conflicts with the citizenry. These events are closely paralleled in the *Mocedades*, which seeks to affirm Palencia's status through the fictitious association with the Cid and through documentation in the poem.48

What does all this prove? First and foremost, it is clear that the heroic legends of the Spanish Middle Ages were linked to the Church in varying degrees. In many cases, the monasteries along the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela were directly responsible for creating, cultivating and propagating heroic legends through poems, epics and the use of relics, whether authentic or false. In many instances, epic heroes were linked, within the works, to a certain monastery or church. The purpose behind this practice was to enhance the name and stature of the religious institution in the eyes of the pilgrims, who would then visit the place on their way to Compostela.
Since many of the pilgrims to Compostela were wealthy or of noble birth, this generally resulted in the monastery's receiving sums of money as offerings or alms. As such, the legends served a mercenary purpose in that they were a source of income to supplement what would otherwise be a rather meagre existence. Also, the legends could prove useful in times of crisis, such as in the case of the diocese of Palencia, as mentioned above.

The nature of such practices, which we know existed in Spain, leads one to the conviction that the primary purpose of epic or heroic literature during the Spanish Mediaeval Age was one of a mercenary nature, a situation brought about by either economic, legal or political conditions affecting the monastery or church. The epics composed under these circumstances employed nationalistic sentiments as main themes. These were probably used to disguise the true motive behind the compositions. Nationalistic themes were not new to Mediaeval Castilian literature. Gifford Davis traced their origins back to the De laude Spaniae of Isidore. Such epics were calculated to arouse patriotic sentiments and national consciousness among Castilians. Charlton Hayes defines the foregoing terms:

The term patriotism is taken to mean simple love of homeland. National consciousness is used to designate a realization by a group of humanity of collective attributes, common past and tradition and common goals and inspiration. Nationalism has been defined as "a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyal ties," and "which involves the unshakable faith in its surpassing excellence over other nationalities."

These feelings are all reflected in the Castilian epic. The Poema de Fernán González is a good example. The opening lines of the poem give a compact summary of Spanish history, much of which, according to
Davis, was drawn from Isidore or Lucas de Tuy's chronicles. The poet praises Spain at the beginning, but later singles out Castile to be the best of her provinces. Stanzas 156-157 state:

Pero de toda Spanna Casty(e)lla es mejor,  
Por que fue de los otros(el)comienço mayor,  
Guardando e temiendo syenpre a su sen(n)or,  
Quiso acrecentar (la) assy el Cryador.  

Avn Casty(e)lla Vieja, al mi entendimiento,  
Mejor es que lo hal por que fue el cimiento,  
Ca conquierieron mucho, maguer poco convento,  
Byen lo podedes ver en el acabamiento.  

This sentiment of Castilian independence and superiority pervades all epics during this period. One must remember that Castile during this time was engaged in winning and maintaining her autonomy from her mother state León. The balance of power had been swinging between the two states since the tenth century. When the Poema de Fernán González was written the pendulum had swung so that the two kingdoms were united under the dominance of Castile. Castile had long recognized the unity of origin of the Peninsular peoples. The Castilians had also traced their royal line back to the Gothic kings and therefore emphasized Gothic supremacy over the Peninsula as a whole.  

These nationalistic sentiments are not restricted only to the Poema de Fernán González. The other early epics which deal with the first decades of Castilian independence, such as the Siete Infantes de Lara and La condesa traidora, demonstrate definite pro-Castilian and anti-Leonese feelings.  

This Castilian nationalism is perhaps the one common theme of the epics. However, its function was to disguise, whether effectively or not, the true purpose of the poems, namely, to make money for the monastery or church in which the individual epics originated. To what
extent this theory of monastic influence and Castilian nationalism applies to the *Poema de_mío Cid* will be examined in the subsequent chapters. To this end we are fortunate in that, unlike the other epics, we have an almost complete text, and a considerable knowledge of the history of the Cid. Bédier's theory had been applied to other Spanish epics with a certain degree of success. There is no reason to expect that the *Poema de_mío Cid* would be different.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 Alan David Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: The Middle Ages (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1971), pp. 31-32.

2 Deyermond, pp. 31-32.

3 Deyermond, p. 32.


6 Bowra, pp. 73-80.

7 Smith, PMC, p. xiii.

8 Deyermond, p. 32.


11 The Estoria de España, for example, compiled during the reign of Alfonso el Sabio, employed material directly from the epics and openly acknowledges this fact.

12 See Deyermond, pp. 36-38.


14 Deyermond, pp. 40-41. This last epic, although included among the epics of early Castile as classified by Deyermond, is deemed "doubtful" by him.

15 Deyermond, pp. 39-40.


21 V.H.H. Green, Medieval Civilization in Western Europe (London: Camelot Press, 1971), p. 120.


23 Starkie, pp. 60-61.

24 Starkie, p. 61.

25 Green, p. 121, and Starkie, p. 61.

26 Starkie, p. 62.

27 Starkie, p. 62.

28 Starkie, p. 67.


30 Green, p. 119.

31 Sumption, p. 24.


33 de Vries, p. 236.

34 de Vries, p. 236.

35 de Vries, p. 237.

36 de Vries, pp. 237-38.

37 de Vries, p. 237.

38 Deyermond, p. 33.

39 Deyermond, p. 37.
Deyermond, p. 36.

Deyermond, p. 37.

Deyermond, p. 37.

Deyermond, p. 38.


Deyermond, p. 40. These chronicles include the Cronica Najerense, De rebus Hispaniae and the Estoria de España.

Deyermond, p. 40.

Deyermond, p. 41.

Deyermond, pp. 46-47. See also: Deyermond, Epic Poetry and the Clergy.

Gifford Davis, "The Development of a National Theme in Medieval Castilian Literature," Hispanic Review.

Davis, p. 149n.

Davis, p. 153.


Davis, pp. 154-55.
CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICITY, DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

OF THE POEM

The single most important work among mediaeval Spanish epics is the Poema (or Cantar) de mio Cid. It has the distinction of being the first extensive verse text in Spanish and is considered to be one of the greatest poems of the European Middle Ages. The poem deals with the military exploits of Castile's national hero, the Cid, Rodrigo (or Ruy) Díaz de Vivar in the latter part of the eleventh century, and is, as Smith says, a "masterly blend of history and fiction."¹

A great deal of controversy surrounds the PMC, in literary circles. Critics of the poem are divided into two principal camps. In the first there are those who follow neotraditionalist research and the theories of Ramón Menéndez Pidal. This group, known as the traditionalists, include scholars such as Edmund de Chasca, C. Bandera Gómez and Sánchez Albornoz.

The second group, known as the individualists, consists of critics who recently have begun to question or reject Pidal's theories and offering, in their turn, their own interpretation of the poem. The critics who belong to this group regard the mediaeval epic as a work of art written by an identifiable individual who used historical, or documentary material for artistic creation. The basic objection of the individualists to Pidal's work is that the latter had a tendency to reconstruct portions of the text of the PMC. These reconstructions have proven to be not entirely accurate and frequently have obscured evidence
within the text, resulting in somewhat tainted interpretations and theories. The individualist group includes such critics as Colin Smith, P.E. Russell, A.D. Deyermond and A. Ubieto Arteta. Smith's edition of the PMC eschews textual reconstruction in favour of a close adherence to the manuscript readings.

Before examining the PMC from the aspect of Castilian nationalism and monastic influences, it would be prudent to study briefly the historical Cid as opposed to the figure portrayed in the poem. In this regard we are fortunate, as, unlike many national and epic heroes, the Cid was indeed a historical personage about whom much is known.

The Cid, Rodrigo Díaz, was born around the year 1043 in the village of Vivar, to the north of Burgos. His father, Diego Lainez, belonged to the class of lesser nobles known as infanzones. Upon the death of his father, Rodrigo was placed under the protection of the Infante Sancho, the eldest son of Fernando I who had united León, Castile and Galicia under his rule. When Fernando died in 1065, his realm was divided, according to his will, into three separate kingdoms to be ruled by his three sons. Sancho received Castile; Alfonso received León; and García received Galicia. Sancho, being the most ambitious of the three, claimed his right as the eldest and plotted to re-unite the three states under his sole command. In this endeavour, he was aided by Rodrigo who had become by then the alferez or royal standard-bearer of the Castilian army. Sancho was successful in the subsequent military campaigns, and finally brought both León and Galicia under his rule.

In 1072, Sancho was assassinated by Vellido Dolfos during the siege of Zamora. Fortune began taking a turn for the worse when Alfonso
returned from his exile in Toledo to assume power over the kingdom Sancho left. The Cid, who had been very prominent in Sancho's cause, was naturally looked upon with disfavour by the new king, and relations between them were for the most part less than amicable. However, the new king, aware of the power of the former alférez, attempted to reconcile their differences. In 1074, Alfonso VI honoured the Cid by presenting to him, as his wife, Jimena Díaz, a Leonese noblewoman and cousin to the king. However, matters still did not improve. Twice the Cid was banished, once from 1081 to 1087, and the second time in 1089. As a consequence of his banishment, Rodrigo entered the service of the Moorish king of Saragossa and this, in turn, led to his greatest feat of all—the conquest of Valencia. For the rest of his life, the Cid ruled Valencia and defended it successfully against the Almoravid invasions of the last decades of the eleventh century. He died in Valencia in 1099, and when finally the city fell to the Almoravid armies in 1101, his body was exhumed and re-buried in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña.²

The PMC, which deals with the last two decades of the Cid's life, contains 3733 lines, and is incomplete, as both the beginning and the end are missing. However, most of the poem has survived in a single manuscript of disputed date and is purported to have been copied by a Per Abbat.

The PMC itself is divided into three cantares. The first cantar opens with the exile of the Cid. The exact reason for the banishment in the poem is not known, as one or more folios are missing from the manuscript. Theories have been forwarded by critics and scholars as to the content of these missing folios, but nothing concrete has been
established. 3 The Cid needs money to support his troops and himself, so he obtains it fraudulently from two Jewish moneylenders named Raquel and Vidas. From this point on, the first cantar deals with the military successes of the Cid in Castejón and above all, in Alcocer, as he penetrates ever deeper into Muslim territory. The cantar ends with the Cid's victory over the count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer, in the battle of the Pine-Wood of Tévar.

In the second cantar, the Cid continues his expedition towards the southeast, thrusting toward the Mediterranean. The city of Valencia is captured and Yusuf, the leader of the Almoravids, is defeated when he comes to take the city for himself. During all this time, the Cid is constantly sending gifts to his king Alfonso, seeking reconciliation. The Infantes of Carrión, seeing the riches that the Cid has gained, ask Alfonso to arrange their marriages to the daughters of the Cid. Alfonso agrees, but before doing so, restores the Cid to his original position prior to banishment. The Cid, now reconciled to his king, reluctantly agrees to the proposed marriages which are subsequently celebrated in Valencia.

The third cantar picks up the tale two years after the marriages of the Cid's daughters. The Infantes of Carrión prove themselves to be complete cowards in two major incidents—once, when the Cid's lion escapes, and again during the battle of Cuarte during which the Cid kills the Moorish king Búcar. Fearing the mockery that they feel sure is coming as a result of their cowardly behaviour, the Infantes inform the Cid of their intentions of returning to the lands of Carrión. The Cid grants them permission to leave. On the way, at the oak grove of Corpes, the Infantes set upon their wives, the Cid's daughters, and
beat them mercilessly, finally leaving them half-dead. The girls are
rescued by their cousin Félix Muñoz and are taken to San Esteban de
Gormaz. When the Cid hears of the affrontery of the Infantes, he seeks
justice from Alfonso. The king convokes court at Toledo, where the
Infantes are forced to return everything that the Cid had granted them,
including the swords Tizón and Colada, and to fight a judicial duel
against representatives of the Cid. During this time, two messengers
arrive to ask for the hands of the Cid's daughters on behalf of the
princes of Navarre and Aragon. The duel is fought and the Infantes
are defeated, although their lives are spared. The poem ends with the
marriage of the Cid's daughters to the princes of Aragon and Navarre,
thereby ensuring that the Cid's blood-line is continued through the
kings of Spain.

Before examining the PMC with a view to finding evidence supporting
our theories of Castilian nationalism and ecclesiastical influence, we
have to focus first on three facets of the poem: historicity, the date
of composition and the authorship. All three of these have been subjects
of an enormous amount of discussion and disagreement among scholars.
With reference to the historicity of the poem, we shall attempt to show
that the PMC was written, not as a historical chronicle but rather as a
literary creation. The dating of the poem is equally important, as the
period in which the PMC was written may correspond to a time when
feelings of Castilian nationalism ran high. Finally the authorship,
if it can be established, will throw some light on the purpose of the
poem and its main themes. The final analysis of certain elements in
the PMC are, in fact, dependant on the findings in these three areas.

The study of the historicity of the PMC had been one of the most-
debated issues in mediaeval Spanish literature. The basic question centres on the extent to which the poem itself may be accepted as a reliable historical source. Menéndez Pidal's opinion was that the epic was indeed a valid, accurate, historical document. He saw the epic as a vehicle by which the news of contemporary events was communicated to the public. The juglar, or composer of the poem, is seen by Menéndez Pidal as being charged by society to communicate and preserve history as accurately as possible:

El cantar de gesta nace desde luego relatando gestas o hechos notables de actualidad. No le da origen siempre (aunque alguna vez se lo dé) el entusiasmo, la pasión, que suscitan los raros grandes sucesos de un pueblo,...sino la ordinaria y permanente necesidad sentida por un pueblo que respira un ambiente heroico, necesidad de conocer todos los acontecimientos importantes de su vida presente, y deseo de recordar los hechos del pasado que son fundamento de la vida colectiva. La razón permanente del interés épico es, pues, la apetencia histórica de un pueblo que se siente empeñado en una empresa secular. La epopeya no es mero poema de asunto histórico, sino un poema que cumple la elevada misión político-cultural de la historia. It was essentially this belief that caused Menéndez Pidal and his followers to regard the epic primarily as history, rather than as a literary creation of artistic value.

Apart from these considerations, Pidal also maintained, in his theory of neotradicionalismo, that the epics were composed at the time of the event they portray, and that they were reworked as time went by. At the date of their composition they were accurate in their historical facts, but subsequent reworkings tended to introduce fictional elements into the poems. In other words, the closer the date of composition to the actual event, the more historically accurate the poem tended to be.

Against these theories, a number of arguments have been proposed by the individualists. Smith, in his edition of the PMC, is more
prepared to regard the poem as an artistic entity rather than a historical duty or responsibility of the juglar. He maintains that "the accurate preservation of history was no concern of the epic poet, still less any duty of his, and was never seen in that way." Smith cites examples in literature which, although dealing with historical events or personages, have no more than the most tenuous link with the historical facts. Smith's opinion was that:

At all times we must allow for much free invention, for creation of new events and personages, for fictional association between persons and events never so associated in fact, for abundant anachronisms and constant actualization, for introduction of favourite themes and episodes into historically unlikely contexts, and so.

In other words, Smith tells us not to forget the human element and imagination. He tells us that this process of affabulation is at work no matter how close the composition is in time to the actual event. He says that this is "inherent from a very early stage, not at a late stage only or as the result of mere forgetfulness, substitution of fiction for what had become unintelligible as history, etc." Deyermond supports this view, but in a more indirect way. His objection to the Pidalian theory is based on the lack of any concrete evidence: "since we do not possess in its original form any Spanish epic that was composed at the time of the events, we can do no more than speculate about the historical accuracy of such a poem...."

