HISTORY AS CELEBRATION:
CASTILIAN AND HISPANO-LATIN EPICS AND HISTORIES,
1080 - 1210 AD.

submitted by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to situate three Hispano-Latin histories within the broader context of twelfth-century Spanish literature that includes chronicle writing and vernacular epic. The Introduction traces the development of Latin historiography in León from the ninth century, highlighting features still evident in the twelfth-century histories. It also describes the evolution of Spain’s heroic age in Castile and contrasts this with the Reconquest aspirations of León. The one inspired epic poetry, the other a complementary form of celebratory literature: the heroic biography. Each history celebrated the deeds of one man: Rodrigo Díaz in the Historia Roderici, Alfonso VI in the Historia Silense and Alfonso VII in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. The final section of the Introduction outlines the approach to these works, which focuses on form in relation to theme, on the significance of a heightened form of expression and on point of view.

In the following three chapters, these aspects are examined in each work in relation to the portrayal of the central figure. Chapter II examines also the panegyrical Carmen Cam nudctoris and concludes with a comparison of the attitudes of the poet of the Cantar de mio Cid and the historian of the Historia Roderici to their subject-matter.

The second part of Chapter III distinguishes between the Historia Silense and the Liber chronicorum de Pelayo with which it has been compared. Chapter IV includes a separate study of the verse section of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, the Poema de Almorín, but the latter is seen as an integral part of the history. Chapter V draws together aspects of the preceding chapters, for it studies the Crónica Maiírence as a cross-section of twelfth-century Spanish literature,
its material being drawn from chronicles, histories and heroic legends. Finally, the historical writings of the twelfth century are related to broadly defined categories of chronicle, biography and history.

Chapter VI examines common stylistic features of the Latin works and of vernacular epic. The first part is devoted to linguistic features and distinctive forms of phraseology, the second to narrative motifs typical of the celebratory work. An appendix to the chapter explores the function of several of these features in one genre: the Romance epic. The approach adopted in this final chapter coincides with that sustained throughout the thesis, which is to highlight similarities between histories and epic, while observing the basic differences between the two genres.
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### ABBREVIATIONS

(a) **Titles of journals and series of studies and texts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Analecta Bolandiana</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEHE</td>
<td>Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BH</td>
<td>Bulletin Hispanique</td>
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<td>BHS</td>
<td>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRAE</td>
<td>Boletín de la Real Academia Española</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRAH</td>
<td>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSS</td>
<td>Bulletin of Spanish Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>Clásicos Castellanos</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCHMe</td>
<td>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHE</td>
<td>Cuadernos de Historia de España</td>
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<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Comparative Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>CN</td>
<td>Cultura Neolatina</td>
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<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>España Sagrada</td>
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<tr>
<td>FMLS</td>
<td>Forum for Modern Language Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>His</td>
<td>Hispania (Madrid)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hisp. Rev.</td>
<td>Hispanic Review</td>
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<td>HS</td>
<td>Hispania Sacra</td>
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<td>HSCL</td>
<td>Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature</td>
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<td>MA</td>
<td>Le Moyen Age</td>
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<td>MAe</td>
<td>Medium Aevum</td>
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<td>MLN</td>
<td>Modern Language Notes</td>
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<td>Modern Language Review</td>
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<td>MR</td>
<td>Marche Romane</td>
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<td>NRFH</td>
<td>Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica</td>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>Patrologia Latina</td>
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<tr>
<td>PQ</td>
<td>Philological Quarterly</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>Romania</td>
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<tr>
<td>RABN</td>
<td>Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos</td>
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RF Romanische Forschungen
RFE Revista de Filología Española
RFH Revista de Filología Hispánica
RH Revue Hispanique
RHM Revista Hispánica Moderna
RLC Revue de Littérature Comparée
RPh Romance Philology
RR Romanic Review
Sp Speculum
UCPPh University of California Publications in Modern Philology
UNCSRLL University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures
ZRP Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

(b) Texts

CAI, Poema Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Poema de Almería, ed. Luis Sánchez Belda
CC Carmen Campidoctoris, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal
CNC Cantar de Mio Cid; but all references, unless otherwise stated, are to Poema de mio Cid, ed. Colin Smith
Crónica Pelayo, Crónica del obispo don Pelayo, ed. B. Sánchez Alonso
HR Historia Roderici, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal
Najerense Crónica Najerense, ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta
PNC Poema (i.e. Cantar) de Mio Cid
Roland Chanson de Roland, ed. Joseph Édier
Silense Historia Silense, ed. Dcm Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla

All references are to line numbers in poetic works and to numbered paragraphs in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Crónica Najerense and Historia Silense. The paragraphs of the CAI are numbered consecutively.
throughout both Books I and II, those of the *Najerense* within each of the chronicle's three parts. The numbering in the *Silense* follows that of the edition of Flórez (ES, XVII [1763]), but I have distinguished between the paragraphs of the *Silense* itself and those of the interpolated chronicle of Sampiro by placing an S before the paragraph numbers of the latter, e.g. S1. References to the *Crónica* of Pelayo are to page and line numbers. In the case of the *Historia Roderici*, references are given to page and line numbers, where space permits, otherwise to the numbered paragraphs.
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Leonese historiography before 1100: the Crónica Albeldense, the Crónica de Alfonso III and the chronicle of Sampiro

Prior to the twelfth century, Spanish historiography can be equated with Leonese historiography. That is to say, the chronicles that exerted an influence upon later historical writing were written within the confines of León-Asturias, the kingdom that determined the course of the first centuries of reconquest and which kept alive the notion of 'Spain', Hispania. The historical reasons for this are obvious. Those areas of the Peninsula that escaped the effects of the Muslim invasion were limited to the mountainous regions in the north. Isolated groups of Christian survivors from the south took refuge in the north-west, in Asturias, and it was from these beginnings that the Astur-Leonese monarchy evolved. The capital was established at Oviedo in the reign of Alfonso II, then, as land was reconquered and repopulated to the south and the centre of gravity of the kingdom shifted as a consequence, the monarchy was transferred to León. The early Leonese histories record that the first Christian leader was one Pelayo, probably a former follower of the last Visigoth king, Roderic. The burden of preserving and then enlarging what remained of Christian Spain thus fell on León-Asturias.

Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz has stressed that Pelayo was a popular leader, as the early chronicles claimed, and was not elected by the nobility, according to Visigothic custom. Yet the link between the fallen monarchy of Toledo and the surviving Christian kingdom was a viable concept. The Christian rulers, together with the nobles and the ecclesiastics of their courts, soon began to nurture the idea of a kingdom founded upon the traditions of the Visigothic monarchy.
whose heirs they considered themselves to be. The persistence of this inheritance in its new form was, however, largely symbolic. Alfonso II moved his court from Pravia to Oviedo, where he attempted to give the concept some substance by reinstituting Visigothic practices and customs in the organization of church and state. His efforts were largely frustrated, but they furthered the propagation of the concept and its implications. Sánchez-Canseco concludes:

Central to the concept of the reborn Visigothic kingdom was the reunification of the Peninsula under Christian rule. Thus a notion of Hispania survived, which implied the occupied lands - since these constituted the greater part of the Peninsula - rather than the Christian north. The period of the Muslim invasion was regarded as a transitory stage in history that at some time would give way to an era of renewed rule from Toledo. The earliest Leonese historical writing contains evidence of this outlook and of these aspirations. Their clearest expression however occurs in a work composed in 883 by a cleric whom Menéndez Pidal termed the pseudo-Ezechiel 'medio cronista, medio visionario'. Drawing inspiration from Old Testament prophecies, he foretold that the Muslims would be overthrown by the Goths and Alfonso III would rule over all Spain, 'Adefonsus in omni Spania regnaturus'.

The official chronicles of the period were generally very different from the chronicle of the pseudo-Ezechiel, except where this work actually influenced them. They were sober to the point of sterility, factual and totally devoid of all literary pretensions and embellishments. They did, however, depart from this manner when they came to tell of the first events in the Reconquest,
for these suggested a partial fulfillment of the prophecy. A quantity of legendary material became mixed with memories of the original events, while apocryphal incidents were added and recorded in the chronicles. The legend of Covadonga was born, comprising the reuniting of the Christians in Asturias by Pelayo, his dealings with the treacherous Bishop Oppa and the legendary first victory of the Reconquest at Covadonga when the Moorish forces were miraculously annihilated. Narration of these incidents occupies as much space in the Crónica de Alfonso III as the account of the historically verifiable achievements of any one of the Astur-Leonese kings. The nature of the accumulated material and the attitudes that it reveals show how those first rulers Reccared and Leovigild: "Uir magnae uirtutis, filius Petri ducis ex semine Leuuigildi et Reccaredi regun progenitus". The notion of the Visigothic inheritance gave the new kingdom not only a past but also a future role, because it embraced the aim of restoring unity to the divided Peninsula. The prose text of the Crónica de Alfonso III tells how Pelayo out-argued Bishop Oppa, who tried to persuade him to surrender his forces to the Muslims and their Christian allies, because of the latter's numerical superiority. Pelayo's reply expressed conviction in the future expansion of the kingdom and in God's mercy and punishment of the wicked. He drew on the Biblical image of the grain of mustard:

Non legisti in scripturis diuinis quia "eclesia Domini ad granum sinapis" (Matthew xiii. 31), deenuitur, et inde rursus per Domini misericordia in magno erigitur? ... Spes nostra Christus est, quod per iaturnmonticulum, quem conspicis, sit Spanie salus et Gotorum gentis exercitus repatust.

Pelayo acts as the mouthpiece of the Leonese court, for his hopes and aspirations remained theirs.

The concept of the Visigothic rebirth was sustained by the Leonese historio-graphical tradition and it persisted until the twelfth century, when it still figured as a historical idea capable of interpreting the present as well as the
past. The Leonese chronicles bequeathed other attitudes that were to become integral elements of later historical writing. The basic Christian interpretation of the invasion of 711 is contained in both the Crónica de Alfonso III and the Crónica Albeldense. The writers of these works attached the blame for the actual defeat to the sons of Wittiza, who had connived with the Moors in an effort to re-establish as the ruling party their family that had been ousted by Roderic. They deserted the latter's army in the midst of the battle against the invading Muslims and went over to the enemy. Wittiza himself was seen as the source of the moral corruption that had destroyed the nation, for 'Iste quidem probrosus et moribus flagitiosus fuit ... Istat namque Spanie causa pereundi fuit'. Roderic did not emerge blameless from the disaster, as his own sins, like those of Wittiza, were also considered to have contributed to his people's downfall, for the Muslim invasion was God's punishment of the sins of the people and its rulers. Wittiza however became the traditional scapegoat of the northern Christians and the legend of his vices was still alive in the twelfth century, although by that time the account of events had merged with that given by the Hispano-Arab historians and the supporters of Wittiza in the south. The nature of the explanation remained basically the same.

One historical concept vital to twelfth-century Spanish historiography cannot be traced back to the Leonese chronicles: that of the Leonese imperium. The imperial idea grew out of the superiority of León as the oldest peninsular kingdom and as the direct heir to the Visigothic kingdom, even though it is not certain when the idea was first conceived. The terms imperium and imperator were not used before the reign of Alfonso III (r. 866-910) and thus it is only in the later chronicle of Sampedro that any trace of their use might be found. Only one reference to Ramiro II as rege magno occurs, however, and none at all to an imperium or an imperator. Before the twelfth century, these two terms seem not to have been used by the monarch himself or by his chancery.
The method and content of the Leonese chronicles are also relevant to a study of the historical writing of the twelfth century and it is necessary to consider their basic characteristics in some detail. The Crónica Alhaldense was the first chronicle - with the exception of the work of the pseudo-Ezechiel - to have been written in Christian Spain after the Muslim invasion. It is partly universal, partly national in scope. Passages are devoted to Roman, Visigothic and Arabic history, as well as to that of Asturias; a geographical survey and an enumeration of the seven wonders of the world are also included. The chronicle ends with an account of the first eighteen years of Alfonso III's reign and it is thought that the writer himself left off in 883. As the work progresses, the perspective narrows considerably, so that the last section is the most extensive in proportion to the length of the period covered. It is this apparent focal point that prompted Amador de los Ríos to suggest that the work was conceived in praise of Alfonso III and was written in his court. Sánchez Alonso considered the claim excessive, since any writer would have had at his disposal more material from recent periods than from the remote past. Nevertheless, the tendency of the early chronicles to concentrate on the deeds of the king cannot be overlooked and a close connection with the royal court can generally be assumed. The section of the Crónica Alhaldense devoted to Leonese, Navarrese and Hispano-Arabic history was continued, but in very brief form, by the copyist, the monk of Albeida, until 976.