That there is a historical base to the PMC cannot be denied, but it is made up of fundamental truths of the life of the Cid with which the audience was perhaps already familiar. The projection of these well-known facts and events by the poet into the poem serves to lend the work a certain air of verisimilitude. Colin Smith supports this theory when he says that "...if many poems do have a strong air of
historicidad about them, it was because the poet, like any other artist, sought to convince his public that he was not offering rubbish but true, worthy and improving material, as is stated at the beginning of certain chansons de geste; and more importantly, because the poet sought to create an impression of verisimilitude of credibility on a human plane, as part of his art.¹¹

Edmund de Chasca, a supporter of Pidal’s theories, himself admits that the "historical matter, whether it is used with considerable fidelity, modified, altered, distorted, or transformed into myth, must yield to the requirements of poetic creation."¹²

When this theory of historical verisimilitude is applied to the PMC, we arrive at the same conclusion as Smith:

In its composition the poet started from the historical facts: that the Cid was exiled, that he defeated Ramón Berenguer at Tévar. He knew other historical facts of a different kind: that the Cid had a wife, Jimena, and two daughters; that he had an association with Cardeña; that he had knights in his service.¹³

In the passage just cited, Smith was speaking of the first cantar only but we can stretch the point to cover the general history in the other two cantares, namely, the conquest of Valencia, which is perhaps the greatest military exploit of the Cid, and his effectiveness as a soldier against the Almoravids. And, as Smith says, "the rest, all that which is built upon this bare base of historical fact, is literature."¹⁴

The fictional elements in the PMC are probably the best evidence one can offer against the historicity of the poem. De Chasca enumerates the four principal fictitious elements in the poem: first, the incident in which the Cid defrauded the Jews Raquel and Vidas of the
three hundred gold and three hundred silver marks; second, the marriages of the Cid's daughters to the Infantes de Carrión; third, the incident of the escape of the Cid's lion; and fourth, the Cortes at Toledo whereby the Infantes were humiliated. When one considers that the central action of the poem revolves completely around the marriages of the Cid's daughters, then one can see that a large part of the poem is fictitious.

The first half of the *PMC* up to the capture of Valencia, has been generally accepted as the historical section of the poem, but even here recent investigations have shown that the historicity is dubious. The battles of Castejón and Alcocer, which figure so prominently in the first *cantar*, have been shown by Smith to have possible literary origins in Latin chronicles. The capture of Castejón has its parallel in the record of the capture of the town of Capsa in Numidia in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* of Sallust. Smith makes a good case when he compares the actions related by Sallust with those in the *PMC*, and his conclusions may be regarded as sound. Likewise, the capture of Alcocer is shown to have links with the *Strategemata* of Frontinus. One point however, that Smith is prompt to make, is that the availability of the stated Latin works to the poet of the *PMC* cannot be established. Therefore, it is impossible to prove that the poet did indeed use them for his own creation. Nevertheless, that possibility cannot entirely be ruled out in view of the evidence in the text.

As for the rest of the first *cantar*, much of the "historicity" has been shown to be fictitious, inaccurate, or at least built upon previous literary incidents. Smith enumerates:

...in that first cantar much of the detail of the Cid's departure for exile, with its splendid family scenes and speeches, is literary invention; the rich scene of the
Jews is built upon an oriental tale; Jimena's prayer is certainly borrowed from a French epic source; the Cid's vision of Gabriel is probably imitated from one of Charlemagne's visions; the episodes of Castejón and Alcocer have the literary origins shown here, the episode of the Count of Barcelona compressed two historical incidents into one, is 'wrongly' placed in sequence of time and has many elements of literary invention. There is not much historicidad left in the cantar. What we have is a poem, resulting from an act of literary creation.\textsuperscript{17}

To sum up the issue of historicity of the \textit{PMC}, we should accept, with Smith, Pidal's view that "the function of the epic was partly exemplary and social matter."\textsuperscript{18} However, we must realize that it also had an artistic function and that it was thus no different from other forms of literature. As Leo Spitzer said in 1948: "Para mí el \textit{PMC} es obra más bien de arte y ficción que de autenticidad histórica."\textsuperscript{19} Smith's definition of historicity in the epic is not "the accurate presentation or preservation of history" as proposed by Pidal, but rather "the use of historical or pseudo-historical detail for purposes of artistic verisimilitude."\textsuperscript{20}

The subject of the dating of the \textit{PMC} is also one of great controversy among Cidian scholars. The explicit of the poem gives the date as ERA 1245 or A.D. 1207.\textsuperscript{21} Menéndez Pidal, when he published his edition of the \textit{PMC}, proposed that the date of composition of the \textit{PMC} was c. 1140. Later, he revised his theory, setting the date even earlier in 1110. In fact, Pidal advocated the existence of another shorter epic poem of about 1105, which was the forerunner of the \textit{PMC} and which had been amalgamated into the extant text. However, Pidal's views are based on the theory of neotradicionalismo. Of the evolution of Cidian legends after the death of the hero, there is little concrete evidence. The \textit{Poema de Almería}, written around 1147-9, seems to
indicate that a poem or cycle of poems indeed existed, and that it was sung in the vernacular. Such pieces of evidence do exist, but all refer, whether directly or by implication, to poems that are no longer extant. As Smith says, "even if we take it that a Cid poem existed by the time of the Poema de Almería, we cannot assume that it was a direct ancestor of our PMC or indeed in any way related to it." By way of further proof, Smith offers the Mocedades de Rodrigo as evidence. The Mocedades is the other surviving poem dealing with the Cid but has very little to do with the PMC. Besides, Deyermond states that "the unypical nature of the CMC makes it improbable that any predecessors resembled it to a major extent, and there is no justification for the common assumption of a series of vernacular epics on the final stages of the Cid's career, each reworking its predecessor, until the text was composed."

Against the generally accepted date of 1140 there have recently been numerous arguments. Smith regards these as being more reliable, as they are based on what he calls a "positivist" approach—that of discerning the date through internal evidence in the poem. However, as Smith himself readily admits, "attempts to date the text of the PMC cannot amount to more than intelligent guesswork." Most of the individualist critics propose a late twelfth century or early thirteenth century date for the composition of the PMC. E.R. Curtius, who bases his argument on the influence of certain French epic stylistic traits, advances the following conclusion:

The Spanish epic of the Cid, then, takes up material which had already been treated in Latin. It fashions it after the model of the French epic, and employs stylistic clichés which first appear in France between 1150 and 1170. Hence it can hardly have been composed before 1180.
Apart from this, the content of the PMC appears to bear out a later date of composition. Lines 3724-5 of the poem declare that the Kings of Spain are now the kinsmen of the Cid:

Oy los reyes d'España  sos parientes son;
a todos alcança ondra    por el que en buen ora nació.27

Pidal, in his edition of the PMC, argues that by 1140, the relationship in blood between the Cid and the Kings of Castile and Aragon was sufficient to justify such a claim. However, Ubieto Arteta disputes this and, basing his argument on a stricter interpretation of these lines, proposed that they could not have been composed before 1201. The kings of León became relatives of the Cid only after 1197, and those of Portugal only after 1200. However, Ubieto Arteta is quick to point out that he does not support the idea that the PMC was written after these dates, but rather, "que la versión que hoy conocemos está rehecha después de 1200. Pudo existir un Poema del Cid escrito en 1140, y aun antes de 1128, pero es evidente que sufrió refundiciones."28

Other objections to 1140 come from the study of different aspects of the poem. Russell based his arguments for a later date on the existence of certain legal formulae and the mention of seals within the poem. For example, the use of seals was rare around 1140, but was common practice at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries.29 In the field of linguistics, D.G. Pattison examined the PMC from the point of view of word-formation, especially derivation by means of suffixes. The resultant conclusion that Pattison reaches was that the poem contained linguistic phenomena that did not occur in the twelfth century but rather in the thirteenth. He says: "My research
has left me with the growing feeling that in this sphere [of suffix derivation] the Cid bears the hall-marks of thirteenth-century usage rather than of twelfth; and furthermore that this seems to be a linguistic trait largely unaffected by considerations of subject matter or style."\(^{30}\)

All these arguments go counter to the date that is generally accepted, and are further supported by Smith's findings. Smith bases his date on historical considerations. He takes into consideration the time lapse necessary for certain historical errors to become acceptable or tolerable to an audience. Such errors include: the name of the Abbot of Cardeña, who in reality was named Sisebuto but who appears as Sancho; the royal marriages of the Cid's daughters to the Princes of Navarre and Aragon; the changes made in the characters of historic personages such as Count García Ordóñez; and the genealogical errors in the poem. In the end, Smith suggests that the date given in the poem, 1207, is in fact correct for the date of composition.\(^{31}\)

The problem of the dating of the PMC is far from being actually resolved. As Smith says: "There is no single proof, but a rather large body of informed opinion" on the date of composition.\(^{32}\) The individualists, however, appear to have the stronger arguments in their speculations, and we propose to accept their views that the PMC was written in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The problem of the authorship of the PMC is another area of controversy. The exact identity of the author is not known, but again there are some educated opinions on the type of occupation of the man who composed the poem. The determination of the authorship of the PMC is an important point directly of relevance to the present study, as a
knowledge of the author's social status or occupation may give us a clue as to his intentions and purpose in the composition of his work.

The first opinion offered about the identity of the *PMC*'s author was from Menéndez Pidal when he published his monumental edition of the poem. Pidal claimed that the *PMC* was composed in 1140 by a Mozarabic juglar from the district around Medinaceli, and rejected all suggestions that the poem could have been influenced by ecclesiastical intentions. Pidal arrived at his conclusions partly on linguistic grounds but mainly on geographical references in the text. Later, Pidal modified his hypothesis, stating that the poem was written about the year 1110 by a person from San Esteban de Gormaz and that it had been reworked by the juglar of Medinaceli in 1140.33 This conclusion, based on a "searching examination of the poem's historical content," is accepted by most literary historians and enjoys widespread support within and without Spain.34 De Chasca, in 1976, expressed views that essentially supported Pidal's theory of dual authorship for the *PMC*, albeit with a few modifications to the original hypothesis proposed by the eminent scholar. De Chasca, above all, accepts wholeheartedly the opinion that an early juglar composed the poem in San Esteban de Gormaz. Because of the existence of apparent stylistic differences within the text of the poem, de Chasca concludes, with Pidal, that the *PMC* was composed by two authors thirty years apart.35

These views, long held by the traditionalists, have come under fire from the individualists. Hermenegildo Corbató demonstrated a method whereby it was possible to prove that the *PMC* was written by a single juglar.36 This single author theory is further supported by Leo Spitzer and Gustavo Correa, who based their arguments on the
thematic unity of the poem. However, perhaps the most convincing of all discussions on the problem of unity of authorship is by Franklin M. Waltman. Using a concordance of the PMC published in 1972 by the Pennsylvania State University Press, and by applying the Parry-Lord theory of the use of formulaic expressions, Waltman was able to arrive at the conclusion that the PMC was the work of a single author.

A.B. Lord, in his study of the epic, felt that the quantity of formulaic expressions contained in an epic showed whether the poem was orally composed or written down from the very beginning. Also, in view of the fact that each poet had his own particular formulaic expressions, the consistency with which these occur throughout the epic would indicate if there were one or more authors.

Applying Lord's hypothesis to the PMC, Waltman examined and analysed the formulaic expressions found in the poem, and taking into consideration their quantity and consistent nature concluded that:

...there may be only one poet who is responsible for the composition of the Poema de mío Cid in the form in which it exists today. It can be assumed that it is the result of an oral tradition which existed before, but the limited number of formulaic expressions points to this poem as being a literary work. The appearance of at least 26 different formulaic expressions, which are found in all parts of the poem, is the strongest evidence found in support of: only one author.

As for the differences mentioned by pidalistas, Waltman explains that this may have been caused by the poem's being sung in different sections. These differences, he says, do not prove dual authorship. In fact, he proves that "there is more similarity in vocabulary and style than difference which seems to point to a one-author theory."

In turning to the problem of the origin of the poet, we should note that the views presented by Pidal are questionable. There is
evidence in the poem that shows that the poet had a familiar knowledge of the areas around Medinaceli and San Esteban de Gormaz, but, as Ian Michael says, "it does not prove that he composed the poem there."

Michael demonstrates two occasions in which the poet was mistaken in his knowledge of the geography of the areas, and he concludes from this that the author "at most...had only travelled in the region."  

In the most recent studies made on the **PMC** many critics have arrived at the conclusion that the poem was composed in Burgos, and that it was intended mainly for an audience in that city. The poem itself was composed in writing but was intended for an oral rendition. Smith perhaps has the best explanation for this theory, reached mainly from a close examination of the content of the poem. According to Smith, in the opening scenes of the epic, with the Cid leaving Burgos in exile, and throughout the poem in the character of Martín Antolín, the poet is catering to a Burgos audience. He goes on to say:

> The close association of Vivar and Cardena with the city strengthens this view; so does the fact that the **archivo cidiano** would have been deposited either at Burgos or Cardena. Burgos and its area is the place where logically the great epic of Castile, so strong in local patriotism, should have been composed; although by 1200 it was being displaced by Toledo (as the Reconquest moved southward) it was traditionally the civic and ecclesiastical centre of the realm.  

This hypothesis is essentially borne out also by Deyermond and Michael. The latter argues that it is impossible to prove that the poet came from Medinaceli or San Esteban de Gormaz. The linguistic reasons put forth by Pidal do not prove anything, as "it may be possible to make a case for linguistic forms influenced by the eastern dialects in the poem."  The evidence proposed by Ian Michael for a Burgos poet is much the same as that of Smith, but he mentions two more important
reasons: the fact that the MS came to light at Vivar, and the connection that the poem had with the Cardeña legends of the Cid. Smith denies this last opinion, but we shall examine the problem in greater detail in a later chapter.

Menéndez Pidal's original speculation that the author of the PMC was an ordinary juglar has also been subjected to questioning by the individualist critics. Most recent studies as to the occupation of the author have revealed that Pidal's view could be mistaken. Russell, in 1952, in an article that examined the references in the PMC to legal documents, cautiously proposed that the author was trained in law. This theory has been taken up by the individualists, who unanimously agree that the poet was indeed a cultured and educated man. However, there is disagreement even among the individualists as to the exact occupation of the author. Russell, in his article, implies that he could have been a cleric, but because of his respect for Pidal, never outrightly states this view. Michael envisages the poet as the abbot's notary who is "familiar with legal documents and disputes, having access to chronicles and knowledge of political affairs and the behavior of the monarchs, nobles and knights who would visit the abbey from time to time." Deyermond believed that the poet was a cleric who most certainly had a legal and notarial training.

Smith, however, denied all connections between the poet and ecclesiastical circles, although he admits that a strong Cid cult did indeed exist at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. "It does not seem likely that he was a priest or a monk; the Christian observances, though frequent, are no more than any observant layman would have known." Smith's contention was that the author of the PMC was a
lawyer or someone who had considerable technical knowledge of law. The PMC, he argues, has for its most salient feature, legal procedures and matters. This feature exists to a higher and more refined degree in the PMC than in any other Spanish or French epic. Smith's conviction that the author was a lawyer was very strong and the arguments that he puts forward to support this view are quite convincing.\(^5\) Since then, he has modified his opinion somewhat. In a further study of the problem, Smith has come to propose that the Per Abbat mentioned in the PMC was the refundidor, if not the actual author of the poem.\(^5\)

Until recently Per Abbat had been considered the copyist of the PMC, but Smith, examining the problem in the light of works such as the Libro de Alexandre and forged documents, shows that the explicit of the poem can be accepted as accurate.\(^5\) He demonstrates that, around the year 1207, there was indeed a Pedro Abad, a layman, who was "sufficiently acquainted with the history and legend of the Cid to have been the refundidor of the poem." However, Smith is quick to point out to us that he is merely speculating, that his many hypotheses are built on other hypotheses. He nevertheless remains adamant on one point—that the composer of the extant poem, whether he be Pedro Abad or whosoever, was a lawyer.\(^5\)

Colin Smith's theory completely rules out any ecclesiastical influence on the PMC, but, as Russell points out in his article on San Pedro de Cardeña, there exist within the poem certain references which demonstrate that monastic influence cannot be rejected entirely.\(^5\)

The safest conclusion to draw, therefore, on the basis of the most recent studies is that the author may have been a cleric, but that he did indeed have a background in law.
Deyermond summarizes the recent findings on the PMC in the areas of authorship, historicity and dating in his Literary History of Spain. He declares that the PMC:

...was composed towards the end of the twelfth century, or perhaps at the beginning of the thirteenth, by a learned poet who may well have been a cleric and who had certainly had a legal and notarial training. He lived in the Burgos area, though he had not necessarily been born there, and he addressed his poem primarily to a Burgos audience; the degree to which he was influenced by the tomb-cult of the Cid at Cardeña, if there was any influence, remains uncertain. The poem was composed in writing, but was intended for oral diffusion by juglares to a popular audience. Its historical accuracy is considerably less than was once believed, and the whole story of the Infantes de Carrión and the Cid's daughters is fictitious.\textsuperscript{55}

In view of the compelling arguments submitted by the individualists, and for the purpose of this study, Deyermond's characterization of the composition and nature of the PMC will be taken as a point of departure for subsequent discussion of the poem. We may even proceed further in the direction that Smith's recent research has been leading and state that the PMC, in the form it has come down to us, was composed in the Burgos area around 1207 by an author who was either a cleric or had been educated by clerics. This author, who also shows evidence of legal training, is probably none other than Per Abbat himself. However, we must heed Deyermond's warning that these conclusions remain controversial despite the strong evidence in their favour. Menéndez Pidal's views, though now shown to be mistaken in many respects, still enjoy widespread support.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1Smith, PMC, p. xiv.

2This account of the life and times of the Cid is condensed from Ramón Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, 2 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe S.A., 1956).

3Smith, PMC, p. 1. Smith suggests three possible reasons for the Cid's exile. These are: 1) the Jura de Santa Gadea, which perhaps caused Alfonso's dislike of the Cid; 2) a raid that the Cid conducted against the Moorish kingdom of Toledo, an event possibly reflected in the PMC itself in lines 476-81, 507-9 and 527-8; and 3) Menéndez Pidal's view that the PMC began with a description of the Cid's expedition to Seville to collect annual tribute. While there, he aided the Sevillians in a war against the Granadans who were assisted by the count García Ordóñez. The Cid defeated the Granadans, took García Ordóñez prisoner and insulted him by pulling his beard. The defeated Christians later complained to Alfonso about this, and thus the Cid was banished. Smith accepts this last reason as perhaps being the most likely.


6See Menéndez Pidal, La 'Chanson de Roland' y el neotradicionalismo, pp. 65-66.

7Smith, PMC, p. xx.

8Smith, PMC, pp. xix-xxi.

9Smith, PMC, pp. xx-xxi.

10Deyermond, p. 47.

11Smith, PMC, p. xxii.


14 Smith, "Literary Sources...," p. 122.

15 de Chasca, p. 66.


17 Smith, "Literary Sources...," pp. 121-22.

18 According to Smith, Pidal was so concerned about the epic as an historical document "...because he was, in his life's work, at least one-third historian" (PMC, p. xxiii). This statement, although of a purely subjective nature, may not be without substance.

19 Opinion of Leo Spitzer in 1948, quoted by Smith in "Literary Sources...," p. 122n.

20 Smith, PMC, p. xxii.

21 Lines 3732-3. Smith's edition of the PMC read:
Per Abbat le escrivio en el mes de mayo
en era de mill e .cc xlv. años.

In the space between .cc xlv, Menéndez Pidal believes that there was another c thus making it Era 1347 (A.D. 1307). However, the application of reagents was unable to turn up any trace of ink in the space. Ian Michael also examined the controversial area under ultra-violet light, but he, too, was unable to find any indication that a letter had been erased. Nonetheless, Michael states that the date as it stands, Era 1247 or A.D. 1207, cannot be the date of the extant MS, and may refer to a predecessor made in A.D. 1207. Ian Michael, ed., The Poem of the Cid (Manchester University Press, 1975), p. 241-42.

22 Lines 220-2 of the Poema de Almería are as follows:
Ipse Rodericus, Meo Cidi saepe vocatus,
de quo cantatur quod ab hostibus haud superatur,
qui domuit Mauros, comites domuit quoque nostros.
The work "cantatur" is evidence that a poem was sung or chanted; "Meo Cidi" is taken as evidence that it was in the vernacular; and the "comites" may be the counts Ramón Berenguer and García Ordóñez. See Smith, PMC, p. xxxiii.

23 Smith, PMC, p. xxxiii.

24 Deyermond, p. 45.

25 Smith, PMC, p. xxxiii.


27 All quotations from the text have been taken from Smith's edition of the PMC.
28A. Ubieto Arteta, "Observaciones al 'Cantar de Mío Cid!,'" Arbor, 37 (1957), 145-70.


32Smith, PMC, p. xxxiv.


34de Chasca, p. 91, and Deyermond, p. 45.

35For a more detailed analysis of stylistic differences, see de Chasca, pp. 91-99.

36Hermenegildo Corbató, "La sinonimia y la unidad del 'Poema de Mío Cid',' Hispanic Review, 9 (1941), 327-47.

37Leo Spitzer, "Sobre el carácter histórico del Cantar de Mío Cid," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, 2 (1948), 105-17.

38Franklin M. Waltman, Concordance to the Poema de Mío Cid (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972).


40Franklin M. Waltman, "Formulaic Expression and Unity of Authorship in the 'Poema de Mío Cid',' Hispania, 56 (1973), 569-78.

41Waltman, "Formulaic Expression..."," p. 577.

42Michael, p. 13.

43Smith, PMC, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

44Michael, p. 13.

45Michael, p. 13.


48Michael, p. 13, and Deyermond, p. 45.

49Smith, PMC, p. xxxiv.
See Smith, *PMC*, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.


Smith draws a parallel in the use of the word "escrivio" between the *PMC* and the *Libro de Alexandre*. "Escrivio" was taken only to mean "copied" but in the *Libro de Alexandre*, it is used to mean "composed." See N. J. Ware, "The Date of Composition of the Libro de Alexandre: a Re-examination of Stanza 1799," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 42 (1965), 252-55.

See Smith, "Per Abbat...," pp. 1-17.

Russell, pp. 57-59.

Deyermond, p. 45.
CHAPTER III

CASTILIAN NATIONALISM IN THE PMC

The examination of the origins of the mediaeval Spanish epic in Chapter I suggested that Castilian nationalism constituted a basic theme for most, if not all, of the extant poems. In this Chapter I hope to show that the pro-Castilian theme is of fundamental importance to the composition and comprehension of the PMC. A brief review of the history of Castile and León at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth—that is, the period when we believe the PMC was written—is therefore in order before we proceed to an analysis of the content of the poem itself.

The most salient feature of the period under discussion is the fact that Castile was beset by grave political problems both internal and external. The external difficulties were perhaps of greater importance, since they led to the isolation of Castile and the formation of an anti-Castilian coalition of the other Spanish kingdoms. The chain of events had begun in 1158 upon the death of Sancho III of Castile. The heir to the throne, Alfonso VIII, was but two years old. During his minority, Castile was wracked by civil strife between the noble families of Lara and Castro in their struggle for power and for control of the young king. Fernando II of León, a mild monarch, intervened in the dispute at the request of the Castro family. He maintained a garrison at Toledo, but eventually withdrew from Castilian affairs, leaving the Lara family in the ascendancy. Alfonso VIII of
Castile attained his majority in 1169. During his reign and almost until his death in 1214, one of his bitterest enemies was Alfonso IX of León, son of Fernando II, whose death had left the Castilian king as the most influential and powerful of the Christian rulers in Spain. In the early 1190's an anti-Castilian pact was made by Aragon, Navarre, León and Portugal to combat Alfonso VIII, whom they believed had designs to dominate them all. Open warfare broke out and peace did not return until 1194 when Castile and León were persuaded by Papal intervention to sign a grudging truce. However, this truce served only as a brief intermission in the conflicts between the two kingdoms. In 1195, hostilities began anew when Alfonso IX of León, aided by the Almohads with whom he had concluded an alliance, began attacking Castilian towns and intruding into her territory. The war between León and Castile continued until 1197 when Alfonso IX of León married Queen Leonor of Castile, but this marriage was nullified by the Pope because the couple were related within the prohibited degrees. In 1204, with the dissolution of the marriage, animosity once again flared up between the two kingdoms, and it was not until 1206 that a treaty was signed which finally brought about peace between the two kingdoms.¹

This, then, is the historical background against which the PMC was probably written. In view of the political circumstances it would be understandable for a Castilian epic produced during this era to demonstrate some definite nationalistic sentiments. At the very least, the poet's own political attitudes and beliefs would be evident in his work.

A close scrutiny of the PMC reveals that it does indeed have a strong nationalistic flavour inherent in its characters, action and
themes. In other words, the poem contains some very clear pro-
Castilian, anti-Leonese sentiments. This is all the more understandable
if we accept the date of composition to be 1207 or thereabouts, as
during this time, as we have seen, nationalistic feelings in Castile
were running high. Also, from the point of view of the author, the
basic historical facts about the Cid—his exile at the hands of Alfonso
VI who was originally a Leonese king; his successful military exploits;
his unswerving loyalty—all contain in them the essence of a great
nationalistic epic that would reflect not only the crises of the poet's
own day, but also the political aspirations of Castile itself. The poet
merely uses his creative techniques to bring out this aspect of the
poem to its fullest.

In the introduction to his edition of the PMC, Smith denies that
the poem contains any reference to Castilian domination of the other
Spanish states. However, upon close examination, his arguments weaken
the more he delves into the issue. In fact, Smith appears to contra­
dict himself as he analyses the different aspects of the poem. In the
first place, he accepts the fact that the author of the PMC intended to
draw a comparison between the characters of the Cid and the higher
nobles. Smith hesitates, however, to carry this any further because
as he says, it would entail injecting modern ideas into the situation.
He admits that the Cid is el Castelano and that hostility is shown in
the poem towards the Leonese. However, Smith says that this latter
sentiment is "not so much because of their national origin as because
they hold sway at court, and because they produce—in fiction at least--
scions as repulsive as the two young Infantes, who talk constantly of
their noble blood but are morally sick."³ If this is so, the comparison between the character of the Cid and those of the Infantes and García Ordóñez, as intended by the poet and admitted by Smith, would be pointless. Smith bases his arguments on the belief that at the time of the composition of the PMC, there existed no real hostility between Castile and León.⁴ However, as we have seen, this is not true. The first decade of the thirteenth century saw some violent clashes between the two kingdoms, frequently amounting to open warfare.

In the PMC itself, perhaps the greatest single manifestation of Castilian nationalism lies in the portrayal of the different characters in the poem. Each personage is cast as almost a stereotype, reflecting the political and ideological attitudes of the time. The task of the poet in thus type-casting is greatly facilitated by the historical facts about the Cid. For example, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar can be regarded as the representative of the new upcoming class of infanzones, or lesser nobility, of Castile, to which he and his father Diego Lainez belonged. These infanzones, according to Deyermond, "were for the most part energetic, talented and ambitious, though not all to the extent of the Cid." During the reign of Sancho II of Castile, the infanzones had aided their king in his campaign to control the rest of the Christian states in Northern Spain, including León and Galicia. With the assassination of Sancho, and the ascent of Alfonso VI of León to the throne of Castile, the infanzones, including the Cid, had naturally fallen into disfavour. The infanzones opposed the Leonese nobility in the court of Alfonso VI as well as the old established higher nobility of Castile whom they regarded as being effete.

These sentiments are clearly evident within the PMC, where the
Cid's enemies are shown to be, not so much the Arabs under their kings Búcar and Yusuf but rather the Leonese and the Castilian nobles, all of whom, as Deyermond says, "are presented in an unattractive, and sometimes satirical light." It is indeed in this line of thought that the poet approaches the development of each character in the poem. A closer analysis of some of the major characters will bring out a clearer picture of the issue.

In the figure of the Cid, the poet has produced what de Chasca calls a "model hero." Smith lists the many virtues of the Cid:

...he is personally brave in battle and in facing the lion, skilled in tactics, prudent in broader aspects of strategy (2500-4), unnaturally strong in body (750, 2421-4); he is steadfast, generous, considerate, utterly trustworthy (1080), affectionate (to Álvar Fáñez, 920-2), loving and tender to his wife and daughters, and profoundly pious.

As for his true heroic character, Michael explains how the Cid rises above the normal man:

The basic aim of the poem is to present the Cid as a hero, that is, as a man who proves himself in action to be superior to his fellow men. This superiority is not only shown to be physical and combatative, it is also seen to include excellence in generalship, religious devotion, family obligation, vassalage, knowledge and observance of legal procedure, generosity, courtesy, wiliness and discretion. These are the qualities which the Cid is shown to possess in high degree, and which go to make him valer más, to be worth more than other men. This inner superiority is represented outwardly by his honour, which depends on his nuevas, or renown of his deeds.