The second chronicle of the Christian north, the Crónica de Alfonso III (or Visigóthorum) had the greater impact upon subsequent historical writing. Two versions survive, known as the rodeno and ovetense texts, as they were found at Roda (Nuesca) and Oviedo respectively. Much critical debate has centred on the possible dates and authorship of the two versions, the relationship between them and the extent of the King's role in the work that bears his name. It has generally been accepted that Alfonso III himself wrote or ordered
the compilation of the rotense text whose poor Latin was then corrected by Bishop Sebastian of Salamanca (died 886). It is the bishop's reworking that constitutes the ovetense version. More recently, Antonio Ubieto Arteta has advanced a contrary theory: the ovetense text was compiled and reworked in its entirety during the reign of García I (r. 910-913), while the rotense was put together unreworked in the reign of Ordoño II (r. 914-924), its various constituent elements having been written over a very long period dating back to the first years of the Reconquest. The original theory, however, has been convincingly upheld by Sánchez-Albornoz and there seems little evidence in support of Ubieto's revision when the differences between the two versions all indicate that the ovetense is a reworking, a more literary and grammatically correct version of the rotense. The Crónica de Alfonso III is purely national in scope and is restricted to the history of the Visigothic period and of Asturias from the reign of Wamba to Ordoño I (672-866). Francisco Rico, however, has pointed out that the 'chronicle' formed part of a much larger compilation and was really 'un simule apéndice' that continued the Historia Gothorum of Isidore, the Crónica bizantina-árabe of 741 and other works. Seen from this perspective, the Crónica de Alfonso III should be regarded not as a purely national work, but as part of a universal compendium with features akin to the Crónica Alбедense and certain later compositions. The Crónica de Alfonso III was continued in the late tenth or early eleventh century by Sampiro, the royal notary of Vermudo II, mayor domo of Alfonso V and finally Bishop of Astorga (1020-1040). The chronicle embraces the period from the reign of Alfonso III (866-910) to the accession of Alfonso V in 999. It survives not as a separate work, but as part of the twelfth-century compilation of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and as an interpolation in the Historia Silense. The latter has been shown to preserve Sampiro's text in its original form, while in Pelayo's hands it suffered various interpolations and falsifications.
Sampiro's chronicle is the last surviving piece of historical writing from northern Spain before the twelfth century. The course of Sampiro's own career illustrates just how close the writers of the early chronicles could be to the king and his court.

The salient characteristic of the Leonese chronicles was their focal point: the figure of the king, and it was this centre of interest which determined their orderly organisation of material, reign by reign. All three were probably official works, as Sampiro's definitely was. The Crónica Albeldense and the Crónica de Alfonso III acted as vehicles for the notion that the Astur-Leonese monarchy was the natural heir to the Visigothic kingdom. Their basic subject-matter consisted of accounts of each king's coming to power, of his achievements in battle and sometimes of his religious works. Reference to other historical protagonists is conspicuously absent, except if they came into conflict with the king; the same is true of incidents that did not involve him directly. All three chronicles were basically factual and their linear narrative ensured a strict chronological sequence, that was supplemented by references to the date and the manner of each king's death and to the length of his reign. The Crónica de Alfonso III concludes its account of the reign of Fafila, thus: 'Quodam occasione leuitatis ab urso interfectus est anno regni sui secundo, era DCCLXXVII' (Silenese version). Sampiro's account of Fruela II's reign begins and ends thus: 'Era DCCLXII Ordonio defuncto, Froylanus frater eius successit in regno ... Breuiter vitam finuit, et morbo proprio discessit. Regnuit anno uno, mensibus duobus' (Silenese version).

The greater proportion of material in the account of each reign was made up of two distinct elements, one dealing with the king's suppression of internal threats and rebellions, the other with his campaigns against the Muslims. Sampiro's chronicle devotes considerably more space to the former than does the Crónica de Alfonso III. The interweaving of these two narrative threads...
reflects the basic historical situation and the two major preoccupations of the Astur-Leonese kings. The central authority of the kingdom was particularly weak and it was a perennial feature of its history that each monarch had to restore order within the confines of his own territory before he could embark on a concerted campaign against the Moors. The monarchy was generally undermined by the power of the aristocracy which not infrequently devised or supported plots against the king. Sampiro's account of the reign of Alfonso III is a conspicuous example, for it includes details of the rebellion of one Froila - also mentioned in the Crónica Albeldense - and of three of the King's brothers, Froilán, Vermudo and Odoario. León also suffered the rebellions of Count Fernán González in the reigns of Ramiro II and Ordoño III and it was devastated by the forces of al-Mansur in the time of Vermudo II. It was to undergo further stress subsequently, upon the emergence of Navarre and Aragon. The Reconquista aspirations were nurtured mainly by the king, his followers and by the church, while the nobility exerted a will of its own that was not likely to further the national cause.

The chronicle narrative comprised factual summaries of what happened, rather than accounts and explanations of individual events, and battle scenes were almost totally absent. This resulted quite often in catalogues of victories and lists of towns and cities recaptured and repopulated. Since the chronicles were conceived as records of achievement, defeats tended to be omitted, except on those occasions when the king himself was killed.

The Crónica de Alfonso III, particularly in its overture version, summarised in addition to each monarch's victories, his religious activities, which consisted mainly of the building and patronage of monasteries and churches. It listed at length Alfonso II's foundations in Oviedo, which included the cathedral of San Salvador and the churches of Santa María, San Tyrso and San Julián. The foundation by Ramiro I of another church in Oviedo in honour of the Virgin
Mary was also mentioned and its fine structure described at length. Sampiro provided very little information of this nature, although he did refer to the foundations of Ramiro II, which included San Salvador de León.

Little attempt was made in any of these chronicles to assess character, although the Crónica de Alfonso III attributed stylised qualities to each king at the beginning of the account of his reign. Thus it is said of Fgica that 'Iste quidem sapiens et patiens fuit', of Fruela I 'Hic uir mente acerrimus fuit' and of Ordoño I 'Hic uir modestus et patiens fuit'. Sampiro tended to be similarly brief, for he restricted himself to interpolating judgements of the kind: 'vt erat uir hellicosus' or 'ut erat prudentis et fortis', referring to Ordoño II and Ramiro II respectively. However, he expanded his assessment of Vermudo II whom he recognised as an upholder of justice: 'Vir satis prudentis; leges a Varhano prirpripe conditas firmavit; canones aperire iussit; dilexit misericordiam et iudicium; reprobare malum studuit et eligere bonum'. It is tempting to see in the figure of Vermudo II the first of many reges justicieros in Spanish literature.

The Crónica de Alfonso III differs from the chronicle of Sampiro by including legendary and semi-legendary material. Extensive passages tell of Pelayo's negotiations with Bishop Oppa, the battle of Covadonga and the miraculous destruction of the Moorish forces. The death of Alfonso I is mentioned in the usual factual manner, but the writer cannot refrain from describing a miracle, when angels were heard singing: 'Ecce aquamodo tollitur iustus ...'. Sampiro's chronicle shows an intensification of the dry factual manner adopted elsewhere by the writers of the earlier work.

Which features of the Leonese chronicles persisted in the historical writings of the twelfth century? Clearly the early works were to be a dependable source for any historian wishing to go back to the first days of the Reconquest. They were also the only chronicles whose method was widely known.
and reliable. They were to be used as sources in two ways. The later historian could either incorporate required passages in his own compilation, recopying them more or less word for word, or he could take what information he required and rework it in his own style to suit his own purpose. The historical preconceptions of the chroniclers also persisted and their basic ideas - the Visigothic rebirth and the re-establishment of a united Hispania - were to be sustained and developed by their successors.

By the mid-eleventh century, the concept of the Leonese imperium had been linked to that of the Visigothic inheritance and it expressed the superior position of León in the hierarchy of peninsular regna. The power and authority of the medieval ruler was not to diminish during the period separating the chronicle of Sampiro from the first twelfth-century history; indeed, it was to increase in both real and symbolic terms. His position in León was to be all the more exalted, for his status was to change definitively from rex to imperator. Thus the focal point of historical writing, at least in León, was to remain the figure of the king and the principal subject-matter his deeds and achievements.

The historical situation in the Peninsula was to undergo many changes before the twelfth century. Other Christian kingdoms, Navarre, Aragon and Castile, were emerging on to the political map and growing in strength, while León suffered a marked decline. The latter's supremacy became purely symbolic and lost all real meaning in terms of military presence, during a period of weak and ineffectual monarchs, Ramiro III, Alfonso V, Vermudo II and Vermudo III. Indeed the imperial capital itself was captured by Sancho el Mayor of Navarre in 1034 from the last of the Astur-Leonese kings, Vermudo III. There was now a change of dynasty, yet León succeeded in retaining her position in the hierarchy and was to remain the prime mover in the Reconquest. Fernando I, son of Sancho of Navarre, became King of Castile and subsequently ruler over a united kingdom of Castile, León and Galicia. The Leonese imperium was to regain its political
and military effectiveness, but the complicated relations between the penin-
slular kingdoms were to make the task of reconquering the occupied lands all
the more difficult. Each Leonese ruler would have to secure his borders
against Christian enemies from without, as well as against dissident elements
from within, before mounting a concerted attack on the Moors. The activities
of the king in battle would continue to fall into two distinct spheres: against
rival Christian kingdoms in the north and against the traditional enemy in
al-Andalus. The persistence of some basic features of the historical situation,
together with the survival of established political ideas and aspirations, from
the ninth to the twelfth century resulted in the substance of Astur-Leonese his-
toriography being embedded in the historical writing of the later period. The
presentation of events, however, was to alter radically.

The heroic age and its literature

It seems likely that Spain's heroic age—not merely in the sense of an age
whose events later inspired heroic poetry, but in the full sense of an age when
poems arose from near-contemporary events—began in tenth-century Castile.
At that time, Castile was ruled by the autonomous counts who had managed to free
themselves and their land from Leonese domination. Their deeds and those of
other important noblemen inspired the composition of vernacular epics that have
since been lost, though traces of them (perhaps in late versions) survive in
the chronicles. Earlier periods, as far back as the Moorish conquest, have al-
so been considered possible heroic ages and it has been claimed that these pro-
duced a heroic literature. Central to the theory of neotradicionalismo of
Renéndez Pidal was the idea that Spain's epic poetry stretched back to the year
711 and even earlier and included poems based on such events as the rape of Count
Julian's daughter, the Count's revenge and Roderic's defeat; and the battle of
Covadonga. Evidence for these poems and for those inspired by Charlemagne's
campaign in Spain in the late eighth century is however slight. The amount of Spain's heroic literature to survive is alarmingly small, indeed no poem set in the tenth century has been preserved in its original form. The Poema de Fernán González (c.1250) is in the learned cuaderna via metre, but it was based on an earlier heroic poem, now lost. It tells of the battles against the Moors and the Navarrese, and of the political conflict with León, of Fernán González who was Count of Castile from 932 to 970. Traces of the epic itself, the cantar of Fernán González, exist in the Crónica de 1344, but its plot is summarised by the twelfth-century Latin Crónica Najerense. Other poems assumed to have been composed during the same period as the Cantar de Fernán González include the Siete Infantes de Lara, the Condesa traidora and the Romanza del Infant García. Evidence of these poems survives in the Crónica Najerense, the thirteenth-century Latin chronicles, the later vernacular chronicles, or the ballads. The Siete Infantes de Lara is not summarised by the Crónica Najerense, but its existence is well attested by Menéndez Pidal's reconstruction of a late version, which he based on the pronunciations in the Crónica de 1344 and an interpolation into the Tercera crónica general.

The dating of the individual epics poses problems, for no trace of them survives prior to the mid-twelfth century. The neo-traditionalist theory placed them in some sort of chronological order according to the date of the events that they narrated and to the extent of their departure from historical fact. However, the belief in the historical veracity of the Spanish epic that was maintained for so long is no longer tenable and this method of dating them is not reliable. The epic of Bernardo del Carpio, for example, is set in Carolingian times, but it was not composed until at least the late twelfth century, for it first appears in Lucas el Tudense's Chronicon mundi in 1236. It can, however, be assumed, on the evidence of the Siete Infantes de Lara, that epic poems were being composed by about the year 1000. The events of the poem
are set against a political background of interrelation between Christians and Muslims that operated only during the last decades of the tenth century. The events themselves are fictitious and the story contains much dramatic incident and numerous folk-motifs, but the underlying situation remains plausible. A poet composing at a date much later than the year 1000 would not have been able to recreate that situation. Thus, it is possible to posit a tradition of vernacular epic flourishing in Castile during the eleventh century. It is most probable that this poetry was orally composed and certainly orally diffused, as no trace of it has survived from the period, but it is from this tradition that the Cantar de Mio Cid must be considered to have evolved.

The subject-matter of these first epics is quite foreign to that of the Leonese chronicles, for they tell of episodes in Castile’s attempt to break away from León and of feuds between and within the noble families. Sampiro mentions Fernán González’s rebellions against Ramiro III and Ordoño III, but generally the literatures of León and Castile were mutually exclusive. The division is all the more marked, for Castile did not possess any substantial historical records until the mid-twelfth century, while León had no vernacular epic tradition. Yet some interaction could have taken place by the late eleventh century, for by then the political destinies of León and Castile had again been brought closer together. Sancho el Mayor of Navarre (r. 1000-1032) became ruler of Castile in 1017, when he married the daughter of the last independent count, Sancho García, while in 1030 he went to war against Vermudo II of León, taking the imperial capital in 1034. His son Fernando was made King of Castile on his father’s death and in 1037 he succeeded in recapturing León that for a time had reverted to the last Astur-Leonese monarch, Vermudo III. The old political system that had been founded upon Leonese supremacy had undergone many shocks, but Fernando assumed the role of a Leonese
king-emperor. After his death, the kingdoms were again divided, but only to be reunited when Alfonso VI of León (r. 1065-1109) recovered his own kingdom and came to power in the Castile of his assassinated brother Sancho II in 1072.