However, perhaps the greatest quality of the Cid, and one which most critics fail to mention, is what Smith refers to as the hero's mesura. This is defined as follows:

This is in part 'prudence', 'good sense', but also 'tact' and 'considerateness', in dealing with others, and particularly a kind of gravitas in bearing and in speech. This is a civic rather than military virtue, forward-looking in terms of the law, the family, and the state rather than backward-
looking in terms of a heroic past, and it is perhaps the
greatest quality with which the poet endowed the Cid in
point of exemplariness.9

There are many examples of the Cid's mesura in the PMC, but by far
the most notable are found in the hero's dealings with Alfonso VI, his
reaction upon hearing the news of the Corpes incident and in his be­
vaviour in the cortes at Toledo. A good illustration of the Cid's
mesura is when the hero and his men prepare to go to Toledo for the
hearing of the cortes on the Corpes incident. Although the Cid goes,
trusting in Alfonso's ability to protect them from possible foul play,
he does not entirely preclude the possibility that the king may fail
in his authority. He therefore orders his men to go fully armed but
with them concealed. Lines 3076-3081 state:

\[
\begin{align*}
e \text{ que non parescan las armas,} & \quad \text{bien presas los cordones;} \\
\text{so los mantos las espadas} & \quad \text{dulges e tajadores;} \\
d'\text{aquesta guisa quiero ir a la cort} & \quad \text{si desobra buscaren ifantes de Carrion} \\
\text{por demandar misos derechos} & \quad \text{e dezir mi razon;} \\
\text{si desobra buscaren ifantes de Carrion} & \quad \text{e de} \\
\text{ido tales çiento tovier} & \quad \text{bien sera sin pavor!}
\end{align*}
\]

Although Smith denies that the poet of the PMC used the characters
as symbolic representatives of political factions and ideologies within
Spain, one cannot entirely ignore this possibility.10 Michael, in the
introduction to his edition of the PMC, writes that "the Cid also
represents and idealizes the restless, hardy ethos of Castile in an
outward-looking moment, when there were lands to conquer and fortunes
to be made."11 In fact, he goes further and classifies the PMC as part
of the "Literature of Thirteenth Century Expansion," a literary
division coined by Deyermond.12

That the Cid was used by the poet as a representative of Castilian
character and aspirations becomes even more apparent the more one looks
at his figure as portrayed in the poem, and especially when it is compared to others, namely the Infantes de Carrión, García Ordóñez and Ramón Berenguer. Written at a time of political crisis, of continuing wars and quarrels between León and Castile, the idea of the PMC's being used as propaganda does not seem very far-fetched. The concept of a united Spain, which, according to Menéndez Pidal, obsessed the Cid, was not new to the Peninsula. However, its origin was not Castilian, but Leonese. The latter had aspired toward an empire for centuries, as evidenced by the fact that the Leonese monarchs were accorded the title "emperor", but these pretensions were thwarted by a new concept of nationhood which had arisen in the minds of the Castilians, who then had gained their long-sought independence. During the reign of Sancho II of Castile, the idea of a unified Spain led by Castile was fomented, and according to Pidal, the Cid was instrumental in pursuing this ideal with his king.

Together they sought to unify Spain, through their conquests, under the banner of Castile, and perhaps would have accomplished it had Sancho II not been assassinated at Zamora. However, Pidal suggests that the ideal did not die with Sancho, as the Cid continued to strive for Castilian superiority in the Peninsula. His exile at the hands of a monarch that was originally Leonese freed him to pursue the Castilian national ideal. The banishment of the Cid from the Court and Castile also transforms Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar into a truly national figure. It is perhaps significant that the troops fighting by his side hail from

El Cid trabajó primeramente en pro de las aspiraciones de Castilla contra León y contra Navarra. Él decidió un momento crítico de la historia española: la hegemonía política, que tradicionalmente venía ejercida por León, pasa renovada a Castilla, merced a las victorias del Cid como alférez de Sancho II.  

Together they sought to unify Spain, through their conquests, under the banner of Castile, and perhaps would have accomplished it had Sancho II not been assassinated at Zamora. However, Pidal suggests that the ideal did not die with Sancho, as the Cid continued to strive for Castilian superiority in the Peninsula. His exile at the hands of a monarch that was originally Leonese freed him to pursue the Castilian national ideal. The banishment of the Cid from the Court and Castile also transforms Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar into a truly national figure. It is perhaps significant that the troops fighting by his side hail from
different parts of the Peninsula:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lidia</td>
<td>sobre exorado arzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cid Ruy Diaz</td>
<td>el buen lidiador!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minaya Albar Fañez</td>
<td>que Çorita mando,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martín Antolínez</td>
<td>el burgales de pró,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muñoz Gustioz</td>
<td>que so criado fue,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martín Muñoz</td>
<td>el que mando a Mont Mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albar Albarez</td>
<td>e Albar Salvadorez,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galín García</td>
<td>el bueno de Aragon;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felez Muñoz</td>
<td>so sobrino del Campeador:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These lines, referred to by Pidal as the "heraldic motto" of the Spaniards, lists the names of the representatives of the different regions of Spain within the mesnada of the Cid. As such, the Campeador's campaigns are truly Spanish in character. It is significant, therefore, that their leader and his closest lieutenants are Castilian.15

Among the members of the Cid's mesnada are two characters who have a definite function in the context of Castilian nationalism. The first of these is Martín Antolínez, referred to constantly as "el burgalés de pró." Smith says that this character is probably fictitious, as there is no historical record of him. Although two tombs in San Pedro de Cardeña and San Martín in Burgos are claimed to be his, this does not prove his existence.16 Martín Antolínez, in the PMC, is the representative of the people of Burgos. In Smith's words: "His artistic mission in the poem is partly to keep the Burgos theme going ('el burgales de pró', etc.), partly to act as a sop to the pride of the city which had been unable to help the Cid in the moment of his exile."17

The other character is Álvar Fañez, who appears as the Cid's chief lieutenant and right-hand man in the poem. The inclusion of this personage is important, as the historical Álvar Fañez had a distinguished military career.18 In truth, the real Álvar Fañez had little to do with the Cid, but Smith confirms that historically, "he was almost
as great a warrior as the Cid himself, and a more respectable citizen in some ways.\(^{19}\) By linking Álvar Fáñez with the Cid, then, the poet has combined the deeds and greatness of two of Spain's greatest military men, and in so doing, has heightened the prestige and feeling of invincibility of the Cid's mesnada.

Whereas the Cid and his men, who are the embodiment of Castile, are portrayed by the poet as true heroes should be, the enemies of the Cid are given the opposite function by being portrayed as true masters of evil and villainy. De Chasca noted that "Since the protagonist is a model hero, it is fitting that his unalloyed goodness and valor should be projected in bold relief against the unmitigated wickedness and cowardice of the villains in the work, namely, his sons-in-law, the Infantes of Carrión."\(^{20}\) Also included is the Castilian count García Ordóñez, who is one of the deadliest enemies of the hero and implicated in the poem as one of the "malos mestureros" who had caused the banishment of the Cid. The Infantes de Carrión, of the powerful Leonese family of Vani-Gómez, are the representatives or the embodiment of the Leonese nobility, and García Ordóñez is the symbolic figure of the higher nobility of Castile considered "effete" by the Castilian infanzones, as previously mentioned.

The villains who receive the most attention in the PMC are the Infantes de Carrión, who may be taken as a single character in the poem. Smith explains: "Since they are mostly seen together, and often indeed with heads together exchanging some dark observation, or are heard echoing each other's remarks, they constitute one personality."\(^{21}\) In fact, apart from the Cid, the two brothers of the Vani-Gómez family are the most developed characters in the PMC, so their
importance cannot be denied. Once considered to be slight or even comic characters by critics such as Pidal and Gerald Brenan, it has been shown that the Infantes Ferrán and Diego González do have an important function within the structure of the poem. The poet intends that we compare the Leonese noblemen to the Castilian hero, a point agreed to by Smith, who admits that "The poet intends a dramatic contrast strongly implied from their first appearance and openly stated throughout the confrontation in court."  

In the PMC, the Infantes show themselves to be cowardly, irresponsible, treacherous, dishonourable, avaricious and brutal. In the battle against the Moorish king Búcar, the cowardice of the two brothers is shown to its fullest, as they turn tail and flee before the enemy, only to be rescued by some of the Cid's men. At another time, their cowardly nature again comes to the fore when the Cid's lion escapes from his cage. Such incidents, although containing comic elements, are not included in the poem merely for humorous intent. The poet deliberately puts the Infantes in such a position that their cowardice stands in stark contrast against the courage and bravery not only of the Cid but also of the rest of the Cid's followers. This is especially true during the preparations for battle against Búcar. The poet says:

Alegravas el Cid e todos sus varones
que les creçe la ganança ígrado al Criador!
Mas, sabed, de cuer les pesa a los ifantes
de Carrion
ca veyen tantas tiendas de moros de que
non avien sabor.
(2315-2318)

Whereas the morale of the Cid's multinational army is high, and his men delight at the prospect of doing battle with the enemy, the Leonese brothers have no stomach to fight the Moors. They had married
the Cid's daughters and had joined the Cid's mesnada only with an eye toward personal material gain. They were not prepared, as the hero and his followers were, to fight and earn their share of the spoils.

'Catamos la ganancia e la perdida no; ya en esta batalla a entrar abremos nos, iesto es aguisado por non ver Carrion, bibdas remandran fijas del Campeador!

(2320-2323)

If one regards the Cid's mesnada as the embodiment of the many Christian kingdoms of Spain, the attitude of the Infantes in the context of the poem has serious implications. For example, the poet portrays the Leonese as being reluctant to fight the common enemy of Christian Spain, leaving the task of Reconquest up to the other kingdoms and led by a Castilian infanzón. The superiority of the Cid as el Castelano over the Leonese becomes even more evident when the hero addresses his sons-in-law in what is in effect a thinly-veiled insult:

Hyo desseo lides e vos a Carrion; en Valengia folgad a todo vuestro sabor ca d'aquelos moros yo so sabidor; arrancar melos trevo con la merced del Criador

(2334-2337)

The treachery of the Infantes is another factor that is very subtly but highly developed by the poet. The Cid expresses his distrust of the Leonese noblemen from the very beginning, and this distrust is communicated to the reader who feels that sooner or later the two brothers would commit some enormous barbarity. The Cid, upon hearing of the Infantes' intention to marry his daughters, declares that "deste casamiento non avria sabor,"(1939) and repeatedly insists that the responsibility of the marriage rests upon the king's shoulders, not his: "Vos casades mis fijas ca non ge las do yo!"(2110)

The suspicion that the Infantes are treacherous reaches its climax
in the Afrenta de Corpes, when the two brothers, on the way back to the lands of Carrión, set upon their wives, the Cid's daughters, and beat them till they are senseless, finally leaving them to be devoured by the wild beasts of the forest. Thomas Hart Jr., in speaking of the incident, adds another possible characteristic of the two Infantes when he says:

There is, in addition a distinct suggestion, at least for the modern reader, that the Infantes are guilty of a kind of sexual perversion. The beating to which they subject their wives (after, it should be recalled, partially undressing them) is for them a game, which ends only when the Infantes themselves are completely exhausted: "Canssados son de ferir ellos amos a dos, ensayandos amos qual dara mejores golpes." (2745-2746)

The point is debatable, but it certainly does not help the image of the two noblemen. All in all, the picture that is drawn of the Leonese brothers is not flattering by any standards, and most of all when one contrasts them as the poet intended, with the characters of the Cid and his men.

The other principal villain, although he does not figure as prominently in the PMC as the Leonese Infantes, is the Castilian count García Ordóñez. Belonging to the well-established upper nobility of Castile, García Ordóñez is the epitome of the snob, looking down upon the infanzones who are championed by the Cid. One only has to recall his remark when he scoffed at the Cid as being a working miller:

¡Quien nos darie nuevas de mio Cid el de Bivar! 
Puesse a Rio d'Ovirna los molinos picar e prender maquilas commo lo suele far! 
¿Quil darie con los de Carrion a casar?'

(3378-3381)

These lines reveal the attitude and the sentiments felt by the higher nobles towards not only the Cid but also the rest of the lesser nobility, the infanzones.25
The position of the higher Castilian nobles in the PMC is clear. They were the very persons responsible for the banishment of the Cid from the court of Alfonso. The Cid refers to them as 'mios enemigos malos' in the first cantar (line 9) and indeed these sentiments are echoed by the poet when García Ordóñez is described as

[y] el conde don García so enemigo malo (1836)

At the beginning, García Ordóñez is seen constantly beside the king, but as the poem progresses, the count gradually loses his lofty station to the Cid. The villain realizes this and neatly sums up the situation when he says:

'¡Maravilla es del Cid que su ondra crece tanto!
En la ondra que el ha nos seremos abiltados;
¡por tan biltada mientras venzer reyes del campo,
commo si los falasse muertos aduzir se los cavallos!
Por esto que el faze nos abremos enbargo.'
(1861-1865)

As such, the count is jealous of the Cid's many achievements and is always annoyed when the hero sends gifts to the king. His attempts to diminish the Cid's feats are met by a stiff rebuff from Alfonso, who finally recognizes the superiority of the infanzón over his court nobles.

Dixo el rey al conde: 'Dexad essa razón,
que en todas guisas mejor me sirve que vos.'
(1348-1349)

History does not verify the villainous deeds that the PMC attributes to García Ordóñez. In fact, the real count does appear to have been a distinguished servant of Alfonso VI. The only possible enmity that could have arisen was as a result of the fact that they both held the position of alférez to their respective rulers. Besides,
no historical basis can be established for associating García Ordóñez with the Leonese Vani-Gómez family.\textsuperscript{26}

That the Cid met and defeated García Ordóñez in battle there is no doubt, as this is verified in the chronicles. Smith says that "In 1080 he was defeated and captured by the Cid at Cabra, as mentioned in the Carmen Campiductorí and narrated in the HR (Historia Roderici), and as probably told at the start of the FMC; it was no doubt partly by his influence that the King banished the Cid in 1081."\textsuperscript{27}

The battle of Cabra is referred to directly in the FMC in the Cortes de Toledo, a scene in which the enmity between the Cid and García Ordóñez, which had been a strong undercurrent throughout the whole poem until then, comes to the surface. The Count accuses the Cid of having allowed his beard to grow to strike fear into the hearts of all (3273-3274). The Cid replies:

\begin{verbatim}
¿Que avedes vos, conde, por retraer la mi barba?
Ca de quando nasco a delicío fue criada,
ca non me priso a ella fijo de mugier nada,
nimbla messo fijo de moro nin de christiana
¡como yo a vos, conde, en el castiello de
Cabria!
Quando pris a Cabra e a vos por la barba
non i ovo rapaz que non messo su pulgada;
¡la que yo messe aun non es eguada!
\end{verbatim}

(3283-3290)

In the above, the poet clearly intends a comparison between the count and the infanzón. The battle of Cabra was a ready-made historical incident which the poet could draw upon to illustrate the leadership qualities of the two men. In the direct confrontation between the Cid and García Ordóñez, the former had emerged victorious, showing himself to be militarily superior over the Count. If one considers the Cid to be representative of the infanzón class and García Ordóñez a stereotype
of the higher nobility, the implications are obvious. In the entire PMC, the Cid and the Count exchange words only once—in the court at Toledo, but in the brief exchange between the two, the poet has shown us that the former alférez of the Castilian King Sancho II was superior in military virtues and leadership to the alférez of the Leonese King Alfonso VI.

The court at Toledo constitutes the climax of the PMC wherein all the dissenting parties are brought together face-to-face for the first time by the king. It is perhaps significant that almost every Christian kingdom of Spain is represented.

Alfonsso el Castellano, enbia sus cartas pora Leon e a Santi Yaguo a los portogaleses e a galizianos e a los de Carrion e a varones castellanos que cort fazie en Tolledo aquel rey ondrando, (2976-2980)

As such, the judgements pronounced by the court can be construed as those of Spain itself. The Leonese brothers and García Ordóñez receive their just dues in the humiliation they experience, and henceforth, the Cid, the Castilian infanzón, is elevated to a position close to that of the king.

Among the Christian forces, one other person is singled out by the poet to be an antagonist of the Cid. This is the Count Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona. In history, Berenguer was one of the most dangerous enemies that ever opposed the Cid.28 The two met twice in battle and in the second confrontation the Cid captured the Count. In the PMC the poet related this incident but recounts only one battle.29 The Count of Barcelona is made to look like a clown in this episode, and the critic Thomas Montgomery tends to view the whole affair as having no more purpose than to supply comic relief:
Condering the point of occurrence of the passage, its shift of emphasis, its incidental and humorous quality, one is tempted to think that it was a comic interlude, a sort of entremés which allowed a moment of relaxation before the basic narrative was taken up again, or else a scene leading up to an intermission.  

Montgomery draws his surmise from the fact that the battle and its comic aftermath occur at the end of the first cantar. Indeed, as he says, in the break between the second and third cantares there is another humorous episode—that of the lion—and Montgomery does not hesitate to declare this latter incident to be another instance of comic relief. However, can these two episodes really be considered only as intermissions which "offered the author a chance to exercise his comic flair?" We think not.

Admittedly, both the episode of the Count of Barcelona and that of the lion appear to be humorous digressions, incidents divorced entirely from the central thread of the poem. Nevertheless, they do have a more positive function within the story than merely supplying comic relief. The episode of the lion will be dealt with later in this chapter; we shall concentrate on the Count of Barcelona here.

Ramon Berenguer, like Garcia Ordonéz, is a count, but in the former's case he belongs to an alien elite—that of Catalonia. The poet of the PMC appears to have a phobia against counts, and indeed Montgomery thinks so:

...All the figures ridiculed in the poem are not only outlanders, that is, non-Castilians, and enemies of the hero, they are counts, or members of counts' families.... The poet's grudge against this class constitutes one aspect of the famous democratic sense of the poem, which is echoed so often in Spanish Literature.

Montgomery also explains the anti-count sentiments of the poet by saying that "it simply reflects the resentment inevitably felt by the less privileged toward those whom they regard as over privileged."
However, we do not think that these sentiments can be explained and dismissed as easily as Montgomery is inclined to. If we examine the PMC from the point of view that it was composed as nationalistic propaganda, the seemingly disconnected episode of the Count of Barcelona is not so disconnected after all. It is true that the principal villains in the PMC are the Leonese and the Castilian higher nobles, and that the apparent purpose of the poet is to show the qualitative superiority of the Castilian infanzón class over the two. Nevertheless, behind the whole scene is the poet's idea of a unified Spain led by Castile. Ramón Berenguer, who is the representative figure of the Catalans, is shown to be a buffoon and is completely subjugated by the Cid. This is important to the poet's scheme, as the defeat of the Catalonians at the battle of Tévar put the Cid in a dominant position over the whole northeastern part of Spain. In history, this did indeed occur, and again, the poet had at his disposal a ready-made incident that he could include within his work. Consequently, Ramón Berenguer and García Ordoñez are figures that have been manipulated by the author to his own purpose—that of showing off the superb leadership of the Cid.

From the above, one can see that the true enemies of the Cid within the PMC come from the ranks of Christian, not Moorish Spain. The Campeador does make war on the Arabs, above all the fanatical Almoravid s, but it is evident that the poet could not avoid this aspect of the hero's life, as the historical Cid was famous mainly for the fact that he had conquered Valencia and had held a large part of southeastern Spain, and because he was the only Christian general who was able to defeat the Almoravid hordes at that time. That the poet holds at least a grudging respect for the Arabs there is little doubt, as
his treatment of the person of Abengálvón shows. As a matter of fact, the Cid's Moorish friend is shown to be superior in character to the Leonese Infantes de Carrión. The Muslims are to be treated with respect as far as being military adversaries is concerned, but the poet shows that they can be useful allies and friends. As Smith says: "The poem does not exaggerate the hostility between Christian and Muslim and does not attempt to whip up religious prejudice; the Moors are constantly present in the poem as military adversaries whom the Cid consistently overcomes, but they are not part of the theme of power as it is developed in the drama of the poem."35

Mention of other peoples in the PMC are brief, but one can discern the poet's intent in his treatment of them. The Jews, represented by Raquel and Vidas, are regarded with ill-concealed contempt, and are the subjects of humour although they did maintain a certain function within life in the cities and societies.36 The other Christian peoples, namely the Portuguese, Aragonese and Navarese, are strictly neutral in the power struggle between the Cid and his enemies. In fact, the poem shows that these peoples make up a part of the Cid's mesnada. Thus, the only true villains in the PMC are the Leonese Infantes de Carrión and the Count García Ordóñez.

Within the power struggle that rages between the infanzón on one side and the Leonese and Castilian higher nobles on the other, one character stands above all—the king, Alfonso VI. In the poem the character of the monarch is omnipresent. Even in the first cantar where he hardly appears, we are constantly reminded by the Cid that he is in the background, that the hero's one principal aspiration is to be reconciled with his lord. From this point, the king appears
more and more often, until finally he is called upon to arbitrate in the quarrel between the hero and the villains.

Much has been written on the role of Alfonso VI and the King-vassal relationship in the PMC, in particular on the implications of line 20 of the poem:

'¡Dios, que buen vaásallo! ¡Si oviesse buen señor!'\(^{37}\)

The implication within this one line is that Alfonso is not exactly what one would regard as the perfect monarch. At least, that would appear to be the poet's intentions. However, upon closer examination of the king's role in the PMC, especially in regard to his relations with the Cid, critics have shown that the character of Alfonso in the PMC progresses from that of the imperfect monarch, as implied in the PMC, line 20, to that of a perfect ruler worthy of the Cid's loyalty. Critics arrive at this conclusion by a series of comparisons between the hero and the king. De Chasca, for instance, compares the moral characteristics in the different stages of relationship between the Cid and Alfonso. He arrives at the same conclusion as Spitzer, that "the vassal is good, the king is good...; what is lacking is an adequate relationship between a good vassal and a good lord, because of the imperfections of human life on earth, which is not exactly paradisiacal."\(^{38}\) To these words, de Chasca adds that:

...the goodness of the king is relative, that of the Cid absolute. The former exemplifies the norm of his class; the latter transcends the norm of his. Alfonso's position is therefore, morally inferior to that of his vassal.\(^{39}\)

Roger Walker, on the other hand, uses a slightly different approach. He examines closely the physical structure of the PMC with a view to comparing the actual physical appearances and roles of both
characters. It is shown that, as the poem progresses, the roles of the Cid and Alfonso shift, that of the former from an active role to a passive one, and that of the latter from passive to active. Walker also undertakes a close examination of the epithets used for the king, showing the purportedly changing attitude of the poet toward the king as he rises from imperfection to exemplariness. Walker demonstrates that the Cid and Alfonso have essentially parallel roles within the PMC: that of proving themselves against the forces of evil. He concludes that:

By the end of PMC, then, both the vassal and the lord have been tested and both have passed the test; against great odds each has justified the other's faith in him. The heartfelt prayer of the people of Burgos as the Cid rode out to exile—"Dios que buen Vassalo! Si oviese buen señor!"—has been triumphantly answered.

However, are these comparisons between the Cid and Alfonso fair? Did the poet really intend us to compare the moral characteristics of the two figures? Again, we do not think so. It is our contention that the king, as the character portrayed in the PMC, is a figure that is decidedly neutral and stands apart from all others within the poem, including the Cid. To compare lord and vassal as the critics do, expecting one to show himself capable of living up to the moral standards of the other, would not be doing justice to either character. After all, Alfonso is king, and since by mediaeval standards, a ruler was acknowledged by all as representatives of God's will on earth, he is above question. As Smith himself says:

The mediaeval king at the pinnacle of feudal power and as God's immediate vassal on earth was a figure of enormous awe; in banishing the Cid he may have been hasty and influenced by the malos mestureros, but he is entitled to the constant respect which the Cid and others show him, and to expect that the Cid will not rebel or fight against him.
One must remember that the Cid, as an exile, had the right to make war on his former lord, and, although his refusal to do so shows us that he had, as Pidal says, a more responsible attitude, we can see that his refusal stems from the realization that this monarch was neutral. The Cid's fight was with the malos mestureros, not with the king.

There is no doubt that the poet intended the king to be neutral. The historical Alfonso VI was originally a Leonese king-emperor, and as such, would have been a natural target for the poet's anti-Leonese sentiments. However, Alfonso, as a king, is treated with respect by the poet in the poem, who probably recognizes the inherent greatness in the monarch. The fact that he was King of León before becoming King of Castile appears not to bother the poet, an observation shared by Smith, but this was probably because in the person of Alfonso, the poet saw the realization of his ideal—the unification of two of the most powerful kingdoms in Spain, León and Castile. It only remains for the poet to turn the king's favour toward the Castilian infanzones and away from the Leonese and Castilian nobles.

The neutrality of the king in the dispute is evident in the PMC in the titles that the poet uses whenever he refers to Alfonso. Smith declares that on three occasions, and elsewhere in the poem, the poet enunciates the fact that Alfonso was ruler over Castile, León, Asturias, and Galicia. However, it is also just as evident that the poet would have preferred that Alfonso be more inclined toward the Castilians. This is shown in the fact that the ruler is called "Alfonsso el de León" on four occasions. Directly translated, the title means Alfonso, he of León. On the other hand, the king is called, also on four
occasions, "Alfonsso de Castiella" and "Alfonsso el castellano." The el in this context is all-important, as its retention or omission is a subtle clue to the sentiment of the poet, its implications originating consciously or sub-consciously. The title "Alfonsso el de León" shows the ruler's Leonese origin, whereas the titles "Alfonsso de Castiella" and "Alfonsso el castellano" may reflect the poet's desire that the king be more sympathetic towards Castilian interests and aspirations. Admittedly, the titles as they stand in the PMC may be as a result of linguistic usage of the period, but the possibility of the above implications cannot entirely be overruled.

As such, the inclination here is to regard the King as a separate entity. De Chasca, in speaking of the role of Alfonso, and his apparent opposition to the Cid in the first part of the PMC says:

It would be a mistake to assign to the Alfonso of the first phase the part of an opponent, and to the Alfonso of the second that of a champion of the Cid. The king is traditionally above the contending parties. His is the role of Fate, first frowning and then smiling on his subject. This abstract agent, however, functions through a human being who for human reasons favors at first the forces of evil as a result of generic weakness of the kings of those semi-barbarous times...

In the context of the above arguments, the King would appear to be the embodiment of the ideal for the poet. Alfonso represents the concept of a unified Spain and he is smiling upon his now favourite subject and leader, the Cid, who symbolizes the Castilian infanzones.

Apart from the character studies, one other point in the poem stands out as a manifestation of nationalistic feelings. In the episode of the lion (2278-2310), we have an incident which appears to be completely divorced from the main stream of events, but apart from
its purpose of showing the Infantes de Carrión as cowards, it has a
definite reason for being included. We have no doubts that the Infantes
are cowardly, and this facet of their character is more than adequately
defined in the later battle with Búcar. For this purpose, the episode
of the lion appears redundant. However, this is not so, as we shall
see. The episode, even though it demonstrates the cowardice of the
Leonese nobles, also emphasizes the courage of the Cid's mesnada.
Unlike the Infantes, who run and hide at the first sign of danger, the
Cid's men, after they have overcome their initial fright at the lion's
escape, rally around their sleeping leader and cover him with their
cloaks to protect him. What follows is more important. The Cid is
awakened by the commotion and, upon hearing what had happened, gets up,
walks over to the lion which cowers before him, takes the beast by the
neck and returns it to the net.

Mio Cid finco el cobdo,
en pie se levanto,
el manto trae al cuello,e adelinó pora [I] leon;
el leon quando lo vio
assí envergonço
ante mio Cid la cabeza premio y el rostro finco;
mio Cid don Rodrigo al cuello lo tomo
e lieva lo adestrando, en la red le metio.
(2296-2301)

The picture that the poet paints here is extremely powerful. Its
meaning and purpose becomes clear when one considers the very animal--
a lion. It is unlikely that the similarity in the names of the animal
(león) and that of the state--León--can be attributed to mere
coincidence. This is especially true when one considers that on the
flag of the kingdom of León, there is a figure of a lion. In this
seemingly unrelated incident, the poet appears to reveal his sentiments
about the supremacy of the Castilians over the Leonese.

In the PMC, the poet accomplishes in his work something which
never occurred in history—the reconciliation between the King and the Cid. The poet probably regarded this as a tragic incident in the history of Spain because, if Alfonso and the Campeador had been able to combine their talents, the Reconquest might have proceeded more quickly, and as Walker says, "how much sooner the hegemony of Castile in the Peninsula might have been firmly established." The poet, with his hindsight, was able to see that many of Alfonso's successes came about during the periods when he was on good terms with the Cid, and that his failures occurred at a time when the Cid and Alfonso were estranged. In the words of Walker:

An intelligent and patriotic man like the poet must have felt that this was one of the great tragedies in the history of his country. I am suggesting that one of his aims in writing the poem was to replace the unhappy historical truth with a more inspirational poetic truth.

Thus, in view of the way the poet portrays the different characters, as well as in his deviation from the historical facts, it seems quite clear that the *PMC* is an expression of Castilian nationalism.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (New

2Smith, PMC, p. lxiii.
3Smith, PMC, p. lxiii.
4Smith, PMC, p. lxiii.
5Deyermond, p. 41.
6de Chasca, pp. 134-41.
7Smith, PMC, pp. lxvii-lxviii.
8Michael, p. 4.
9Smith, PMC, p. lxix.
10Smith says: "The author was interested in recognizable individ­
uals, not in social types, cardboard exemplars, or abstractions."
Smith, PMC, p. lxxii.
11Michael, p. 4.
12Michael, p. 5.
13Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, pp. 606-67.
14Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, p. 607.
15Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, pp. 607-08.
16Smith, PMC, pp. 162-63.
17Smith, PMC, p. 163.
18See Smith, PMC, p. 163.
19Smith, PMC, p. 164.
20de Chasca, p. 141.
21Smith, PMC, p. lxx.
22Thomas Hart Jr., "The Infantes de Carrión," Bulletin of Hispanic
Studies, 32-33 (1955-56), 17-24. In this article Hart discusses the
important role played by the two Leonese brothers in the PMC.
Smith, PMC, p. lxx.

Hart, p. 22.

Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, pp. 119-20.

Smith, PMC, p. 167.

Smith, PMC, p. 167.


Montgomery (p. 3) affirms that: "The poem makes one battle of the two, but bases its narration on the second."

Montgomery, p. 9.

Montgomery, p. 10.

Montgomery, p. 7.

Montgomery, p. 7.

Montgomery, p. 4.

Smith, PMC, p. lxiv.

Smith, PMC, p. lxiv.


Leo Spitzer, "Sobre el carácter histórico del Cantar de mio Cid," p. 110.

de Chasca, p. 141.

Walker, pp. 264-65.

Walker, p. 265.

See O'Callaghan, p. 430.

Smith, PMC, p. lxi.

Smith, PMC, pp. lxii-lxii.

Smith, PMC, p. lxiii.
Alfonso de León—lines 1927, 3536, 3543, 5718.
Alfonso de Castiella—line 2900.
Alfonso el Castellano—lines 495, 1790, 2976.

de Chasca, p. 140.

Walker, p. 265.