León and Castile were united during the period 1035-1157 by their common purpose which sought to advance the cause of Reconquest. Major advances were made in the recovery and repopulation of the occupied lands, although progress was frequently halted and even reversed by various interruptions and setbacks. The dispute between Sancho II and Alfonso VI lasted from 1065 until 1072 and both monarchs disrupted their father's division of the kingdom by seizing Galicia from their brother García. The rival Christian kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre also distracted the attention of León-Castile, consuming her expansionist energies, although both suffered defeat. Fernando I overcame his brother García of Navarre at Atapuerca in 1054, while Sancho II defeated Ramiro I of Aragon in 1053. Until 1134, Castile was the object of the aggressive policies of Alfonso I of Aragon, whose career was terminated by his defeat and death in battle against the Almoravids at Fraga. In spite of these distractions and hindrances, the Reconquest advanced. Fernando I seized lands and settlements from the Muslim kings of Badajoz, Saragossa and Toledo and advanced into territory that is now part of Portugal, capturing Lamego, Viseo, Coimbra and Coimbra. Alfonso VI advanced the borders of Christian Spain yet further and at such a pace that his own success indirectly occasioned his subsequent failure. Toledo fell in 1085, but the Hispano-Muslim kings, glimpeing imminent annihilation, summoned to their assistance the forces of the Almoravids from North Africa. Alfonso VI never succeeded in coming to terms with the tactics of this fresh wave of invaders and his hitherto glorious career ended with a series of disasters following his initial defeat at Sarapajas in 1096. Alfonso VII's reign was distinguished by successful campaigns waged
by himself and by his generals from Toledo and he crowned his achievement in 1147 with the capture of Almería, the Moorish fortress and a stronghold of pirates who operated in the Mediterranean.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were periods of tremendous activity and territorial expansion in the Peninsula, marked by conspicuous successes and sudden reversals. Inevitably, such an outburst of energy in war and in politics produced a literary reaction as an expression of the aspirations and feeling concomitant with that energy. The line of Leonese chronicles had withered during the period of inactivity and failure, but by the year 1100 vernacular epic had flowered and was flourishing, probably in an oral tradition, in Castile. The political approximation of León and Castile would have facilitated an interaction of the literary traditions of the two kingdoms, but the extent of any interpenetration between the heroic spirit of Castile and the neo-Visigothic outlook of León is debatable.

The literature of the twelfth century attests some interaction, but it is clear that both kingdoms preserved their separate identities and their different forms of cultural expression. Castile was now part of the imperium, but the epic tradition which was to some extent anti-Leonese - to judge from the Cantar de mio Cid - prospered in that region and drew its inspiration from there. Poems continued to be sung about the heroic figures of the counts, but the political reintegration with León had dried up that source of epic material and probably it was not until the exile and the rapid rise to fame of Rodrigo Díaz that a new hero arose. The greater part of historical writing can be traced back to León, where biographies were composed or projected of the three king-emperors in celebration of their achievements. These biographies, together with the chronicle-biography of the Cid, reveal that a fundamental change had taken place in Hispano-Latin historiography, for the compilation of chronicles had given way to the writing of histories. Not all
the features and attitudes of the chronicles were lost; some were preserved, but recast. León was now a kingdom and imperium reinvigorated after the disasters suffered under the last Astur-Leonese monarchs. The deeds of the king-emperors demanded this new form of historiographical expression, but they were not the heroic material that produced vernacular epic. The weight of the neo-Visigothic inheritance seems to have prevented the birth of heroic poetry in León and the celebration in the vernacular of the events of the Reconquest. These were recorded in the traditional genre of the imperium in Latin histories. Alfonso VI was to be remembered in heroic poetry as the lord who misguidededly exiles his most faithful vassal and his finest general, not as the conqueror of Toledo. Yet the Latin biographies do bear distinct similarities to epic. They treat the same kind of material: the great deeds of kings and leading men, the expansion of the kingdom and the repopulation of occupied lands, the revival of a dead past and the fulfilment of national aspiration. The figure of the monarch is the focal point, just as in the chronicles, but his character and his deeds are projected beyond the confines of a mere record of historical incident. The significance of his achievement is not restricted to immediate considerations of territorial conquest and tactical advantage, for the scope of each biography is wide enough to link his deeds to aspirations and historical concepts beyond those of his own age.

It is thus possible to examine the twelfth-century histories side by side with epic, provided the basic differences of the two genres are recognised. This one can be seen against the background of the Reconquest, its aims and ideals as well as its actual events, the other in the context of the heroic age of Castile and of the career of Rodrigo Díaz. Both heroic biography and epic are to be considered in this thesis in the light of their celebratory function. Evidence also exists of an interaction between the attitudes of the Leonese historians and the poet of the Cantar de Mío Cid, for the latter
shares their romano-ecclesiastical outlook in his representation of the relationship between the Cid and Alfonso VI and in his concern with ideas of kingship and justice. He also displays an aspiration for the unity of the kingdom under the rule of the king, a reflection of the aim of the ninth-century chroniclers that was handed on to the historians of the twelfth.

If a sentiment born of great achievement, but distinct from the heroic spirit that inspired the Castilian epic, provided the creative impulse for the Leonese biographies, it had also to provide the means of writing them. The reigns of Fernando I and Alfonso VI which witnessed the accomplishment of such feats as the recapture of Toledo were also crucial in that they furnished those means. The recovery of the former Visigothic capital woke feelings of national pride and gave substance to the desire for national unity, but it also brought about the rediscovery of Latin works that could aid scholars in the expression of those feelings. Moreover, the religious inclinations of Alfonso VI and of his father, manifest in the re-establishment of episcopal sees and monastic foundations and donations, contributed to the revival of learning. Especially significant in this rebirth were the Cluniacs, the order particularly favoured by Alfonso and his French wife, Constanza de Chalon. Many of those appointed to bishoprics and other high offices were Cluniacs, while monasteries, such as Sahagún, Santo Domingo de Silos and Santa María de Nájera were given to the order. These became vital centres of education and study, with excellent libraries. The mainly French ecclesiastics brought with them a command of Latin that was to raise Spanish letters further from the trough of mediocrity into which they had sunk during the eleventh century. Works of Latin literature were read once again, such as the histories of Sallust, Einhard’s Vita Karoli Majestatis and probably some Roman poetry. The revival of learning made possible the
composition of the heroic biographies, which would express and perpetuate the spirit of Reconquest.\textsuperscript{44} The events of the late eleventh and of the twelfth century were thus celebrated both in Latin and in the vernacular, in historical writings and in epic, both of which gained impetus and stimulus from outside and within.

The heroic works of the twelfth century have been grouped wherever possible according to the central figure to whose life and deeds they are devoted. Three works tell of Rodrigo Díaz (c.1040-1099), known as the Cid, of which two date from his lifetime or from the first half of the twelfth century, while the other, the vernacular epic, the \textit{Cantar de Mio Cid}, is of unknown date. The Latin poem, the \textit{Carmen Cammi
doctoris}, is basically a panegyric and was probably composed quite some time before the death of the Cid. One hundred and twenty-nine lines of verse are extant, while ten or eleven four-line stanzas have been erased from the manuscript. The second text, the \textit{Historia Roderici}, is in part a biography, since it relates the life of a single historical figure, but it retains the method and the language of a chronicle. It is exceptional in that its subject is a non-royal personage. Neither of these works comes within the categories of heroic literature so far discussed, for both fall outside the tradition of Leonesse historical writing and outside Castilian heroic poetry. Their importance, however, is obvious, since they tell of the most significant heroic figure of the period, who grew from being an historical Castilian nobleman first into a Castilian hero and finally into a national one. In addition, they share characteristics and features with the Latin works composed in León-Castile in the twelfth century. The \textit{Cantar de Mio Cid} renews the tradition of heroic poetry that had begun with the epics about the autonomous counts. A precise date for the poem's composition will not be necessary to this study, which wishes to presuppose simply an unbroken line of heroic poetry linking the CMC to those
earlier epics. The tradition cannot have suffered any sort of decline in
the course of the twelfth century, since the CMC is a masterpiece, evidently
the product of many years' continuous evolution of the epic tradition. A
comparison with the HR illustrates to what extent the poet departed from
historical events, adapting and compressing them to suit his own purpose.
It also reveals that the vernacular poet shared some of the implicit atti-
tudes of the contemporary historians on justice and on the duty of the king.

Two works are concerned with Alfonso VI (r.1065-1109), but neither con-
sists solely of an account of his reign. The first twelfth-century Leonese
history, the so-called Historia Silense, was intended to celebrate his life
and deeds, but the relevant sections were never written. The anonymous
author traced the King's ancestry from the time of the Moorish invasion to
the death of his father, Fernando I, thus completing only what was presumably
envisaged as a prologue. The account of Fernando's reign is the most sub-
stantial section of the work. The historian relied on the Leonese chronicles
as sources, but he utilised them selectively, reworking only material relevant
to his subject. The same chronicles and a variety of Visigothic works were
also recopied, but with interpolations, by Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo, who put
together a vast historical compendium known as the Liber chronicorum. He
completed the compilation with a short account of events from the accession
of Vermudo II until the death of Alfonso VI (984-1109). This personal con-
tribution is generally known as the Crónica del obispo don Pelayo. The
Bishop's outlook, his motives and his methods are in marked contrast to those
of the writers of the heroic biographies, as well as to those of the Leonese
chroniclers whose works he utilised. Only the final part of the Crónica, the
section devoted to Alfonso VI, can be considered in any way celebratory, and
the absence of the distinctive features of the heroic biography from the rest
of the compilation constitutes the major difference between the Historia Silense
and the Liber chronicorum. Pelayo's status as a chronicler is called funda-
damentally into question by the numerous falsifications that he devised in
rewriting existing material for purposes of ecclesiastical propaganda.

Two works have survived devoted to the praise of Alfonso VII (r. 1126-
1157), but they are complementary parts of a single undertaking. The
The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris is a heroic biography and gives an account
of the King-Emperor's reign up to 1146, covering the conflict with Aragon,
internal disputes and the Reconquest. The Poema de Almería is a Latin epic
composed in celebration of the massing of the troops from various peninsular
kingdoms and arrival of Alfonso VII's allies before the siege of Almería in
1147. This action was the King-Emperor's greatest achievement. The poem
consists of 385 Leonine hexameters, but it is incomplete, breaking off before
the account of the siege itself begins. The two works will be considered
separately, as they belong to two distinct genres and demonstrate different
aspects of the celebratory mode.

The final work that will be considered, the Crónica Najerense, is not a
heroic biography, but its inclusion can be justified on various counts. Like
Pelayo's Liber chronicorum, it affords a contrast with the celebratory works,
while illustrating the universalising tendency of medieval historiography.
The Najerense chronicler selected material from the Leonese chronicles and from
other sources and arranged the desired passages chronologically. His work
thus stands in close relation to the universal Crónica Albeldense and to the
compilation to which the Crónica de Alfonso III forms the conclusion. It opens
with a summary of historical information, stretching from the Creation, via
Roman history, to the close of the Visigothic period, and it ends with an
account of the reign of Alfonso VI. The Najerense's sources, however, are not
limited to Latin historical writings, for it also summarises legends whose out-
lines correspond to the plots of major Castilian epics, but not of the Cantar
de Mio Cid. The use of this material indicates that the work was composed not in León but in Castile, whose early history is the background to the legends. The chronicle also includes a prosification of a Latin epic on the death of Sancho II. Thus the chronicler's method not only looks back to that of the first Leonese chroniclers, but also foreshadows that of the thirteenth-century Castilian chroniclers. The inclusion of such a wide variety of material enables the Najerense to be seen as a microcosm of the historical writing and possibly of the heroic poetry composed between the ninth century and the twelfth. It also offers an opportunity to determine when Spain's heroic age began, since the nature of the various constituent elements can be compared and contrasted.

Approach to the historiography of the twelfth century

Criticism has concentrated hitherto on the possible dates and places of composition of the Latin histories and on the extent of their historical accuracy. Yet amid the discussion of these problems, the question of how the works were conceived and composed has been overlooked. The traditional approach would be the correct one, if the historians themselves had desired historical accuracy above all else, but they did not. The Leonese chroniclers had been generally faithful to the historical facts, narrating what happened without enhancing its significance and they departed from a strict record only — it is presumed — by omitting events too painful for their patrons' memories. In these works, a perspective can be detected that places the king at the centre of events, controlling the fate of his kingdom. This perspective is not a narrow one and the narrative is relatively objective. The attitude of the writers of the heroic biographies is very different, for though they retain the king as the focal point, they seek to project a particular view of their chosen subject that will lift him out of the temporal and geographical contingencies of deeds and events.
Historical accuracy becomes subordinate to point of view, a fact which justifies examining how the histories were composed. It is necessary to determine each writer's conception of his heroic subject and the means by which he endeavoured to project it.

One approach to historical writing wherein point of view predominates over historical precision has been outlined by R.W. Southern. He draws a distinction between the analytical view of history held by modern historians and that held by the majority of classical and medieval writers. The latter did not aim to produce an objective account of an event or situation, but to present what they saw as its reality. They adopted a particular perspective on events in order to heighten this conception of reality and they altered historical fact when necessary to bring it within that perspective. Southern considers this liberty in the context of classical historiography: 'historical truth did not exclude a generous freedom to select, arrange and fill out events to produce dramatic and intellectually satisfying results' . A literary awareness that sought to create a complete work of art was combined with the desire to give a personal interpretation of history. Writers such as Sallust and Livy display this basic attitude and their writings contain numerous fictitious elements: imaginary dialogues and speeches and documents of their own composition.

Southern's most illuminating example of historical perspectivism is Einhard's account of the events of Roncesvaux in the Vita Karoli Magni. If the defeat of Charlemagne's rearguard assumed legendary proportions only in literature, it was still received as a stunning blow by the Franks. Significantly it is the only defeat that Einhard mentions, probably because it was too prominent in peoples' memories for its omission to escape notice. Nevertheless, he plays down the event's impact, emphasising the perfidy of the Gascons, who have been substituted for the Basques. No one event was to be
allowed to tarnish the glory of Charlemagne's career. Einhard chooses his words carefully:

Saltuque Pyrinei superato, omnibus quae adierat oppidis atque castellis in deditionem acceptis, salvo et incolomi exercitu revertitur; praeter quod in ipso Pyrinei iugo Wasconiam perfidiam parumper in redeundo contigit experiri.⁴⁷

The destruction of the rearguard and the end of an abortive campaign are thus transformed into a victorious return marred only by an act of treachery.⁴⁸

Sallust and Suetonius had perhaps the most marked influence on the historical writing of the Middle Ages. Einhard owed a considerable debt to Suetonius in both style and technique of historical portraiture. Among the twelfth-century Spanish historians, the Silense writer uses Einhard and Sallust as models, adapting their language to his own needs and reflecting features of their technique to heighten his own view of history. He displays a certain degree of freedom in the treatment of events, omitting unflattering or trivial incidents, although his reliance on the Leonese chronicles is too great to permit a rearrangement of basic situations. The other Spanish historians adopt a perspective in the heroic biographies, which falsifies historical fact at times in order to sustain their conception of the central character.

Specifically literary techniques are also used in the presentation of events and characters and it is upon these that this thesis concentrates. An exhaustive examination of historical perspectivism would enter very much into the field of historical enquiry and much work remains to be done on events in eleventh and twelfth-century Spain. An idea of the objective situation would have to be conceived, as far as that were possible, in order to determine the degree of a writer's perspective. In this study, the literary features of the heroic biographies and of other historical writings are examined with reference to form, theme and language. Historical perspectivism is not ignored and conspicuous instances of the glossing of unfavourable
incidents are mentioned when they have a bearing on the portrayal of
character.

Form and theme are closely related and it is not possible to study the
form of the heroic biographies as a group. The structure of each work, with
the possible exception of the Historia Roderici, departs from a strict chrono-
logical narrative, as exemplified by the Leonese chronicles, with their bio-
graphical details at the beginning and end of each reign. The structure re-
flects the point of view of the author and thus each has individual features.
The Silense writer, for example, selects material from the Leonese chronicles
consistent with his perspective on past events, and gaps occur in the chrono-
logy as a result. The form of a work is explained by reference to the
writer's celebratory intention and to the configuration of themes that he em-
loys to interpret the events narrated. Critical neglect of thematic aspects
accounts for the confusion of those who have found the form of certain works
defective. Generally, the heroic biographies are flawed only as records of
historical fact, not as expressions of a personal view of an historical figure.
An examination of the themes of the Silense in relation to its structure cor-
rects the mistake of regarding it as if it were a chronicle and of comparing
it directly with Pelayo's Liber chronicorum.

The themes of Spanish historiography—except that of the Visigothic re-
birth—are common to writings in the rest of medieval Western Europe.
Christian thought derived its basic historical concepts at the time of the
Church Fathers from those of the Hebrews, as they are contained in the story of
the Israelites in the Old Testament. The Hebrew view of history was linear,
as distinct from the Graeco-Roman one that was cyclical, for the writers looked
forward to a single moment in time: the coming of the Messiah, and all the
events were held to point in that direction. Their view was also providential,
for it saw God as intervening beneficially in man's affairs through selected
individuals or nations whose actions fulfilled and furthered his plan for all mankind. The process was a reciprocal one, for just as the success of the chosen individual and his people corresponded to the will of God, so they were accorded victory in battle and their cause prospered. The providential view of history was adopted by the early Christian writers and it persisted in basically the same form until the Renaissance. The process of writing history was seen not just as a recording of the past, but as the revelation of God's intentions.

Christian historiography, as it had evolved by the twelfth century, displayed two fundamental but paradoxical characteristics, in that it tended to be both universal and particular. One feature derived from the nature of Christianity itself, the other from Hebrew origin of one of its basic concepts. Histories were universal because Christianity was a religion for all peoples and every event, whenever or wherever it occurred, was intended for the good of all. They were particular because 'each [historian] believed his nation to be God's ultimate concern'. This paradox is manifested in the narrowing of perspective from the global to the national and even to the local in some histories conceived as universal. The tendency is illustrated in Spanish historiography by the Crónica Albeldense and by the Crónica Nájerense, which becomes localised to the extent of including details of monastic history relating to Santa María de Nájera itself. Christian historians, however, did not regard their nations as particular in quite the same manner as the Hebrew writers. Sometimes in medieval historiography an entire people figures as a chosen instrument, but not always. A nation's victories were generally regarded as divinely ordained, but they were achieved specifically through its leader who was the chosen instrument, rather than by the nation as a whole. This focus on the figure of the king or emperor results partly from the structure of medieval society that had seen the ruler raised up and ever gaining
power, real or attributed, since the anointing of Charlemagne. Medieval historians often moved within the orbit of the royal court and tended to share its aims and attitudes. Christianity tended to avoid singling out individual nations because of any distinctive qualities that they might have been thought to possess. To be chosen by God was not considered a due reward, but an act of grace, that entailed working for the good of all. The isolation of the medieval ruler who is a chosen vessel from those whom he governs and leads is expressed in the remark of Alfonso VII's generals to the King-Emperor: 'nullus nostrum est fortunatus a Deo sicut tu'.

A second concept of Christian historiography, the idea that national or personal disaster was a form of temporal punishment for sin, was also derived from the Hebrew tradition. It served a double function, depending upon whether it stood in contrast to the theme of the chosen individual or was related to it. Since failure was as much a part of the divine plan as success, death and defeat had to be explained in a manner consistent with the providential view. The misfortunes of enemies were easily explained as the just punishment for their sins and for their implicit obstruction of God's will and of the implementation of the divine plan. The concept also accounted for the reversals suffered by God's own instruments. Medieval writers, following the Hebrew view, interpret these disasters as an expression of God's anger at the misdeeds of their rulers and generals. Misfortunes that overtook the whole nation are attributed to the sins of the ruler, who may then have contaminated by his bad example his court, army and subjects.

The concept of the chosen individual rarely occurred in the Leonese chronicles, but the second theme, that of temporal punishment for sin, was a commonplace. The first writers interpreted the Muslim invasion of 711 as divine retribution for the iniquities of Wittiza and for the corruption of the Visigothic court and army. Sampiro attributed al-Mansur's destruction of León
and Compostela in the late tenth century to the sins of the people. In a different context, the compilers of the twelfth-century Historia Compostelana explained those same misfortunes as a divine punishment for the debauched and secular lives of the tenth-century bishops of Compostela. The writer of the Silense adopted this second concept and developed it in the early part of his work, exploring the nature of punishments, both spiritual and temporal, that God inflicted on sinful and heretical rulers. He linked these examples to the traditional Leonese interpretation of the disaster of 711. The second major theme of the Silense, the rebirth of the Visigothic monarchy, is in fact an exemplification of the providential view of history, for the re-establishment of the Christian kingdom was regarded as divinely ordained. Specific references to the workings of providence in the fortunes of the Astur-Leonese monarchy are rare, but the basic notion that the growth and success of the kingdom are a partial realisation of the divine plan is everywhere implicit. The work contains little indication of religious conflict and the Christians are not represented as God's instruments in a war against the Moors, the defenders of Islam. The first traditional notion, that of the individual chosen by God, appears at intervals, for certain generals figure as the means of exacting divine punishment on heretics, but the stress is very much upon the latter's misfortunes, the direct consequence of their own iniquities. The career of Alfonso VI is furthered by God's goodwill, which ensures his escape from Toledo and the recovery of his lost crown. Nevertheless, only one reference to Alfonso VI as a chosen individual occurs within the limited scope of the Silense.

A significant change in the military situation and consequently in historical outlook took place during the decades separating the composition of the Historia Silense and that of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. Alfonso VI's fame was tarnished after 1086 by successive defeats at the hands of the
Almoravids and the reign of Urraca had been further darkened by the hostile attitude of her husband Alfonso I, el Batallador, of Aragon. The reign of Alfonso VII, however, saw a renewal of strength in León and Castile and when all internal dissension had been quelled and the Aragonese defeated at Fraga by the Almoravids, the King-Emperor was able to concentrate his attention on the war of Reconquest. This culminated in the capture of Almería. The CAI author's outlook reflects the self-confidence of this successful period—Menéndez Pidal referred to its 'sentimiento de jactancia y vanagloria' and his development of the theme of the chosen individual is characteristic of his outlook. The two themes of medieval historiography find a full exposition in the CAI, for the events of the reign from 1126 to 1147 are interpreted throughout in the light of these concepts. Indirectly, the inhabitants of León and Castile are favoured by God, because their leader is an instrument of the divine will, but there is no reference to the kingdom as a whole fighting the Lord's battles.

A religious spirit prevails in the Poema de Almería, which constitutes the third part of the CAI. The expedition to Almería is represented as a crusade: the Moors are the enemies of God, the Spaniards and their allies, soldiers of Christ. Yet the influence of the spirit of the Church militant does not suffice to develop the idea of a nation acting as God's instrument into a unifying theme, comparable with the concept of the chosen individual running through the history. The spirit of the Poema, Gibbs suggests, is in fact closest to that of the Old French chansons de geste.

The two basic themes of medieval historiography occur in Spanish writings of the twelfth century, but only one of them to any extent in the chronicles. Prior to the Silense, this latter idea, that of temporal punishment, was present simply as an aside, a reflex explanation of the defeat, either of an enemy or of the Astur-Leonese themselves. The notion is developed only in the account
of the decline and destruction of the Visigoths, the fundamental event of medieval Spanish history. The more salutary aspect of God's mercy is glimpsed in Pelayo's dialogue with Bishop Oppa, but the notion of a chosen individual is not introduced. In the Silense and the CAI, however, both themes are consciously elaborated and they form a unifying thread linking sequences of events. They are used in the former to interpret a long period of history, the gradual revival of a Spanish kingdom centred on Toledo, which began with Covadonga and ended with Alfonso VI's capture of the former capital itself. In the CAI, the ideas interpret the rise to power of the King-Emperor, Alfonso VII, and the contrasting decline of the Aragonese and the death of Alfonso I. The point of view of both writers is implicit in the use of the two themes, while their impact is increased by the narrative's departure from a strict chronology. This is especially noticeable in the Silense, which relies on the Leonese chronicles for its information for the period from 711 to the death of Vermudo II in 999, but does not preserve the linear arrangement of material.

The use of language in the heroic biographies is conspicuous and contrasts with the lack of pretension of the Leonese chroniclers. These latter cultivated a style that was factual and devoid of poetic overtones, but which was exactly suited to the recording of historical events. Their only adornments were occasional Biblical phrases and epithets applied to historical personages, except that in the Crónica de Alfonso III a more colourful language is used in the description of the legendary events of Covadonga. In a historical work conceived as celebratory, an awareness of language and style plays a more significant role and predominates over the desire to give a precise and comprehensive account. The amount of historical information in the Silense, for example, is low in comparison with its sources, but this is compensated for by the writer's amplification of the facts and events that he chooses to narrate. The success
of a heroic biography depends less on historical accuracy than on skill in expanding material convincingly and without over-inflation. Stylistic and rhetorical resources, together with a suitable vocabulary, are employed to maintain the narrative at a level worthy of the historical personage celebrated. The themes and principal protagonists of the Silense and the CAI are conceived on a large scale and the language is fittingly ornate. The Historia Roderici generally retains the form of expression of a chronicle, but the author shows an outward consciousness of language similar to that of the other writers.

The panegyrical Carmen Campidocitoris typifies the attitude to language of a writer or poet of a celebratory work. This attitude is highlighted by the various topics of modesty, taedium, brevitás and inexpressibility, all of which form part of the stock of topoi that Curtius showed to have been inherited by the Middle Ages from classical literature. These features are highly stylised and, as Curtius points out, the first two topoi were employed to dispose the writer's readers or listeners to receive him favourably. They also evince a desire to use a form of expression fitting the scale of the deeds and events narrated. The fourth stanza of the CC consists of the topoi of affected modesty:

Verum et ego parum [l. parvus] de doctrina
guamaurissem[1. hausissem] e pluribus pauca
rihtmice [l. rhythmice] tamem dabo ventis vela,
pavidus nauta.