Walker, p. 266.
When Joseph Bédier published his monumental work *Les Légendes Épiques* in 1926, he stated therein that epic poetry had its origins in the monasteries found along the pilgrimage routes in Europe (see Chapter I, p. 15). Bédier's theory was that between history and epic, a bridge was constructed in the form of religious legends perpetuated by the monasteries. In other words, the progression, according to Bédier, was: history—religious legends—epic poetry. The purpose behind this practice was to enhance the fame and economic stature of the monasteries, as the epics connected the heroes in the poems with the institutions in one way or another. These legends and epics were circulated in the towns and villages along the pilgrim route and would thus attract clientele to the monasteries where they would see relics or the tombs of the various heroes. Thus satisfied, donations would be made to the institution. In the Middle Ages, this was a very common practice, and became so successful that monasteries were not above fabricating legends and relics to further their own ends.¹

This theory of Joseph Bédier met with great opposition from Spanish critics. Menéndez Pidal, who was convinced that the Spanish epic was an accurate recording of historical facts, firmly rejected Bédier's theory. In his edition of the *PMC*, Pidal affirmed that "la inspiración de las cantares es caballeresca, no eclesiástica; juglaresca, no clerical, contra lo que pretende Bédier para la épica francesa."² This opinion has been accepted without question by the majority of critics.
of Spanish literature. In later years, however, a small group of scholars began to oppose Pidal's views on monastic influence. Among them were P.E. Russell, W.J. Entwistle, E. Merimée and E.R. Curtius. This group felt that Bédier's theory could not and should not be so firmly ruled out as Pidal and his followers were wont to do. Indeed, a close look at some of the Spanish epics does reveal a certain degree of ecclesiastical influence. In Chapter I we saw how some of the epics dealing with events in tenth- and eleventh-century Castile were connected with certain Benedictine monasteries. In this final chapter, we shall attempt to show how Bédier's theory can be applied to the PMC.

The only critic who has attempted to establish monastic influences in the PMC is P.E. Russell. The others hardly even mentioned the possibility, although indirectly their works hinted at the subject. Russell, though he approached the issue directly, was very careful, and rightly so, as the problem was of a very delicate nature and probably remains so.

Before examining the PMC for the purpose of finding evidence of monastic influence, we must realize first that our hypothesis is dependent entirely on the verification of the existence of a Cidian tomb-cult in San Pedro de Cardeña.

Russell's contention was that the existence of tomb-cults in the later Middle Ages was responsible for the engendering of certain epic poems. Among the poems cited, the critic mentions La condesa traidora, Siete Infantes de Lara, and the Romanz del Infante García. However, as he says, "none of our information about the poems mentioned is well enough documented, either historically or chronologically, to offer any satisfactory evidence to support the conclusion that monastic
legends gave rise to these epics, rather than vice versa."

On the other hand, in the case of the PMC, there exist the minimum requirements for adequate research into the issue. These are, first, the existence of a fairly complete text in its poetic form; second, a well documented account of the tomb-cult of the Cid at San Pedro de Cardeña from the thirteenth- to the eighteenth-centuries; and third, what Russell calls "a very curious piece of pseudo-Cidian history written at Cardeña in connection with the cult during the thirteenth century."

As such, Russell's article claims, albeit very cautiously, that the influence of the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña on the PMC was greater than is generally believed or accepted by Spanish critics. Indeed, the monastery appears to have a certain importance, since almost 200 of the 3733 lines of the poem speak of Cardeña or of events happening there.

The Cardeña tomb-cult of the Cid was centred around one certain historical fact—the Campeador was undoubtedly buried there. When Alfonso VI abandoned Valencia in 1102, the corpse of the Cid was exhumed from the cathedral, where it was buried in 1099, and brought to Cardeña accompanied by Doña Jimena and some of the Cid's mesnada. The Historia Roderici, recognized as the most accurate document on the Cid, also states that many gifts were made by the Cid's widow to the monastery, as was mediaeval custom. However, by the beginning of the thirteenth century these facts had been supplanted by legend. The Cardeña cult's basic assumption was that the Cid had ordered his immediate burial there, and the Liber Regum, written around 1220, reflects this view: "Murio mio Cid el Campiador en el mes de Mayo."
Dios aya su alma: et aduxeronlo sus vasallos dalla de Valencia, et soterrarronlo en S. Pedro de Cardeña cerca de Burgos." The Liber Regum thus appears to know nothing about the Cid's original interment at Valencia and implies that the burial at Cardeña took place immediately after the death of the hero. Therefore we can see that, by about 1220, a legendary account of the Cid's death and burial had begun to circulate above all in connection with San Pedro de Cardeña.

There can be no doubt that a Cid cult had emerged in and around Cardeña in the ensuing century after the Campeador's death. W.J. Entwistle refers to a lost, written version of the Cardeña legends of the Cid, known as the Estoria del noble varón 'el Cid Ruy Díaz el Campeador, señor que fué de Valencia (cited subsequently as the Estoria del Cid), used by the Primera Crónica General for material for chapters 947-62. Entwistle deduced the title of the work from the opening line of chapter 961 of the chronicle, and Russell affirms that "it was written in connection with the Cardeña cult." The Estoria del Cid places special emphasis on the Cid's death and the history of the hero's body after death. Russell gives a short summary of the pertinent sections:

The account may be divided into (i) the despatch to the Cid at Valencia of an embassy from the 'Sultan of Persia'; (ii) the appearance of St. Peter to the Cid in a vision to announce the hero's death within thirty days; (iii) detailed account of the Cid's death, recounted almost entirely in hagiographical terms; (iv) the victory of the Cid's army over Bócar, with the aid of St. James of Compostela and a heavenly host; (v) the removal of the Cid's body from Valencia to Castile, and the curious arrangements made for its disposal in the monastery church of San Pedro de Cardeña; (vi) sundry magical or miraculous occurrences at Cardeña, and the final burial of the Cid's body there in a normal way after a delay of ten years. The Estoria del Cid relates many legends about the Cid's death and
subsequent occurrences after death, but also attempts to provide rational explanations for these happenings which are nothing short of miraculous. For example, the Estoria asserts that the Cid's body, after death, remained in a perfect condition and was so life-like that Alfonso VI refused to give it a normal burial. As Russell explains, incorruptibility of the body as a sign of a deceased person's perfect life is a hagiographical commonplace.\(^9\) However, the Estoria del Cid explains that the incorruptibility of the Cid's body was because the hero, upon learning from St. Peter of his coming death, had prepared himself by eating nothing for a week except for a daily dose of balsam and myrrh in a gold cup. The Estoria del Cid states:

> En todos aquellos siete días non comio nin beuio ninguna vianda otra que fuesse, sinon una cuchar pequenna de aquel balsamo et de aquella mirra estemprado con el agua; et cada día después que esto fezo, se paro su cuerpo et su cara mas fresca et mas fermosa que ante, et la palabra mas rezia,....\(^{10}\)

Apart from this auto-embalmment, the Cid's corpse is reportedly anointed with the same substances after death, thus removing all doubts on the part of the reader that the body remained in a perfect state.

Perhaps the most interesting of the episodes related in the Estoria del Cid is to be found in Chapter 95\(^4\), where the hero is seen making his last will and testament. The Cid orders that he be buried in San Pedro de Cardeña:

> El lo primero que mando fue que la su sepultura fuesse en Sant Pedro de Cardenna o agora yaze, et mando al monesterio muchos bonos heredamientOs, por que oy en dia lo mas onrrado et servuido el logar o el su cuerpo yaze; et mando a donna Ximena todo quanto en el mundo avia, que uisquiesse en ello bien et complidamente a su onrra por toda su vida en este monesterio, et Gil Diaz que la sirviesse en todos los sus días;....\(^{11}\)

From the above, it is obvious that the Estoria del Cid is
attempting to explain some of Cardeña's legends about the history of the Cid after death. The will is, of course, fictitious, but it serves to show that the Cid ordered his burial at San Pedro de Cardeña immediately after his death.

This type of corroboration is also found when the *Estoria del Cid* attempts to verify some of the Cidian relics at Cardeña. A good case in point is the chess-set that was given to the Campeador by the Persian Sultan. Chapter 947 of the *Primera Crónica General* assures the reader that the chess-set is to be found in San Pedro de Cardeña: "otrossi le enbio un açedrex de los nobles que fueron en el mundo, que aun oy en día es en el monesterio de Sant Pero de Cardenna;...."12

The relic, whether true or false, thus has verification for its existence and provides proof also for the Persian embassy to the Cid. Apart from the chess-set, the golden goblet used by the Cid to administer the balsam and myrrh receives particular attention. Indeed, there exists a possibility that such an item was displayed among the relics of the hero at Cardeña.13

The *Estoria del Cid* is supposed to have been a translation from an Arabic account of the Cid's final days and of the somewhat miraculous events after his death. Who, then, was the author of the *Estoria del Cid*? The *Primera Crónica General* says that it was a Moslem by the name of Abenalfarax, who was the nephew of the Alhuacaxí, the former alfaquí of Valencia, who was purportedly converted to Christianity taking the name of Gil Díaz, after the Cid.14 The truth of the matter is that both Abenalfarax and Alhuacaxí were historical personages. However, they were not related and there is no truth to the story that Alhuacaxí became Gil Díaz, the chief server of the Cid's tomb as well as guardian
of the Cid's horse Babieca.\textsuperscript{15} Alhuacaxi is named by Arab historians as the Valencian appointed to negotiate the surrender of the city to the Cid in 1094. He was later made \textit{cadi} by the Campeador, but withdrew from his post to die in the Moorish city of Denia of old age. Abenalfarax was known to be a Moslem supporter of the Cid before the conquest, and was therefore a natural choice for the authorship of a supposed history of the Cid. The existence of both these Moslems is attested in fact by Ibn Alqama in his anti-Cidian work, \textit{History of Valencia}, but the \textit{Historia Roderici} and other Christian accounts make no mention of them. Thus, Russell draws the conclusion that the author of the \textit{Estoria del Cid}, no matter who he really was, had access to Ibn Alqama's work.

Furthermore, Russell continues:

> It was long ago shown by Menéndez Pidal that the compilers of the \textit{PCG} did not possess an Arabic version of Ibn Alqama, but used a translation which had been made earlier. It seems, in the circumstances, plausible to suppose that they obtained this translation, like the \textit{Estoria} itself, from San Pedro de Cardeña. Such an hypothesis would explain both how the \textit{Estoria} came to possess its knowledge of Valencian affairs, and why it purports to be, itself, a translation from an Arabic original.\textsuperscript{16}

At this point we shall examine the Cidian legends at Cardeña before the \textit{Estoria} put them in writing. Caution, however, is required, for as Russell points out, this is "an area of investigation where for the most part, only hypothetical answers are given." From the \textit{Primera Crónica General}, we can see that there existed in Cardeña material objects or relics of the Cid, and the credibility of the legends fomented in the monastery depended on this fact. Also, from an examination of the circumstances surrounding the Cid's reburial in the monastery, together with a knowledge of mediaeval burial practices,
an explanation can be given for the non-hagiographic material of the legends.\textsuperscript{17}

The Cardena legends tell us that the Cid's body was in an extremely good condition upon arrival at the monastery mainly because of the expert Moorish embalmers at Valencia. The Christians themselves did practise embalmment, but their methods were decidedly crude by comparison with the Moors, and usually had limited effect on the corpse. The embalmment of the Cid's body was probably more effectively carried out by Moorish embalmers in Valencia so that the monks were astonished when they saw the body. As Russell says: "Christian doctrine about the significance of uncorrupted bodies would not make it difficult for them to read into this fact evidence of something more significant than a Valencian embalmer's special skill.\textsuperscript{18} This theory is borne out by the Estoria's constant reiteration that myrrh and balsam, Oriental spices, were used in the Cid's embalmment. For this reason, the Cardena legends were able to assert that the Cid's body remained unchanged and seated before the High Altar in the monastery on his ivory escaño.

The escaño itself possibly finds historic corroboration in the mediaeval burial customs. The word escaño means, in mediaeval Spanish, a stool, or bench. However, it also signified, in mortuary usage, a kind of bier upon which a body was placed before burial.\textsuperscript{19} Mention of these special escaños is made in several mediaeval epics and since they were also used to transport dead bodies, it is highly likely that the body of the Cid was transported to Cardena on one. Also probable is the suggestion that the Cid's body lay in state on one of these biers before burial. As Russell maintains, the oral transmission of this
event would replace the mortuary usage of *escaño* with its more usual sense of stool or bench. Next, the Cid's body would be reported as seated upright rather than recumbent.\(^{20}\) The theory is not as implausible as it appears, for the very bier on which the Cid's corpse lay may have remained among the monks' possessions.

Russell tells us that the centre of the Cid cult in the thirteenth century was the tomb of the Campeádor before the High Altar. Next to the Cid's tomb is one that is purportedly that of doña Jimena. This cannot have been her real tomb, as she was buried in the monastery of San Juan de la Peña. Also, the *Primera Crónica General* declares that Gil Díaz, who was formerly Alhuacaxí, has his grave in the monastery courtyard beside Babieca, the Cid's horse. The legend of Gil Díaz in the *Estoria del Cid* is entirely fictitious, but that of Babieca may have some factual origin. In mediaeval custom, it was not uncommon for a knight to leave his charger to the monastery where he was buried, and it is quite possible, therefore, that doña Jimena did present a charger to San Pedro de Cardena, although the horse may not necessarily have been Babieca.\(^{21}\)

The question that arises at this point is: why did the monastery perpetuate these legends? The answer, if we are to look to Bédier's theories, may be propaganda to attract pilgrims to the doors of the institution, thereby also attracting donations. However, even though this may have been the case, and we have no proof that it wasn't, the answer may not be so simple.

Russell tells us that in the middle of the twelfth century, the monastery faced a very grave crisis. This came in the form of the bishop of Burgos and the Cluniac monks who had, since the beginning of
the century, begun to gain more and more control over Spanish ecclesiastical life, as well as Alfonso VII, a ruler who was unsympathetic to the Benedictines. In 1142, the monastery was officially presented, by order of the king, to the abbot of Cluny, but the Benedictine monks refused to be evicted. In 1144, drastic measures were resorted to, and even the Pope was involved in ordering the Benedictine monks out. As late as 1163, the dispute continued, until the Benedictines finally won, although the resolution is not recorded. A Cardena legend, however, claimed that the Cluniacs were driven out after three years and that they took all the treasures of the monastery with them.

The defiance of the Benedictines against Alfonso VII's direct orders may therefore be connected with the monastery's similar disregard for the orders of Alfonso VI in the PMC. However, the possibility remains that in those turbulent years in the monastery's history, with all its expulsions and threats of expulsion, the relics of the Cid may have disappeared almost entirely.

The end of the twelfth century saw the end of the monastery's troubles. Cardena again enjoyed royal favour, this time under Alfonso VIII, although the Benedictines were never again closely connected with life at the court. At this point, the monks began, as Russell says, "to elaborate, with small regard for historical probability, legends designed to keep alive memories of the part they had once played in the early days of the Castilian nation."

One of the legends was about the sack of the monastery in 836 by a Moorish king named Zepha, and the martyrdom of 200 monks. According to the legend, each year on the anniversary of the sacking, the floor of the cloister became covered in blood, giving off a sweet smell that
was usually associated with saints and martyrs. The aim of this legend, which found its way into the epic *La condesa traidora*, was to set back the date of the founding of the monastery by 150 years.\textsuperscript{26}

Another attempt was made later by the monks to push back the date of their foundation even further. This time, they produced a tomb allegedly that of Sancha, the queen of Theodoric the Goth. She, it was claimed by the monks, was their founder. According to Russell, "a whole legendary account of the circumstances which led her to perform the act accompanied the tale, while a tomb supposedly that of her son was also shown for good measure."\textsuperscript{27}

Among these many legends emerging from Cardénia, perhaps the most important, and one which is connected with the FMC, is that of Sisebuto, abbot of Cardénia from 1060-1086, whom the monks claimed as a Saint. The FMC, in the episodes at Cardénia, does not mention Sisebuto, but rather a don Sancho, a character for whom no historical confirmation has been found. Menéndez Pidal, in his study of the FMC, seized upon this point as evidence that the poem had no connection with Cardénia.\textsuperscript{28}

A number of explanations have been given, in recent years, showing how the don Sancho of the FMC may have well been the historical Sisebuto, but this is not what concerns us here.\textsuperscript{29} The fact is, as Russell has discovered, that Sisebuto was claimed to be a saint only in the thirteenth century, possibly because the Benedictines at Cardénia felt at a disadvantage when compared to the monasteries of Silos and Oña, which had highly popular saints for former abbots.\textsuperscript{30} As Russell says:

The first documented claim that Sisebuto was a saint occurs in a revised version of the Cardénia *Breviario*, written in the same year (1327). He was not supplied with a feast-day until the fifteenth century. He inspired no hagiographical literature, either in Latin or in the vernacular, and his cult was never more than a purely local affair.\textsuperscript{31}
Therefore, we cannot be entirely sure that the poet of the PMC had replaced a famous saint by a fictitious abbot. In fact, we cannot even be sure that the don Sancho of the PMC was not a historical personage, as Russell tells us that the "successors to Sisebuto are not well documented." The fact that the monks of Cardeña did not try to repudiate the character of don Sancho in the PMC is taken by the critic as evidence that awareness of Sisebuto as a saint did not occur until don Sancho, whether real or fictitious, had become well established.

What conclusion can be drawn from these considerations? In the first place, it seems quite clear that a Cidian tomb-cult existed in and around the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. Legends had sprung up centred around the Cid's tomb and the material objects or relics that were associated with the hero. These legends were given their final form in the Estoria del Cid, the material of which was incorporated into the Primera Crónica General. Second, it has also been shown that a tradition of legend-fostering existed at Cardeña which Russell says "rated the glorification of Cardeña's past more highly than historical scholarship, and paid no attention to the prosaic version of the monastery's history recorded by the documents in its archives." To this we may add that there may be another reason for this tradition of legend-fostering. In our opinion, Cardeña is not merely trying to recapture past glories, whether true or false. In exercising their imaginative talents and creating these fictitious tales about the glorious past of the monastery, the monks are basically trying to establish their right to the monastery. If the legends convinced others that they had a historical right to Cardeña, troubles such as those which occurred in the mid-twelfth century would not happen again.
If we turn to the theory that the PMC was part and parcel of the Cidian tomb-cult at San Pedro de Cardeña, it is clear that, if we accept Menéndez Pidal’s contention that the poem was written in 1140 by a juglar from the area around Medinaceli, our hypothesis is invalid. However, as we have seen in Chapter II, the consensus of recent research suggests that Pidal was incorrect on all counts. It seems virtually certain that the PMC was written no earlier than 1207, the manuscript which we have being an early fourteenth century copy of an older text. Furthermore, the poem was written primarily with a Burgos audience in mind and by a poet who was possibly a cleric who had had some legal training. Deeper examination of the authorship issue brings out the possibility that the Per Abbat mentioned in the explicit could have been the very author of the PMC. In view of these recent discoveries by the various critics in the field, and with the knowledge that a Cidian tomb-cult existed and flourished in Cardeña, we shall examine the contents of the PMC to determine if there is any evidence to support the notion that the poem was composed within the monastery for propaganda purposes.

To begin this part of the argument, we should take a brief glance at the occasions in the poem when San Pedro de Cardeña is featured. In the first Cantar, the Cid, on his way into exile, is refused hospitality by the Burgos people, who are afraid of defying the orders of Alfonso VI. However, the Campeador unhesitatingly proceeds the short distance to San Pedro de Cardeña where he is openly welcomed. The abbot don Sancho, in complete defiance of the king’s order that no one give lodging or food to the Cid, offers the resources and facilities of the monastery to the Campeador. The monastery bells are
rung to gather recruits for the hero, and the abbot himself volunteers to direct late-comers along the route which the Cid takes. When one considers the position of the king in mediaeval times, the magnitude of the actions of the abbot and the monastery in their complete disregard of royal commands can be deduced.

Further to this episode, the poet takes great pains in assuming that the Cid did not abuse the good will of the monastery. The Cid is careful to pay the abbot for the cost of his lodging overnight as well as for maintaining his wife doña Jimena and his daughters during the period of his absence in exile:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Yo adobare conducho } \quad \text{pora mí e pora mis vassallos;} \\
&\text{mas por que me va de tierra } \quad \text{dovos } .1. \text{ marchos,} \\
&\text{si yo algun día visquier } \quad \text{servos han doblados.} \\
&\text{Non quiero fazer en el monesterio } \quad \text{un dinero de daño;} \\
&\text{e vadese aquí pora doña Ximena } \quad \text{dovos } .c. \text{ marchos,} \\
&\text{a ella e a sus fiñas e a sus dueñas } \quad \text{sirvades las est año.}
\end{align*}
\]

Si essa despenssa vos falleciere \quad o vos menguare algo, \\
bién las abastad, \quad yo assi vos lo mando; \\
por un marcho que despendades \quad al monesterio dare yo quatro. \\
\text{---(lines 249-259)---}

The poet, in a subsequent episode, does not fail to show that the Cid was as good as his word. The point of this part of the episode is explained by Russell:

The anxiety to show that the Cid did not impose on the charity of the monks, and that the community benefitted materially from their association with him, can hardly be accounted a 'popular' motif in the Cantar. It can better be interpreted as a monastic motif, since medieval Castilian records contain frequent complaints of the way in which local lords, unlike the Cid of the Cantar, practised extortion against the religious houses in their neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{34}

In the second cantar, after the Cid's victory and conquest of Valencia, the hero sends Álvar Fáñez, his closest lieutenant, to Cardeña to bring his wife and children to the conquered city. Álvar
Fáñez is also delegated to present a gift of one thousand marks to the monastery. Apart from the interesting parallels of event and style that are introduced "to remind the audience of the Cid's original stay there," the episode ends with a curious message from the lips of the abbot:

Por mi al Campeador las manos le besad;
Aqueste monasterio no lo quiera olbidar,
todos los días del siglo en levar lo adelant
el Cid siempre valdra mas.

(lines 1443-1446)

The implications of the above quote are obvious: if the Cid does not forget the interests of Cardeña, even when he is living in distant Valencia, his fame and fortunes will increase. Menéndez Pidal believed that the lines were written "por un juglar interpretando los sentimientos del abad que no sabe despedirse de su huésped doña Ximena sin una cortés petición de recompensa." The Spanish critic attaches no special significance to the words of the abbot, but in the light of what we know about the Cidian cult at Cardeña, the request and prediction of don Sancho cannot be dismissed so easily.

Apart from the above instances in which the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña is featured there is no further mention of the institution in the PMC. Menéndez Pidal and his subsequent followers interpreted this as being proof that the monastery is not an important factor within the poem. Pidal said that of the total of 200 lines that speak of Cardeña or of things happening there 160 relate the passage of the hero through the monastery on his way into exile. His contention is that San Pedro de Cardeña figures in the PMC more out of a case of historical necessity than of any other cause: "Cardeña figura en el Cantar, no por afecto especial del autor, sino por necesidad del
relato, como figuran Valencia o Bivar."\textsuperscript{39}

The problem with Pidal's statement is that he is basing his conclusion on the belief that the PMC is a historical document faithful to factual incidents. We have seen, in a previous chapter, how the poet of the PMC took only basic historical truths about the Cid and wove a complex, but almost entirely fictitious tale around them. It is true that San Pedro de Cardeña recedes into the dim background after Álvar Fáñez brings the Cid's family to Valencia, and Pidal is undoubtedly correct in stating that this is due to historical necessity, since the basic fact, which everyone knew, was that the Cid spent the vast majority of his later years in and around Valencia. The point in question is whether the instances in which the monastery is featured are accurate. In the first place, mention must be made that "there is no independent evidence whatever to show that any of the Cardeña episodes are historical."\textsuperscript{40} In other words, there is no evidence that would prove or disprove the incidents at the monastery. However, on the one point which is verifiable, the PMC is found to be historically inaccurate. The poem says that doña Jimena remained at Cardeña for ten years from the time of the Cid's exile to the conquest of Valencia. History tells us that the Cid's wife joined him in 1089, five years before the capture of the city. The episode in the Second Cantar, when Álvar Fáñez is delegated to go to Cardeña to bring doña Jimena and her children to Valencia, is entirely fictitious.\textsuperscript{41}

Russell also informs us that "it is also necessary to maintain an attitude of scepticism towards the CMC's whole account of relations between the monastery and the Cid."\textsuperscript{42} For one, it is very improbable that the abbot and the monks at Cardeña would, as the poem depicts,
openly defy the direct orders of a king as powerful as Alfonso VI "on a purely secular point involving a cherished royal prerogative."\textsuperscript{43}

On the other hand it would be untrue to say that the Cid was never at Cardeña or involved in the monastery's affairs. In fact, there are documents that prove that the Cid was a familiar figure at the monastery. The historical Rodrigo Díaz did act on behalf of the institution in legal disputes. Russell also suggests that the Cid may have been a miles, or protector of San Pedro de Cardeña. This is entirely possible, especially when one considers the fact that the monastery was the nearest large institution in the Cid's neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{44}

The most important point, however, is the fact that the episodes at Cardeña are not corroborated by the \textit{Historia Roderici}. This document, which is the most accurate account of the Cid's life, mentions San Pedro de Cardeña only as the final resting place of the Cid's body. Nothing is said or even inferred to the effect that the monastery aided the hero in either of his banishments, nor that Jimena and the Cid's daughters were lodged there in the period of his absence from Castile. Furthermore, the \textit{Becerro gótico} of Cardeña, which recorded donations to the monastery up to 1086, does not contain an entry recording the donation from the Cid.\textsuperscript{45}

Therefore, in the case of the \textit{PMC}, we are presented with an almost entirely fictitious account of the Cid's life in which the monastery is featured very prominently. The one point that remains is that the \textit{PMC} does not mention the Cid's burial at Cardeña. One would expect such an important incident to be mentioned if the purpose of the poem was to serve as propaganda for the monastery. This point was interpreted
by Pidal as further proof that the poet of the **PMC** was not interested in Cardeña.⁴⁶

One must admit that the omission is curious, especially in view of the fact that the **Primera Crónica General**, which prosified many Castilian epics, never failed to mention the burial places of the different heroes. As Russell says: "Why should the author of the **CMC** fail to observe this custom, especially as he had gone to so much trouble to establish the living Cid's connection with San Pedro de Cardeña, and the fact of his hero's burial there was known throughout Christian Spain?"⁴⁷ The answer, Russell says, lies in the last few lines of the poem.

At the end of the **PMC**, the Cid has progressed from being the poor exile to a rich, famous general. The poem gives an account of the second marriages of doña Elvira and doña Sol; and declares:

\[
\text{ived qual ondra creç } \quad \text{al que en buen ora naçio}
\]
\[
\text{quando señoras son sus hijos } \quad \text{de Navarra e de Aragon!}
\]
\[
\text{Oy los reyes d'Espana } \quad \text{sos parientes son;}
\]
\[
\text{a todos alcança ondra } \quad \text{por el que en buen ora naçio.}
\]

(lines 3722-3725)

Then suddenly, and very crudely, the poem comes to an end:

\[
\text{Passado es deste sieglo } \quad \text{el día de çinquaesma:}
\]
\[
\text{idé Christus haya perdon!}
\]
\[
\text{¡Assi ffagamos nos todos, } \quad \text{justos e peccadores!}
\]
\[
\text{Estas son las nuevas } \quad \text{de mio Cid el Campeador;}
\]
\[
\text{en este logar } \quad \text{se acaba esta razón.}
\]

(lines 3726-3730)

Admittedly, the **PMC** comes to its artistic conclusion in line 3725, but the next lines dealing with the death of the Cid are, by comparison, extremely crude and sudden. No mention is made as to where the Cid died or where he was buried, and the very nature of the lines themselves is distinct from the sensitivity of the entire poem that preceded it.
What, then, is the explanation for this crude ending?

In an analysis of the passage, one notes the irregularity of the second line and the break in assonance of the first. These may be errors of the copyist, but, as Russell says: "it is a curious place for a copyist to err so grievously."\(^ 4 \& 8 \) The method which the PMC uses to dispose of the Cid is found in French epic, but this is the only Spanish example of it. Professor D.M. McMillan also pointed out to Russell that "on these occasions, scribal omissions, or amendments to the text caused by the introduction of interpolated material, seem to be responsible."\(^ 4 \& 9 \) Thus, the necessity arises to discern whether lines 3726-3730 were actually written by the poet of the PMC. As the evidence stands, there is a strong indication that they were penned by a fourteenth century copyist, or at least by someone other than the original author.

To support this theory, Russell cites another parallel case in the Crónica de Veinte Reyes. This work, which was written in the fourteenth century, draws its material from a text that was very close to the PMC. In fact, it follows the general lines of the PMC up to and including the second marriages of the Cid's daughters.\(^ 5 \& 0 \) At the end of the section dealing with the Cid, there is a final chapter entitled "De la muerte de Ruy diascide do conmo se perdio valencia."\(^ 5 \& 1 \) The problem is that the chronicler does not deal with the death of the Cid and the loss of Valencia. In other words, the text of the chapter does not fulfill the title. The date of the Cid's death is noted, and this is followed by:

el Çid estando en Valencia enfermo e murio en el mes de mayo e dio el alma a Dios. Doña Ximena su mujer e don Alvar Fañes Myenaya llevaron el su cuerpo a sant Pedro de Cardeña e por
This is indeed curious. What, exactly, is this "la su estoria" to which the author of the Crónica de Veinte Reyes refers his readers? Also, why does he not give an account of the death of the Cid and the loss of Valencia as originally intended in the title, and simply refer readers to another estoria under the weak pretext of not prolonging his narrative? Lindley Cintra suggests that the "la su estoria" refers to the Historia Roderici, but this cannot be so, as this work states that the Cid died in July. Also Álvar Fáñez is not mentioned in the Historia Roderici as having any part or connection with the burial of the Cid. Besides, the version of the death of the Cid is too short in the Historia Roderici for the author of the Crónica de Veinte Reyes to drop it for being too long. Theodore Babbitt, in his study of the Crónica de Veinte Reyes, suggests that the "la su estoria" would more plausibly be the Estoria del Cid, an idea supported by Russell.