The writer belittles his own ability, implying that it is unworthy of Rodrigo Díaz's stature and deeds. The same topic occurs in historical works and it has the same implications. The HR writer admits the meanness of his intellect and the poverty, rusticitás, of his style, while recognising its brevity: 'sed quod nostre scientie paruitas ualuit, eiusdem gesta sub breuitate et certissima ueritate stilo rudi exarauit'. The author of the CAI and the Poema de Almería justifies his change from prose to verse by introducing the related taedium topic:
'Nunc autem, ad maiora conscendentes, versibus, ad removendum carminis variatione taedium'. 62

The CC poet also uses the inexpressibility topos in his prologue, a device specifically associated with the eulogy of rulers. He speaks of the impossibility of encompassing in writing all the deeds of the Cid:

Tanti victoris nam si retexere
ceperim cun[c]ta, non hec libri mille
capere possent, Omero canente,
sum[m]o labore. 63

An inexpressibility topos is combined with a brevity topos in the Silense to express a reluctance to enumerate all the decorations of a church founded by one of Alfonso VI's ancestors: 'porro, si ornamenta istius domus enumerare singilatim pergerem, prolixior tractatus traheret me ab incepto longius deuium'. 64

The main technique of stylistic enhancement employed by the authors of the CAI and the Silense is the direct imitation of literary models. Not only are the constructions imitated, but suitable phraseology is adapted to suit particular contexts. The Silense writer uses primarily the historical works of Sallust and Einhard, but he also includes reminiscences from the Ilias latina.

The impact of Biblical and ecclesiastical language is considerably less than in the CAI whose author creates a pastiche of the militaristic chapters of the canonical and apocryphal books of the Old Testament Vulgate in his account of the deeds of Alfonso VII. The use of this model is related to the author's conception of his central figure as a hero of God, a parallel with such Biblical characters as David and Solomon. Neither the writer of the HR nor Pelayo utilises models in this conspicuous way, in spite of the former's consciousness of the role of language. They do however employ Biblical phraseology to heighten the impact of their narrative at dramatic or solemn moments.

Previous critics have traced the sources of the CAI and the Silense and the majority of individual borrowings have been detailed in the recent editions.
Yet the function of this stylistic imitation in a celebratory work and the choice of models have not been commented upon. Various types of borrowing occur, ranging from the unconscious reminiscence of one or two words to the recreation in the CAI of famous Biblical episodes, each having a different effect on the reader. These aspects of the use of language remain to be studied.

This outline of the approach to be adopted in this thesis to the historiography of twelfth-century Spain has highlighted several vital points. The tradition of Leonese chronicles that had begun in the ninth century was interrupted and was replaced by a form of historical writing that subordinated fidelity to historical fact to the celebration of achievement. The king-emperors became the subjects of biographies, products of the spirit of Reconquest and expansion which was revived in León after the accession of Fernando I. The stimulus for the composition of these works came partly from events themselves, such as the capture of Toledo and the siege of Almería, and from a renewal of Latin learning and scholarship which enabled rediscovered aspirations and ambitions to be given literary expression. The Reconquest did not inspire the composition of vernacular epic, in spite of the heroic deeds performed, the victories won over the Muslims, the capture of Toledo and the recovery of Spain's Visigothic heritage. The heroic biographies can be considered as celebrating a national enterprise, but one whose distinctive features were imperial and ecclesiastical, since it was fostered by the king-emperors themselves, their court and the leading churchmen of the realm. Thus the literary rebirth in Spain in the twelfth century gave rise to a series of works, Latin and vernacular, not dissimilar in their heroic spirit and subject-matter, but each standing in its own tradition.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that Latin historical writing and heroic poetry existed in separate spheres and that writers in each genre
belonged to distinct groups. This thesis will show that the CMC and the Latin histories display common attitudes to certain related issues of the twelfth century: the nature of a monarch's role, the position of the nobility vis-a-vis the king and the need to maintain justice fairly throughout the kingdom. It will also show that beneath their stylistic individuality, the heroic biographies have in common certain stylistic and narrative features and that these features have in many cases vernacular equivalents. These coincidences in attitude and language do not indicate any mutual influence; it is rather that the Latin historians and the epic poets, especially that of the CMC, had in some respects the same outlook and that similarities in their thought processes led them to express themselves in similar form.
Footnotes.


5. See La España del Cid, I, p.65.

6. El imperio hispánico, p.26. See also pp.27-8 and pp.42-3. The work is edited as the Crónica profética by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III', BRAH, C (1932), 562-628, at pp. 622-8. It was included in the Roda codex containing the Alfonso III chronicle and it was also copied by the compiler of the Crónica Albeldense, although the later Albelda copyist tampered with various passages when it was clear that the prophecy had not been fulfilled (Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónicas', pp. 574-81).


9. See R. Menéndez Pidal, Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas: Rodrigo, el último goyo, I, La Edad Media (Madrid: CC, 1925), pp.xvi-lxvi. I am
grateful to Professor L.P. Harvey for allowing me to read the typescript of his paper: 'Roderick, Last of the Visigothic Kings of Spain: a Study in Mythography'.

10. Crónica de Alfonso III, p.27.

11. The relevance of the imperium concept and its origin are discussed in ch.III, pp.168-74.


16. Ubieto proposes that one section of the chronicle was written by an archbishop of Toledo in the reign of Pelayo (718-737). See 'La redacción rotense de la Crónica de Alfonso III', His, XXII (1962), 3-22. It is in the light of this theory that Ubieto revised his edition of the chronicle to underline the priority of the ovetense version. See the introduction to his second edition, pp.8-15.

17. 'De nuevo sobre la Crónica de Alfonso III y sobre la llamada Historia Silense', CHE, XXXVII-XXXVIII (1963), 292-317, at pp.292-304. For the rest of the bibliography on the genesis of the chronicle, see Ubieto, 'La redacción rotense', p.5 n.14.
18. Alfonso el Sabio y la 'General estoria': tres lecciones (Barcelona, 1972), pp. 31-2.

19. See Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X (Madrid, 1952).


22. See Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, pp. 275-6 and n. 4; pp. 279-80 and n. 13.


24. See Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, I, pp. 99-102. He contrasts the different attitudes of the clergy and the aristocracy to the king and his role, relating them to ecclesiastical concepts inherited from the Visigoths and to Germanic concepts of mutual service respectively.

25. In the reign of Alfonso I, for example, according to the Crónica de Alfonso III, p. 37.

26. Fruela II was assassinated by his own men, according to the Crónica de Alfonso III: 'Fratrem suum ... propriis manibus interfecit ... uicem fraternam ei Dominus reddens a suis interfectus est' (rotense version, p. 39).


30. Crónica de Alfonso III, pp. 25, 39 and 49.

31. Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, pp. 310 and 328.
32. Pérez de Urbel, Sampo, p. 344.


36. This lack of evidence is discussed in ch. V in the context of the Crónica Najerense, which includes summaries of the various supposed epics, as well as plot outlines of some of the incontrovertible Castilian epics.


39. Reliquias, pp. 199-239. See also the account in the Primera crónica general, Reliquias, pp. 181-98.

40. The historical veracity of Spanish epic, especially of the CMC, has been
questioned by, among others, W.J. Entwistle, 'Remarks Concerning the Historical Account of Spanish Epic Origins', RH, LXXI (1933), part I, 352-77, 'Remarks Concerning the Order of the Spanish Cantares de gesta', RFH, I (1947-48), 113-23; Leo Spitzer, 'Sobre el carácter histórico del CMC', NRFH, II (1948), 105-17, reprinted in Sobre antigua poesía española (Buenos Aires, 1962), pp.7-25; Jules Horrent, 'Tradition poétique du CMC au XIIe siècle', CCMc, VII (1964), 451-77; A. Ubieto Arteta, 'Observaciones al CMC', Arbor, XXXVII (1957), 145-70 and 'El CMC y algunos problemas históricos', Ligarzas (Valencia), IV (1972: Homenaje a Rafael Benítez Claros), 5-192. Comparison of the CMC with historical texts has highlighted the process of fictionalisation that the Cid story underwent. See, for example, David Hook, 'The Conquest of Valencia in the CMC', BHS, L (1973), 120-6; West, 'King and Vassal in History and Poetry: a Contrast between the HR and the CMC', Mio Cid Studies (London: Tamesis, in press) and also ch.II(c) below.


42. See A.D. Deyermond and Margaret Chaplin, 'Folk-Motifs in the Medieval Spanish Epic', PQ, LI (1972), 36-53.

43. Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, pp.328-9 and 332-4.


(1) The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth',

46. 'Aspects of the European Tradition', p. 178.


50. See Rico, Alfonso el Sabio, pp. 15-35.


52. An illustration of this tendency is afforded by Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos (Migne PL 156), which chronicles the achievements of the Normans on the First Crusade. As his title declares, Guibert sees the Franci as God's instruments, but he makes every effort to show that the choice of the Franks was arbitrary, in spite of his admiration for their qualities. Jacques Chaurand has written: 'Néanmoins le choix a été gratuit. Ainsi l'enthousiasme est contrebalancé par la tendance à faire voir comment Dieu accomplit du moyen d'instruments, et parfois inattendus, de plus grandes choses'. See 'La conception de l'histoire de Guibert de Nogent (1053-1124)', CCMé, VIII (1965), 381-95, at p. 386.

53. CAI: 186.

54. Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, p. 433.


60. *CC*, 11. 13-16.

61. *HR*: 74.


63. *CC*, 11. 9-12.

64. *Silense*: 28.
CHAPTER II  THE CID MATERIAL

The Latin works devoted to Rodrigo Díaz, the *Carmen Campidocitoris* and the *Historia Roderici*, were both written outside León-Castile and thus do not form part of the Spanish, that is Leonese, tradition of Latin writing. Nevertheless, a consideration of Spain’s heroic literature that omitted those two works devoted to the career of the national hero would be pointless, especially since they contain celebratory elements akin to those in Leonese works. The geographical orientation of the *CC* suggests that the poet lived in the eastern part of the Peninsula, possibly in Catalonia, while the *HR* focusses on two areas, first on the kingdom of Saragossa and its borders with Lérida and then on Valencia. An idea of the date of composition of both works is necessary to a study of their functions as celebratory works and to the fixing of their relative positions in the development of the legend of the Cid. In the case of the panegyric, criticism has oscillated between a date of composition contemporary with the hero’s life and a posthumous one. The dating of the *HR* has proved less controversial, for evidence in the work itself reveals that it was composed after Rodrigo’s death. The accepted view of Menéndez Pidal that the writer was closely associated with events in the Cid’s life and wrote between 1102 and 1110 has however been
questioned and a date nearer to 1150 has been proposed.

The first surviving Castilian text conceived in celebration of the deeds of the Cid is the Cantar de Mio Cid, whose date of composition has been much disputed. The long-established conclusion of Menéndez Pidal, that it was composed in about 1140 by a poet of Medinaceli in Castile, has been queried on social, historical, stylistic and linguistic grounds and shown to be unacceptable. Even Menéndez Pidal himself was forced to revise his opinion, positing an earlier version, composed around 1105 in the region of San Esteban de Gormaz, that was more accurate historically, in order to admit a greater fictional element into the 1140 version. On the evidence of more recent enquiry, however, a considerably later date seems more likely. Many critics now accept the view that the CMC was composed either at the end of the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth and by a single poet. Certain details of geographical orientation suggest that he may have been a native or a resident of Burgos, who was writing for an audience in that city. The details of the Medinaceli and San Esteban areas may have been preserved from earlier poems with which the poet was acquainted. The later date creates some problems in the context of this study; forty years may separate the composition of the last twelfth-century Latin history and the CMC. Nevertheless, it is known from other sources that epics were circulating in Latin or possibly in the vernacular during the twelfth century. In addition to the CC, the Latin Poema de Almería of c.1149 refers to a
poem or poems about him, but the language in which these poems were composed cannot be determined. 4 The Estoria de España and the ballads attest the existence of another vernacular epic, which told of the Cid's relations with Sancho II of Castile and of the murder of the latter, but no traces of it exist prior to the thirteenth century. 5 The Crónica Najerense, however, prosifies a Latin poem of the twelfth century on the same subject of which some lines have been reconstructed. It is open to conjecture whether a vernacular poem was circulating at the same time. 6 The existence of twelfth-century vernacular epics on the Cid cannot be proven, but must remain highly probable.

This study adds very little to the debate about the CMC's date of composition, but perhaps rather more about its method of composition, when it proposes that the epic poem can be usefully related to historical writing. The comparison with actual events as they are presented by the HR shows how over a period a large mass of material was forged into a unified artistic structure and how this must be considered the work of one man. It also shows how a heroic legend grew and developed, as it absorbed the historical concepts and the ideals of the audience and the cultural background for which it was intended.