As for the author's reason in failing to provide the story of the death of the Cid and the loss of Valencia, Russell says that the referral of the reader to the Estoria del Cid may be "a neat means of escaping from an awkward dilemma." Of course, Russell is speaking hypothetically, but upon closer scrutiny, his theory is quite plausible. The dilemma which he refers to is the fact that the Primera Crónica General of Alfonso el Sabio had endorsed the veracity of the Estoria del Cid by its inclusion in the chronicle. The author of the Crónica de Veinte Reyes was, Russell tells us, more sceptical about legendary history than were his predecessors from the previous century. This is attested by the fact that he preferred to use a more primitive
text as the basis for his work. The dilemma which this author faced probably lay in the ending of the text from which he worked, as this may not have coincided with the ending supplied by the *Primera Crónica General*. As Russell says:

> What would be the reaction of this man if he found that the concluding portions of this version dealt with the hero's death in a manner which did not support the now famous legends recounted in the *Estoria*? To summarize the latter's account would be false to the principles upon which he based his own work. To offer, instead of it, the version given in the *Cantar* would be a challenge the veracity of the Alfonsine chronicle in a form calculated to arouse the ire of the monks of Cardeña, who would be formidable foes.55

For this reason, the author of the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* skirts around the problem by referring his readers to "la su estoria."

In the case of the *PMC* we may well have a similar issue of evasion in the ending. First, we must reiterate that in our opinion, the *PMC* was written around the beginning of the thirteenth century and that the extant text, as we have it, is a fourteenth century copy of the original. Second, this copy, judging from the location of the manuscript when it was found, was made in the Burgos area where audiences would have been familiar with the Cardeña legends, and who would not accept an account that went counter to them. The copyist therefore may have exercised his privilege to amend the text by omitting the potentially offensive final portion in the original, substituting in its stead, a few lines of his own making in order to terminate the poem. As Russell says:

> The crude lines telling of the Cid's death may well, therefore, be from the pen of the copyist. That they were inserted at all can be interpreted as an indirect proof that such was the case: they may reflect the copyist's feeling that it was incumbent on him to make some kind of replacement of the material he had omitted.56
The hypothesis here is quite convincing in its possibilities, as Russell feels that the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* might contain a clue in the final chapter of the contents of the original manuscript of the *PMC*—the chronicle gives a bare summary of the Cid's death and the transportation of his corpse to Cardeña for burial by his widow and Álvar Fáñez. The chronicler follows the *cantar* tradition of mentioning the hero's death, a formal procedure supplied to other Spanish epics and attested to in the *Primera Crónica General*.

In this chapter, we must constantly bear in mind that we are always speaking hypothetically. All the preceding arguments do not constitute proof that the *PMC* used material from the Cardeña legends. Such proof would come only with the discovery of new material that shows without doubt that certain elements in the poem were derived directly from the Cardeña legends. Neither Russell nor other critics believe that such concrete evidence is forthcoming. However, within the *PMC* itself there are a few minor elements that do call to mind the Cardeña cult of the Cid. One of them is the elaborately carved *escaño* which belongs to the Cid. This item appears late in the poem—the first mention of it is in line 2216, but it is mentioned twelve times. The poet calls our attention to it by lines such as:

```
El rey dixo al Cid: 'Venid aca ser, Campeador, en aqueste escaño quem diestes vos en don.
( lines 3114-3115 )
En un escaño torniño essora mío Cid poso, los ciento quel aguardan posan aderredor.
( lines 3121-3122 )
```

The *escaño* therefore has a definite purpose for being mentioned and is evidently very important to the poet. The possibility that this is a reference to a relic in Cardeña cannot be dismissed.
The Cid's horse, Babieca, is also subjected to the same treatment by the poet. Babieca, considering its importance within the PMC, makes its first appearance comparatively late in the poem, in line 1573, but then its importance is quickly built up by the poet.\textsuperscript{58} As a character Babieca becomes as famous as its owner, especially when Alfonso declares:

\begin{verbatim}
ca por vos e por el cavallo ondrados somo(s) nos!
\end{verbatim}

(line 3521)

One must remember that the Cidian cult at Cardeña included a sub-cult centred around the tomb of the horse Babieca. History bears out the fact that a charger was among the gifts made to the monastery by doña Jimena in 1102. Perhaps, as Russell suggests, the poet of the PMC was obliged to introduce the horse as it was part of the Cardeña legend and his audience expected to hear about it.\textsuperscript{59} The possibility again is undeniable.

An episode in the PMC which may also be connected with the Cid cult at Cardeña is the incident of Raquel and Vidas and the two arcas of sand. Menéndez Pidal himself had admitted that the episode is purely fictitious. First, the Cid is shown as a cheat, and the two Jews as being extremely gullible. Second, the Cid is unable to take the two arcas of gold with him, but exchanges them for 600 marks of gold and silver. Raquel and Vidas each are able to carry off an arca, but the 600 marks of gold and silver require five of the Cid's men to carry. Again, the precise description of the arcas by the poet (lines 84-87) indicates that such items may have been among Cidian relics at Cardeña.\textsuperscript{60} Indeed there is still a 'cofre del Cid' in Burgos cathedral.

Contrasted with the completely hypothetical cases just mentioned, we have one element in the PMC for which evidence of monastic influence
is more conclusive. This is the bishop of Valencia, Jerome of Périgord, who was from the Cluniac order. The warrior-priest is introduced in the second cantar, where he joins the Cid's army,

\[\text{sospirando (el obispo) ques viesse con moros en el campo,} \]
\[\text{que sis fartas lidiando e firiendo con sus manos a los días del sieglo non le lorassen christianos.} \]
\[\text{(lines 1293-1295)} \]

The bishop, who has his literary prototype in Archbishop Turpin of the Chanson de Roland, manifests a crusading zeal that contrasts strongly with the non-idealism of the Cid and his followers, whose campaigns were for the purpose of survival and food (line 1643). According to Russell, this comparison may have been unintended and "may, therefore, represent the consequences of interpolating the character of the crusading Jerome into an older body of material dealing with the Cid and his lay followers." 61

The person of bishop Jerome of Valencia is borne out by history. He received the bishopric of Valencia from the Cid in 1098, and later became bishop of Salamanca where he died in 1120. Also, he apparently had close connections with San Pedro de Cardeña. In 1103, after his transfer to Salamanca, he made a donation to San Pedro de Cardena to provide for his burial there 'ubi est humatum corpus Venerabilis Roderici Didaci....' 62 If genuine, this Latin document could prove that Jerome indeed was associated with Cardeña in history as well as legend. 63 Russell elaborates on the implications when he states that "this would mean that he was already a key figure in the history of the monastery before the Cantar de mio Cid was written. In that event, the case for suggesting that the somewhat discordant figure of the crusading bishop in the CMC may have been borrowed from Cardeña sources would be strong." 64
The absence of the very document, however, compels one to maintain a degree of scepticism about its origins. The reason for this would be the fact that such a document would be useful to the Benedictines of Cardeña in their struggle against being ousted by the Cluniacs. It would convince opposition that Jerome, a famous Cluniac monk, had expressed his desire to be buried in the monastery, implying thereby that he had introduced Cluniac reforms in the institution. Jerome, when he died, was in fact buried in Salamanca, but this did not prevent the Cardeña monks from erecting a rival tomb in the monastery to show to pilgrims and declare that the wishes expressed by the bishop had been accomplished. As such, the character of bishop Jerome may be a direct borrowing from the Cardeña legends by the poet.

In conclusion, we see that the theory of monastic influence on epics as proposed by Joseph Bédier is not altogether as unfeasible as Menéndez Pidal thinks. At the same time, we must remind ourselves again that what has preceded is no more than hypotheses, or educated guesses. There is no absolute proof about the issue either way, but rather there exists a large number of conjectures which, taken together, are very suggestive. We know for certain, from the efforts of critics such as W.J. Entwistle, and above all, P.E. Russell, that a Cidian cult had sprung up in San Pedro de Cardeña in the decades after the death of the hero. To what extent it spread around the local populace is not known, but when we consider how close Burgos is to Cardeña, and the fact that the poet was writing for a Burgos audience, it would indeed be unreasonable to suggest that the poet was completely unaware of the Cidian cult in San Pedro de Cardeña.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1For an account of the typical processes involved in establishing a tomb-cult, see Patrick J. Geary, "Saint Helen of Athrya and the Cathedral of Troyes in the Thirteenth Century," The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 7 (1977), 149-68.


3See Chapter I, pp. 20-25.

4Russell, p. 58.

5Russell, p. 58.

6Cited by Russell, p. 59. See also H. Florez, Memorias de las reynas católicas (Madrid, 1761), I, 494. I have been unable to consult this work.


Cuenta la Estoria deste noble varon el Cid Ruy Díaz el Campeador, sennor que fue de Valencia, et dize assy, que diez annos estudo su cuerpo assentado en aquella silla en el tabernaculo que el rey don Alfonso le pusiera,....


8Russell, p. 60.

9Russell, p. 60.

10Primera Crónica General, Ch. 953, p. 635.

11Primera Crónica General, Ch. 954, pp. 635-66.

12Primera Crónica General, Ch. 957, p. 628.

13Russell, p. 61.

14Primera Crónica General:
"Segunt cuenta la estoria que compuso Albenalfarax, sobrino de Gil Diaz, en Valencia..." Ch. 952, p. 633.
"et dize Abenalfarax, el que esta estoria traslaudo en araügo....." Ch. 955, p. 636.
"Segunt cuenta Abenalfarax que fizo esta estoria en arauigo,..." Ch. 957, p. 638.

15 Russell, pp. 63-63.
16 Russell, p. 63.
17 Russell, p. 64.
18 Russell, p. 64.
19 Russell, p. 65.
20 Russell, p. 65.
21 Russell, p. 66.
22 Russell, p. 67.

24 Russell, p. 67.
25 Russell, p. 68.
26 Russell, p. 68.
27 Russell, p. 68.
28 See Menéndez Pidal, CMC, I, 40; and III, 1171.

29 "There are indications that sanctu --- particularly if used in the genitive before a noun beginning with a vowel --- could give OS *sancho, instead of santo. Confusion with the FN Sancho would then easily occur. Berganza, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, suggested that the Sancho of the cantar could have originated in a misreading of sanctus as Santius --- an explanation which, while it cannot be disregarded, presents obvious difficulties to paleographers" (Russell, p. 69). An alternative explanation is given by Colin Smith: "...it is more likely that the author of the PMC misread one of the abundant diplomas confirmed by the Abott as Sesebutus Abas Sancti Petri Karadignal, wrongly analysing the second and third words to produce Abas Santius (especially if Sancti were in an abbreviated form)."

Smith, PMC, p. 168.
30 The saints are Santo Domingo and San Iñigo. Russell, p. 69.
31 Russell, p. 69.
32 Russell, p. 69.
33 Russell, p. 68.
34 Russell, p. 72.
35 Russell, p. 72.
36 Menéndez Pidal, CMC, I, 39.
37 Russell, p. 72.
38 Menéndez Pidal, CMC, I, 39.
39 Menéndez Pidal, CMC, I, 41.
40 Russell, p. 72.
41 Russell, pp. 72-73.
42 Russell, p. 73.
43 Russell, p. 73.
44 Russell, p. 73.
45 Russell, p. 73.
46 Menéndez Pidal, CMC, I, 40.
47 Russell, p. 73.
48 Russell, p. 74.
49 Russell, p. 74.
50 Russell, p. 74.

51 Luis Filipe Lindley Cintra, Crónica general de España de 13\textsuperscript{14} (Lisboa, 1951), Vol. I, p. 274. I have been unable to consult this work and am quoting from Russell.

52 Quotation from Crónica de Veinte Reyes in Russell, p. 74.


54 Russell, p. 75.

55 Russell, p. 75.
Russell, p. 75.

Russell, p. 76.

Russell, p. 76.

Russell, p. 76.

Russell, p. 76.

Russell, p. 77.

Russell, p. 77.


Menéndez Pidal believes the document is genuine.

Russell, p. 78.

Russell, p. 78.

Russell, p. 78.
CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to re-evaluate the theme of Castilian nationalism in the PMC and the theory of monastic influence on the poem, in the light of the recent research of individualist critics in the areas of historicity, authorship and date.

As far as Castilian nationalism is concerned, it is evident that the PMC, contrary to Smith's assertion, does contain more political sentiments than is generally acknowledged. By this I mean that the poem exhibits some very definite pro-Castilian and anti-Leonese characteristics. However, we must remember that this theory is dependent upon our acceptance of 1207, or thereabouts, as the date of the poem's composition. Writing at this time, the poet was probably very conscious of the political differences and violent clashes that had existed for centuries between León and Castile. Coupled with this and implicit in the poem is the concept of a unified Spain led by Castile, an aspiration which would be fulfilled in later years. These attitudes are reflected in the PMC's treatment of the different characters, themes and actions. However, one must bear in mind the fact that we are speaking essentially of two different periods in Spanish history—the events during the lifetime of the Cid, and those surrounding the year 1207. These must remain separate. In the Cid's biography, the poet saw the possibility of producing a great nationalistic work, or propaganda, if you will. The hero's very stature, his exile and exploits, all presented the poet with ready-made material that could be put to use. It only took his expertise to mould this raw material into a work of art.
On the subject of monastic influence on the PMC again this possibility is undeniable. From the evidence given within the text itself as well as in the chronicles, we can see that there are indications that the poem in the form it has come down to us may have originated in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. One thing of which we can be certain is that in the interim period between the death of the Cid and the beginning of the thirteenth century, there existed a number of short poems or ballads that recounted the legendary deeds of the hero. However, we cannot be sure about the contents or form of these works nor of the influence that they had on the PMC, as they no longer exist today.

The issue of monastic influence brings us back to the very basic problem of authorship. For the present, the theory that the poet was a cleric who had some legal training is the most feasible of all offered, and until some new document or evidence comes to light, we should be prepared to accept this theory as being correct. Furthermore, the principal argument in its favour is the fact that in the Middle Ages, in general, only clerics were literate to any degree. As a candidate for the authorship, the Per Abbat of the explicit seems a most likely choice, and he has now been accepted as such by Smith.

The idea that the PMC was composed for the political and mercenary interests of the monks at Cardeña is not beyond the bounds of possibility. Studies of the other mediaeval Spanish epics have shown that the clergy were not above fabricating poems and relics to further their own ends. In the PMC, as we have seen, there is evidence that the poet had more than just a passing interest in associating the Cid with San Pedro de Cardeña. The author's purpose in doing so becomes more
understandable when we consider the crises that the monastery faced during its history. The problem is far from being solved, but Bédier's theory, no matter how vulnerable it is today, remains very suggestive in relation to the PMC.

As I indicated at the outset, my hypotheses and conclusions concerning the genesis and motivation of the PMC rely extensively on the work of others, in particular the recent spate of research from critics of the individualist school. The dissension between the individualists and the traditionalists has existed for many years, especially in the debates concerning the sources, transmission and structure, not only of the PMC but of the epic in general. Such academic debate is basically a healthy phenomenon that contributes significantly to our advance in knowledge, but it should not obscure the contributions that could be made to our comprehension of the mediaeval epic of Spain by other methods of approach. It may transpire that the dialectic between the traditionalist and individualist schools reveals an opposition in some respects more apparent than real. The time may now be ripe for a work of synthesis that will emphasize the complementary, rather than the conflicting nature of the two main trends in Cidian studies.
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