(a) The Carmen Campidctoris: structure and content

The Latin panegyric on the Cid opens with an elaborate exordium that occupies the first four stanzas. The fifth stanza consists of a direct address to the
audience, urging them to come and hear the work, while the sixth mentions the hero's noble ancestry. The rest of the poem, totalling twenty-six complete stanzas, consists of a basically linear narrative that recounts events and achievements in the Cid's life in an apparently chronological order. This sequence is spotlighted by references to successive victories, which are numbered thus: 'Hoc fuit primum singulare bellum' (1.25), 'Hec namque pugna fuerat secunda' (1.81) and 'Tertium quoque proelium comisit' (1.89). The three core incidents included are the defeat of the Navarrese champion in single combat (stanza 7), the defeat of García Ordóñez at Cabra (stanzas 18-21) and the victory over the Count of Barcelona and al-Hajib, the Muslim king of Lérida (stanzas 23ff.). The poem's account breaks off at a point just before this battle commences. The CC also describes Rodrigo Díaz's relations with both Sancho II and Alfonso VI and it summarises the events leading to his exile by the latter (stanzas 9-17). Two stanzas are devoted to assessments of the hero's status and fame, first as the successful alférez of Sancho II, then as an exile in the reign of Alfonso VI. Stanza 8 foretells his future deeds, while stanza 22 recognises his reputation that is now founded on concrete achievement. This historical narrative is introduced by the apostrophe to the audience and it is augmented by the ornamental prologue and the genealogical reference and by an additional six stanzas (27-32) describing in detail the arming of the hero, prior to his encounter with the forces of al-Hajib.
and the Count of Barcelona.

The structure of the CC was explained by E. R. Curtius according to the rhetorical rules for the composition of a panegyric. The model work opens with a proemium, which is followed by praise of the subject's noble origin, forming part of an opening section devoted to his upbringing and youthful deeds. The rest of his life and achievement is then related chronologically or in an order conveying the poet's view of the historical personage. Menéndez Pidal objected to the application of this schema to the CC on various grounds. He argued that since Rodrigo Díaz was of noble lineage, the reference to his origin was demanded by fact and not by scholastic precepts. This objection can be discounted for two reasons. First, Rodrigo was not of the highest Castilian nobility, contrary to the poet's claim: 'Nobiliori de genere ortus / quod in Castella non est illo maius' (11.21-2). The Cid's family were in fact of the lower class of infanzones and one of the underlying causes of his exile, according to the Cantar de Mio Cid, was the clash between the Cid and the higher Castilian nobility represented by García Ordóñez. This latter group, together with their Leonese counterparts, are referred to in the CC as the 'compares aule' (1.48). Secondly, the position of the reference to Rodrigo's origin in the poem's structure is more important than its historical truth, for the schematization of which Curtius wrote need not imply a falsification of reality, but a stylisation that sets particular elements in established positions. The reference to
Rodrigo's origin does constitute a topic. Pidal was correct, however, when he stated that the next structural element – the account of the first victory – was not a topic. The defeat of the Navarrese champion is simply the first of the events that the poet relates and it forms an integral part of the poem's basic narrative. It is not distinguished as a youthful exploit from Rodrigo's subsequent deeds. Curtius overlooked what was a vital feature of the *CC*: its combination of rhetorical devices and historical narrative. The poem was conceived as a panegyric, but the process of stylisation by which historical fact is transposed into poetry does not operate consistently throughout, for a stylistic distinction can be drawn between the factual accounts of Rodrigo's various exploits and the self-conscious literary ornamentation of the remainder of the poem. These specifically celebratory features occur in the proemium and the address to the audience, in the elaborate arming scene and in the stanza devoted to Rodrigo's origin. This division of the poem may appear an oversimplification, but it highlights its paradoxical nature, when it is considered as a celebratory biography in verse. Jules Horrent has commented that the poet 'rapporte d'une façon très scolaire des événements très réels, afin de parler d'un personnage historique d'une façon très artistique'. This emphasises the stylisation of the *CC* and indeed it would be perverse to pretend that its narrative sections constituted little more than a rhymed chronicle. Yet the degree of stylisation is marked in the prologue and the arming scene, while
elsewhere the narrative proceeds chronologically, incident by incident. The distinction in material and the corresponding distinction in language offers the key to a comprehensive interpretation of the panegyric. 12

The incomplete state of the CC cannot be ignored in a consideration of its structure. The manuscript preserves thirty-two stanzas and the first two words of the next, but some eighteen lines of writing appear to have been erased to allow fresh material to be written down. It has generally been estimated that these eighteen lines are equivalent to about eleven or twelve additional stanzas, but whether these in fact completed the poem is disputed. Curtius maintained that it was longer still, a view that entails the corollary that two faults in transmission had taken place, reducing the poem first to just over forty stanzas and then to the extant thirty-two. 13 This much longer work would have embraced the whole of the Cid's career, for in Curtius' view it was composed after his death. This assertion relies heavily on a literal interpretation of the poet's statement:

\[
\text{Tanti victoris nam si retexere ceperim cun[c]ta, non hec libri mille capere possent, Omero canente, sum[m]o labore. (9-12)}
\]

Both Menéndez Pidal and Horrent have pointed out that 'cuncta' need not be taken in an absolute sense, but relatively, signifying all the deeds performed by the hero until the time of writing. 14 They add that on the evidence of the extant poem the poet exercised a criterion of selection in what he included, for the Historia
Roderici recounts nine incidents over the period covered by the poem. This second objection is not valid, for Curtius did not claim that the poet proposed to relate every deed of the Cid. Nevertheless, the stanza must be seen basically as a hyperbole, for its point as a topos lies in Homer's inability to encompass in writing all the hero's deeds, rather than in any expressed aim of the poet himself. Such an exaggeration whose literal meaning need not be sought is consistent with the other stylised elements of the exordium. Curtius' error is still patent, for 'cuncta' does not imply in any way that Rodrigo's career was over, when the poem was composed. It can indicate the sum total of his achievements at any one point, from 1082 until the year of his death in 1099. Stanza 3 thus reveals very little about the length of the original poem.

Menéndez Pidal raised a further objection, which he based on the work's linear structure, to Curtius' hypothesis on the scope of the CC. The main narrative consists of accounts of incidents causally unrelated to one another, but linked chronologically by the poet's device of numbering each of Rodrigo's victories. Pidal considered that this process would have produced a total number of core incidents whose figure would not have been compatible with the poem's metre, if the CC embraced Rodrigo's entire career. The idea that the total might then have reached the unpoetic number of twenty-seven - 'Hoc fuit vigesimum septimum bellum' - has however been rejected by Horrent. He points to a strict criterion of
selection operating within the thirty-two extant stanzas and he demonstrates this by comparing the CC's version of events with the more comprehensive account in the Historia Roderici. He applies the proportion to Rodrigo's total achievement as recorded by the history, deriving a total of not more than twelve core incidents. This figure may well be correct in the circumstances, but Horrent's argument is questionable. Yet the plan of the CC can be usefully related to the possible scope of the total work, as Pidal proceeds to show. The simple linear narrative suggests a lack of perspective on the part of the poet, who was not sufficiently distanced from events to order his work otherwise than chronologically. The numbering of each core incident reinforces the impression that the poet was writing at a time when the Cid's career had not ended but was still developing. He includes those incidents of which he has some knowledge, but he does not select and arrange them to present a particular view of his hero. The CC is a panegyric, but, as Pidal pointed out, the biographical element, the assessment and exemplification of the hero's individuality, is lacking. One further structural feature suggests the poem's contemporaneity with the events narrated: the length of the account of the preliminaries to the battle of Almenar. The extensive description of the arming of the hero seems to herald an event of some significance, even the climax of the poem. If a similarly elaborate prelude did not precede subsequent events of equal - or greater - magnitude, the structure would be considerably unbalanced. The structural evidence
of the CC is thus far from conclusive, if it is used by itself to hypothesise the scope of the whole poem. Nevertheless, its simplicity is an indication of the closeness of the poet and his work to actual events.

Pidal's comment on the lack of the biographical element in the CC can be related to the absence of the stylisation which is typical of the celebratory work from the narrative sections of the poem. The celebratory biography generally presents a particular aspect of the historical figure that the author or poet wishes to praise and this quality is highlighted by rhetorical or stylistic devices. The distinction in technique and language permits the two facets of the CC to be examined separately and conclusions drawn about different aspects of the poem and its author. The literary artifice of the ornamental passages can be related to the tradition of Latin epic and of medieval Latin literature in general, while the style of these sections suggests the kind of audience for whom the poet intended his work. The narrative passages can be set against the historical events that lie behind them, as they are revealed in other texts. This permits possible conclusions to be drawn about the place and date of composition and it allows the CC's version of events to be seen in the broader context of the evolution of the story of the Cid. Both the rhetorical and the historical features of the poem must also be related to its function as a celebratory poem.

Language

The exordium of the CC is remarkable for the number
of traditional motifs that it contains. These *topoi* are common to many forms of medieval Latin writing, but they are particularly suited to the panegyric and they can be considered a characteristic of the celebratory mode in general. The first two stanzas renew the familiar debate topic of the Ancients and Moderns, the argument concluding in the latter's favour. The opening stanza refers to various heroes of pagan antiquity and to the poets who praised them, thus suggesting immediately the scale of Rodrigo's achievement:

Ella [l. Eia] gestorum possumus referre
Paris et Pyrri, nec non et Eneae,
multi po(a)etae plurimum [in?] laude
que conscripsere.

The second stanza rejects the hackneyed subject matter of the Ancients in favour of the fresh material available to modern writers. This includes the deeds of the Cid and the debate is thus developed into the *topos* that Curtius termed 'eulogy of contemporaries':

Sed paganorum quid iuvabunt acta,
dum iam vil(l)escant vetustate multa?
Modo cananus Roderici nova
principis bella. (5-8)

The third stanza contains one of the customary devices of epideictic oratory, the inexpressibility *topos*, an essential formula in the praise of rulers and leading men. Strangely, it was this stanza that prompted Curtius' error over the poem's scope, when he sought in it a literal meaning. It is the ability of Homer, rather than of the poet, that is called into question, for the greater number of Rodrigo's deeds would have exceeded even the Greek's powers of poetic praise. The reference
to Homer represents a standard variation on the basic topos of the poet's own inability, which at once exalts further the hero's achievements and prefigures the modesty topos of the next stanza by implicitly ranking the poet in an inferior position. The modesty topic itself is a classic example of the device that occurs in the exordia of various types of work, but which is very frequent in the panegyrical. It includes one of the various nautical images derived from classical Latin, the ship metaphor, which is also apt in the celebratory context. The poet mentions the inadequacy of his learning and of his poetic ability, but also his determination to 'set sail':

Verum et ego parum [l.parvus] de doctrina quamquam aurissem [l.hausisse] e pluribus pauc rihtmice l.rhythmice tamen dabo ventis vela, pavidus nauta. (13-17)

The assumed self-abasement of the poet, like all the other motifs of the exordium, serves to raise up the status of the hero and distinguish by implication his achievement from the average.

In the fifth stanza, the poet addresses his audience, exhorting them to listen to what he has to say:

Eia, letando, populi caterve, Campidoctoris hoc carmen audite! Magis qui eius freti estis ope, cuncti venite! (17-20)

Curtius and Menéndez Pidal disagreed on the origin of certain elements of this stanza, disputing whether they paralleled learned or popular practice. Curtius placed the words 'audite' and 'venite' in the tradition of formulas of address cultivated by medieval Latin writers, especially
in liturgical hymns, and he traced their origin to the Vulgate, where the two imperatives frequently occur coupled together. Menéndez Pidal considered Curtius' judgement correct, but only partially renounced his original view that the CC's phraseology echoed the vernacular address of the juglares of the type 'Oit, varones, una razón ...'. The implications of this view are indeed far-reaching, since such an address is not attested in the vernacular prior to the CC and the stanza would thus be one of the earliest indications of a tradition — probably oral — of popular poetry, as it antedates the summaries of heroic poems contained in the Latin Crónica Najerense by more than sixty years. The argument is however disturbingly circular, since the parallel depends on the features of a kind of work whose existence at the time can only be hypothesised on the basis of the original phraseology. Moreover, the learned origin of 'audite' and 'venite' follows logically from the traditional nature of the material of the four preceding stanzas and from the absence of elements elsewhere in the poem that bear any similarity with later vernacular modes of expression. If 'audite' and 'venite' were echoes of a popular tradition, they could only have been introduced unconsciously and in the learned context could be regarded only as discordant elements. This applies also to the line 'magis qui eius freti estis ope' (1.19) and to the phrase 'populi caterve', by which the poet refers to his audience. Menéndez Pidal claimed that the former in particular introduced into the poem an
air of 'actualidad vital' and was closer to the spirit of 'Oit, varones ...' than to the formula Audite, fratres. Curtius had regarded the form of address, like the two imperatives, as stylistic conventions, formulas without real significance, by which the poet apostrophized his audience. This view hinged on his basic contention that the CC was a posthumous, rather than a contemporary, panegyric. Yet 'Magis qui eius freti estis ope' is in no way formulaic, as Pidal rightly points out, but is original. The present tense and the designation of all those who rely on Rodrigo Díaz acquire real meaning when set in a contemporary context. This element of actuality need not imply that the line echoes the usage of vernacular poetry, for there is no reason why the poet's inspiration should suddenly change from learned to popular at this one point. The poet may simply have introduced the element in order to adapt a conventional form of address to immediate use. The phrase 'populi caterve' poses problems, because it is impossible to know whether it was the poet's own invention or whether it echoed an expression that existed in another literary form. Whichever may be the case, it can have no literal significance and must be regarded as hyperbolic, alluding to, rather than addressing, the greater number of people who would appreciate Rodrigo's deeds. The erudite references, the thoroughly learned inspiration, although applied to a real situation, and the observation of rhetorical precepts cannot but suggest that the poem was intended for a learned audience. Here, both Menéndez Pidal and Curtius are in agreement, yet in the
wider context each errs in the obsessive pursuit of his own theory. 'Magis qui eius freti estis ope' may refer to a real audience, but this does not entail a recollection of 'Oit, varones ...', rather than Audite, fratres.

The ornamental sections of the poem's opening end at stanza 6, which mentions Rodrigo's noble lineage, in accord with the precepts for the composition of a panegyric. The poet does not return to his specifically celebratory mode until stanzas 27-32, which describe the hero's preparations for battle.

The arming of the hero is a narrative motif that occurs in both literary and in heroic epic. The importance of a hero's armour and weapons has been underlined by C. M. Bowra: 'Since through them he wins the renown which he seeks, they must be worthy of him'. Descriptions of arms thus tend to be extensive, dwelling on their quality and richness, and they form part of the ritual celebration of epic. A distinction can be drawn between the descriptions in heroic and in literary epic, but it is one of emphasis, as much as in basic nature. In heroic poetry, descriptions are simple and brief and they are integrated within the action of the poem and do not disrupt its narrative. In literary epic, they are more elaborate and detailed, as the poet concentrates on the ornateness of the hero's arms, their decorations, rich material and their frequently marvellous origin and manufacture. Such descriptions tend to interrupt the flow of the narrative and figure as static interludes. This distinction can be observed, if the arming scene of
the CC is compared with parallel scenes in vernacular epic.27 The Cantar de Mio Cid contains no directly comparable episode, but the analogous description of the Cid's preparations prior to the cortes highlights the difference in approach of the Latin and the vernacular poet. In the CMC, one or possibly two lines are devoted to the donning of each garment and to a brief description of it. The scene consists of a series of actions:

Calças de buen paño en sus camas metio,
sobr'ellas unos çapatos que a grant huebra son;
vistio camisa de rançal tan blanca commo el sol,
con oro e con plata todas las presas son,
al puño bien estan, ca el selo mando;
sobr'ella un brial primo de ciclaton,
obrado es con oro, pareçen por o son;
sobr'esto una piel vermejá, las bandas d'oro son.

(3085-92)

Each item is qualified by a reference to the material and most are depicted as having golden decorations, but, although rich, the materials are not unusual and there is an absence of all mention of origin and of the process or artifice of manufacture. The rapid succession of garments put on ensures that the narrative context of the scene is not lost from sight. The CC's description of Rodrigo's arming is very different. A whole stanza is devoted to each single item: breastplate, lance, shield, helmet, and one each to his horse, and to a description of the total effect, making a total of twenty-four lines. The material of the weapons is mentioned, but the description is augmented by a qualification of the actual material: the lance is made 'nobilis silve fraxino' (1.110), the gold of the breastplate was beaten 'manu magistra' (1.107). Moreover the band on the helmet is made of electrum, a gold-silver alloy, rarely
if ever mentioned in vernacular poetry. The shield's device is mentioned, but so are its many decorations: 'Clipeum gestat brachio sinistro / qui totus erat figuratus auro' (11.113-4). The action of this episode of the CC is analogous to that narrated in the CMC, but each description, each qualification is taken a stage further and the result is statically pictorial. Stanza 31 refers to Rodrigo's horse, but here the distinction between literary and heroic epic is less perceptible. The CC mentions the horse's great value: 'nec ne com[m]utavit / aureis mille' (11.122-3), which can be paralleled by the CMC's estimate of Babieca that: 'en moros ni en christianos otro tal non ha oy' (1.3514). The comparison with the wind parallels Homer's likening of the horses of Achilles to the West Wind to whom they were born. The literary ancestor of the CC's arming scene is, according to Curtius, Virgil's description of the arms that Vulcan made for Aeneas. The relation is more distant than Curtius implies, for no more than circumstantial detail recalls Virgil, even though the scene from the Aeneid enjoyed wide renown in the Middle Ages as a literary model. Nevertheless, the elements of the CC's description are traditional and the two scenes may be ultimately related, through late Latin epic and numerous medieval imitations. Its undoubtedly learned inspiration is confirmed by stanza 32:

Talibus armis ornatus et equo,  
Paris vel Hector melioris [1.meliores] illo  
nunquam fuerunt in Troiano bello,  
sunt neque modo. (125-8)
The remaining stanzas of the CC (7-26) comprise straightforward narrative, devoid of the elaborate ornamentation of the proemium and arming scene. Their vocabulary is more restricted and they lack hyperbole and metaphor. The demands of metre and rhyme ensure a conciseness of expression and prevent the narrative from becoming too discursive, although it does acquire at times a more expansive prose syntax. This is characterised by an abundance of subordinate clauses: temporal (1.26, 1.47), relative (1.22, 1.43) and causal (1.54, 1.101). The poet's most conspicuous stylistic trait in the narrative passages is a binary construction linking the pentasyllabic fourth line of each stanza to the last five, or six, syllables of the third line. This provides either an amplification or a contrast. Stanza 8 ends thus: 'regias ope pede calcaturus / ense capturus' (11.31-2) and stanza 17: 'Yspaniarum patrias vastare / urbes delere' (11.67-8). Antithetical phrases occur at the end of stanza 16: 'obiciendo per pauca que novit / plura que nescit' (11.63-4) and of stanza 26: 'subito mandat ut sui se arment, / cito ne tardent' (11.103-4). This last example uses the rhetorical device of oppositum, or emphasis by negation. The paradox of the CC lies in the contrast between the narrative passages and the opening stanzas and arming scene. The latter sections celebrate Rodrigo Díaz in grandiloquent terms, praising his deeds and lifting them far above the level of the average by comparing him with the heroes of the past. The accounts of the actual events are relatively sober and do not place his achievements in such an exceptional
light, for the glorifying manner and the lofty comparisons are absent.  

The line 'Magis qui eius freti estis ope' (1.19) raised the question of the nature of the likely audience of the CC. Critical opinion was divided: Menéndez Pidal considered that it designated a real audience, while Curtius viewed it as a stylisation, like 'populi caterve', indicative of an imaginary audience. Pidal's view is the more probable, for Curtius overlooks or ignores the present tense 'estis', which assumes significance if the CC is seen not as a posthumous, but as a contemporary panegyric. Evidence of form and lack of perspective has also suggested a date of composition within the Cid's lifetime and additional historical proof is contained in the narrative sections. Both critics agree, however, that the poem's readers or listeners were learned, as is clear from its inspiration. The potential audience would thus have been restricted to ecclesiastics and others of a clerical background, for the most part, and it is likely that the CC was intended to be read aloud to a small group.

The historical narrative and its implications

An idea of the date of composition of the CC is vital, if its precise function as a celebratory work is to be determined. All critics have agreed that it is a panegyric, but the motive of its composition depends upon whether it was written before or after the death of the Cid. If the earlier date can be established, a clear propagandist function can be ascribed to the poem. If, however, it
was composed after 1099, its *raison d'être* is more obscure. Nothing indicates that the poem is a lament and thus motives of propaganda – on behalf of those descending or claiming to descend from Rodrigo Díaz – must again have prompted the composition. Evidence has already suggested the CC's closeness to events and the probability that it was composed in the lifetime of Rodrigo Díaz, but although persuasive, this evidence is not conclusive. Further proof must be sought in the narrative passages of the poem by considering the historical events narrated and those to which allusions are made.

The most persuasive arguments for a posthumous date of composition are those of Curtius, but they are all circumstantial. He believed that the poet took his information from the *Historia Roderici*, which was written a short time after the death of the Cid. He relies on analogy, relating the genesis of a panegyrical life of Ramon Berenguer IV to that of the CC, while offering no evidence of a specific similarity of content. Certain incidents coincide, since both works have the same subject, but vital differences exist between the accounts. The HR places the duel against the Navarrese after the siege of Zamora, while in the CC it is presented as Rodrigo's first exploit, occurring before the death of Sancho II. Menéndez Pidal considered that the CC was correct, for the duel took place in 1066. The HR's version is highly improbable, for Rodrigo was unlikely to act as king's champion after Sancho II's death, as his status at court was automatically lowered when the Leonese Alfonso VI came to the throne. The CC, however,
is in error over the timing of the battle of Cabra, which it places after Rodrigo's exile (stanzas 17-21), while the HR gives a full account which can be set in the year 1080, some twelve months before the exile. Curtius drew attention also to the phrases 'Roderici ... principis' (11.7-8) and 'tanti victoris' (1.9) which suggested to him that the poet must have been in a position to survey the whole of the Cid's career before he could speak in such terms. The epithets could only be used after the Cid had become lord of Valencia. Curtius linked them to the phrase 'retexere ... cuncta' (11.9-10) which has been discussed in relation to the poem's structure. These additional arguments are no more convincing. Rodrigo was appointed princeps by Sancho II according to 11.35-6 of the CC: 'quod principatum velit illi prime / cohortis dare'. Curtius' interpretation of 'tanti victoris', like that of 'retexere ... cuncta' is unnecessarily literal, for Rodrigo had already won several victories - nine according to the HR - up to and including the battle of Almenar. The epithet could thus be applied to the hero, even without hyperbole, by 1082, the year in which the events of the poem are interrupted.

Evidence for the composition of the CC during the Cid's lifetime is more convincing. The poem breaks off at 1.129, just before the account of the battle of Almenar (1082). No historical event is narrated or mentioned specifically after that date, but conclusions can be drawn from indications within the text that the poem could not have been written very long after 1090. The most precise date proposed is
that of Horrent, who situates the poem between June 1093 and the middle of the following year. He emphasises the importance of 11.23-4:

\[
\text{Hispalis novit et Iberum [l. Iberi] litus quis Rodericus.}
\]

These two lines, together with stanzas 8 and 22, contain general appreciations of Rodrigo's achievements, for they draw attention to his actual success and fame and foretell what he was to achieve in the future. Stanza 6 envisages his reputation stretching from the Ebro in the north to Seville in the south and places in both areas - Almenar and Cabra - are mentioned in the extant stanzas. Yet the theatre of his greatest achievement was in neither of those two areas, but in the Levant, the setting of his capture of Valencia, the city of which he was ruler de facto from 1094 until 1099. Horrent is correct when he concludes that if the Cid had been in undisputed possession of Valencia at the time of the CC's composition, the exploit would have been mentioned in the poem and most probably in stanza 6. Stanzas 8 and 22 might also be considered to advance the date of composition towards 1094, but they are vague and their implications cannot be related to any specific situation:

\[
\text{Iam portendebat quid esset facturus,}
\]

\[
\text{... regias opes pede calcaturus}
\]

\[
\text{ense capturus. (29, 31-2)}
\]

\[
\text{Unde per cunctas Ispanie partes,}
\]

\[
\text{celebre nomen eius inter omnes}
\]

\[
\text{reges habetur, pariter timentes}
\]

\[
\text{munus solventes. (85-8)}
\]

Stanza 22 immediately follows the account of the Cabra incident, but it seems to foreshadow events in the Levant, when the
Cid's fame inspired fear in the Muslims and won him presents — or tribute — as a means of guaranteeing peace. Yet even in 1093, the Cid was receiving presents from al-Mu'tamin, the Muslim king of Saragossa who rewarded him for his services as a general. The HR tells that: 'ditauitque eum nimis muneribus innumerabilibus, et donis aureis et argenteis multis' (HR: 17).

Horrent advances additional arguments to prove that the CC was composed between 1093 and 1094, but they are not easy to sustain. Like every critic before him, he refers to 11.97-8 of the CC:

Caesarauguste obsidebant castrum, quod adhuc Mauri vocant Almenarum.

What does 'adhuc' mean here and what does it imply? Curtius considered 1.98 to be simply a topographical reference and irrelevent to the date of the poem. 39 Menéndez Pidal however suggested that vocare signified tenere, that the Moors still held Almenar at the time of composition, which must therefore have been prior to its recapture in 1093 by the Aragonese. 40 'Adhuc' would thus mean 'still' rather than 'up until now', its other possible meaning. The former interpretation was also accepted by Cirot. 41 Horrent rejects Pidal's conclusion, considering the equation of vocare and tenere excessive, and prefers to date the poem after the recapture of Almenar. 42 He claims that stress is laid on the persistence of the Arabic name after the recapture of the fortification by the Christians and that this is worthy of special note. Yet why in that case are the Moors mentioned in 1.98 and
not the Aragonese, since it was their omission to rename the spot that was conspicuous? Curtius' idea that the line was a topographical reference seems the most probable solution. Frequently in medieval Latin writing vernacular place-names are introduced by the phrase qui dicitur, e.g. 'castrum qui dicitur Obernia' (HR: 3), sometimes by qui vocatur, e.g. 'castrum ... qui vocatur Alolala' (HR: 21). Most places in the CC are referred to by their Latin name, but two exceptions are Cabra and Almenar, which obviously had no established Latin equivalents. Significantly, Cabra is referred to as 'Capream vocant locum ubi castra simul sunt capta' (11.83-4). The periphrastic form was an apology for the introduction of a vernacular word into a learned context. The 'vocant' phrase of 1.98 was thus not included because the poet wished specifically to refer to its inhabitants or to its Arabic name. He apologises for the non-Latin name, but incidentally he mentions those who gave it its name and who still know it by that name, presumably because they were in fact its inhabitants. It thus seems more likely that the CC was composed prior to the recapture of Almenar in 1093. This solution is the same as Pidal's, but it is reached by a different and safer route, because it does not assume that to the poet vocare meant tenere even in a 'sentido extenso'.

The CC was written during the lifetime of the Cid, between 1082 and 1093, but a more precise date cannot be determined, because no event is mentioned that occurred after 1082 and the poem's conclusion is lost. As a contemporary and not a posthumous panegyric, the CC's celebratory function must have been an immediate one; it may have been
composed as propaganda. It emphasises the support offered by Rodrigo: 'Magis qui eius freti estis ope', the fear that he inspired among the Muslim princes, his accumulating wealth (11.31-2, 87-8) and his success against his fellow Christians (1.30). The poet was probably not a Castilian, for he does not appear to have been familiar with the whole of Rodrigo's career. His knowledge of the earlier deeds - the first and second victories - is imprecise and was probably learnt at second hand. He displays a surer knowledge of the events of 1082, for he is aware of the alliance between al-Hajib and the Count of Barcelona and knows of Rodrigo's negotiations with the besieging forces at Almenar, who refused to give way (11.99-102). It is possible that he was a Catalan and a secular cleric - rather than a monk - and it is certain that he was learned. He may have composed the poem, as Pidal suggested, to celebrate the defeat of Ramon Berenguer II among the latter's Catalan opponents. It is more likely, however, that the CC was intended either to celebrate Rodrigo himself among the more learned members of his retinue and to give them greater encouragement or to predispose others to follow him by making known what a good ally and source of wealth he could be.

The dating of the CC within its hero's lifetime must coincide with the stage of development of the story of the Cid, as it is reflected in the poem. Those of his qualities that are spotlighted are all inherent in his role as a warrior leader; there is no mention of other virtues such as loyalty, magnanimity or Christian charity, only of his
success in battle and his growing wealth and fame. The proemium suggests this focal point: 'Modo canamus Roderici nova / principis bella' (11.7-8). This represents an early stage in the story's evolution, prior to historical falsifications and all legendary accretions. In the HR, whose terminus ad quem is 1147, attention is drawn to another quality, that of loyalty. Rodrigo's efforts to prove his innocence and his fidelity as a vassal are stressed by the reiteration of the four-fold oath (HR: 35) and by the writer's care to free him from any taint of guilt on the other occasions when he quarrelled with Alfonso VI (HR: 10-11, 45). Rodrigo's fidelity to the monarch who exiled him is nowhere present in the CC, which again suggests the closeness of the poem's composition to events.

Nevertheless, the CC's treatment of the causes of Rodrigo's exile are relevant to later accounts of his career in the HR and the Cantar de Mio Cid. The poet follows his hero's changing fortunes and he contrasts his rise to fame at the court of Sancho II with the blow of his exile, whose impact is then redressed by his acquisition of wealth and his military successes. He is sympathetic with the exiled warrior, but he reveals that Alfonso VI was not wholly to blame for the unjust banishment, for initially he had been well-disposed to Rodrigo. Blame is firmly attached to the latter's enemies at court, the malos mestureros of the CMC:

Certe nec minus cepit [Alfonso] hunc amare, ceteris plusquam volens exaltare, donec ceperunt ei invidere compares aule. (45-8)

The envy of the rest of the court occasions the hero's downfall, for it inflames that of the King, who begins to
fear a rival in the man who was a favourite of his assassinated brother Sancho:

   Sit tibi [to Alfonso] notum: te nunquam amabit,
       quod tui fratris curialis fuit,
   ...  
   rex Eldefonsus, tactus zelo cordis,
       perdere timens solium honoris
       causa timoris.  (53-4, 58-60)

The exile was the result of Alfonso's heeding the false advice of those who desired Rodrigo's banishment and disgrace (stanzas 14-5), but the King's action is nonetheless considered unjust and groundless: 'obiciendo per pauca que novit / plura que nescit' (11.63-4). The poet's sympathies lie with his hero, for he establishes his innocence in contrast to the malice and petty hatred of the court, but he does not highlight his stoicism and integrity in adversity, as later accounts were to do.

The precise date of the CC's composition cannot be established, but the greater part of the available evidence has led to the conclusion that it was written in the period 1082-1093. Its structure, content and presentation of material all imply a contemporaneity with the events narrated. The poet's aim was to celebrate the immediate successes and qualities of the Cid and his rapidly increasing fortune. This emphasis may not prove conclusively a propagandist, rather than a purely celebratory, motive, but it establishes the fact that the CC was a poem created 'al calor de los hechos'.
Footnotes


4. Lines 210-2 of the Poema de Almería read:

Ipse Rodericus, Meo Cidi saepe vocatus,
de quo cantatur, quod ab hostibus haud superatur,
qui domuit Mauros, comites domuit quoque nostros.

Expressions such as vocatus, qui vocatur and qui dicitur were used in twelfth-century Latin texts to introduce
vernacular words or place-names that had no Latin equivalent (see above p. 74). The reference to 'Mio Cidi' does not prove the existence of a vernacular poem about Rodrigo Díaz. It indicates merely that the Castilian hero was often known by that name, not that he was so-called in a particular poem.


6. See W. J. Entwistle, 'On the *Carmen de morte Sanctii Regis*', BH, XXX (1928), 204-19; Francisco Rico, 'Las letras latinas del siglo XII en Galicia, León y Castilla', *Abaco*, II (1969), 9-91, at pp. 83-5; Salvador Martínez, 'Tres leyendas heroicas de la *Najarense* y sus relaciones con la épica castellana', *Anuario de Letras*, IX (1971), 115-77, esp. pp. 143-76. The recent article of Charles F. Fraker, 'Sancho II: Epic and Chronicle', R, XCV (1974), 467-507, proposes that a twelfth-century vernacular epic must have preceded the version prosified in the Estoria de España. He considers that this latter version is distinct from the main body of Castilian epic in its treatment of Germanic law and custom, while the hypothetical earlier poem had points in common with the *Najarense*'s account of Sancho's death and was faithful to Germanic tradition.

7. These events took place in 1066, 1080 and 1082 respectively. The Navarrese champion was one Jimeno Garcés, according to the HR (5).

9. R. Menéndez Pidal, 'La épica española y la "Literarästhetik des Mittelalters" de E. R. Curtius', in Castilla, la tradición, el idioma (Buenos Aires: Austral, 1945), 75-93.

10. It was also unnecessary for Curtius to claim that the poet tampered with historical fact in presenting this exploit as a youthful deed. The event took place in 1066, and not after the siege of Zamora (1072) as the HR states. Curtius believed that the poet used the HR as a source.


12. A distinction between an ornamental exordium and subsequent narrative is drawn in the case of ¡Ay Jherusalem!, the thirteenth-century lament on the fall of Jerusalem to the Saracens. See Eugenio Asensio, Poética y realidad en el cancionero peninsular de la Edad Media (2nd ed., Madrid, 1970). He refers at one point to the CC in this connection (pp. 289-90), but the nature of the contrast is radically different.


16. 'Sur le CC', pp. 339-40. Horrent overlooks the possibility that it was ignorance, rather than choice, that determined the omission of events from the early part of
the poem. The proportion of events included out of the total number, as narrated in the HR, need not have been constant throughout. More incidents could have been included from the later period of Rodrigo's career, when he was operating outside Castile, in the Eastern part of the Peninsula, an area with which the poet was more familiar. This assumes, of course, for the sake of argument, that the CC did embrace the greater part of the Cid's career.

17. See above pp. 40-1.


19. The first word of the MS. reads 'ella' which does not make sense. Du Méril explained it as 'En illa', by analogy with the contractions ellum, ellam, which occur in Terence. Menéndez Pidal preferred 'Eia', which he considered 'una ultracorrcción de una amanuense yeista' (La España del Cid, II, p. 880, n.2). Georges Cirot suggested that the initial letter was missing: 'On peut supposer que le scribe avait sous les yeux un ms. où les initiales avaient été réservées pour le miniaturiste'. He added that the 'e' might have been an 'i' and that the first word could then be 'Milla': 'mais l'E est très différent de l'E de Eia, quelques lignes plus bas ... et il [le scribe] aura lu Illa là où il y avait Milla, pour Milia (fréquent, au lieu de Millia ...) ('Le Carmen Campidocotoris', BH, XXXIII (1931), 144-9, at p. 144, n.2). Curtius followed this reasoning but retained the 'e', reading 'Bella' which balances the
same word in 1.8: 'Modo canamus Roderici nova / principis bella.' ('Zur Literarästhetik', p. 162, n.1). Curtius' reading is the more attractive, but it is less convincing grammatically than Cirot's, for the genitive plural 'gestorum' is hard to explain. I have preserved Pidal's suggested readings in square brackets in my references.


23. 'La épica española', pp. 79-80. His original view was expressed in La España del Cid, II, pp. 570-1. It had already been advanced by Manuel Milá y Fontanals, Observaciones sobre la poesía popular (Barcelona, 1853), p. 63 and by M. Menéndez Pelayo, Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, VI (Santander, 1944), pp. 268-9 (the Antología was first published in Madrid, 1890-1908).


25. Curtius distinguishes between this aspect in heroic and in literary epic:

Im Gegensatz zum Cid-Epos und zum Rolandslied werden bei der Waffenschilderung 1. phantastische Züge gebraucht (Toreutik des Schildes, electrum); 2. wird auf die kunstvolle Verfertigung hingewiesen. ('Zur Literarästhetik', p. 168).

Descriptions of shields and banners in vernacular epic are limited to references to their devices: deer are depicted on the banner of Don Jerónimo in the CMC (1.2375), and dragons on the banners of the Muslims and flowers on the Christians' shields in the Chanson de Roland, (11.1480,
26. The eighteenth-century German writer Lessing praised the simple descriptions of Homer:

Ich finde, Homer malet nichts als fortschreitende Handlungen, und alle Körper, alle einzelne Dinge malet er nur durch ihren Anteil an diesen Handlungen, gemeiniglich nur mit Einem Zuge ... Für Ein Dinge, sage ich, hat Homer gemeiniglich nur Einen Zug. Ein Schiff ist ihm bald das schwarze Schiff, bald das hohle Schiff, bald das schnelle Schiff, hochstens das wohlberuderte schwarze Schiff. (Laocoon, ch.XVI)

27. For example in the Chanson de Roland, 11.1797-1801:

Franceis descendent, si aduben lor cors
D'osbercs e de helmes e d'espees a or,
Escuz unt genz e espiez granz e forz,
E gunfanuns blancs e vermeilz e blois.
Es destrers muntent tuit li barun de l'ost.

28. Menéndez Pidal compares the CC's lines: 'Equum ascendit quem trans rare vexit / barbarus quidam ...' (11.121-2) with 11.1573-5 of the CMC which tell how the Cid had only recently acquired Babieca. He suggests that this may have been in battle against the King of Seville. See Cantar de Mio Cid (4th ed., Madrid, 1964), II, pp. 500-1.


30. Consideration of the metre of the CC has been omitted, as it is irrelevant to an examination of the poem as a celebratory work. The poem is made up of four-line stanzas, having a regular syllable count of 11, 11, 11, 5. The basis of the metre is arithmetical, which approximates the poem to some liturgical hymns and to verse lives of saints, such as that of Saint Rumoldus, quoted by Dag Norberg in Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale (Stockholm, 1958), p. 124. For a discussion of the stress
pattern of the *CC* and its relation to the sapphic ode, see Georges Cirot, 'Le rythme du *CC*', BH, XXXIII (1931), 247-52. A parallel also exists between the *CC*’s metre and that of ¡Ay Jherusalem! Asensio suggests a relation between the *planto*, part of a 'rama lírica perdida', and the liturgical sequence (*Poética y realidad*, p. 289).

31. Those critics who have favoured a posthumous composition include: Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica*, II, pp. 213, 215 n.1; Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana* (Barcelona, 1874, 2nd ed., 1959), p. 305 n.1; Curtius, 'Zur Literarästhetik', p. 162 and European Literature, p. 166, where he advances his previous dating at the first years of the twelfth century to 1100. Those critics maintaining a date prior to 1099 include: Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología*, VI, p. 269; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, II, pp. 866-7; 'La épica española', pp. 78-9 and 'La crítica cidiana y la historia medieval', *Castilla*, p. 95-139, at p. 100; Cirot, 'Le *CC*', p. 144 and n.2.

32. 'Zur Literarästhetik', pp. 170-1.

33. See HR: 5.


35. See HR: 7, 8.


37. Cirot ('*Le CC*') dated the poem just after 1082, while Pidal placed it after Rodrigo's second encounter with Ramon Berenguer at around 1090 ('La épica española'). Subsequently, Pidal agreed that he found Cirot's argument
'muy convincente' (La España del Cid, II, p. 877).

38. 'Sur le CC', pp. 341-2, 347-52.


40. La España del Cid, II, p. 876; 'La épica española', pp. 79-9.

41. 'Le CC', p. 144 n.2.

42. 'Sur le CC', pp. 349-51.

43. Periphrastic references to place-names are discussed in ch. VI(a)iv.

44. Horrent also proposes the existence of a double chronology in the CC's account of the Cabra incident (11.69-84), which would advance its date of composition beyond 1092 ('Sur le CC', pp. 348-9). The events leading to Rodrigo's victory according to the CC are very different from those narrated in the HR. The poem's version is misplaced chronologically, since it sets the incident in the period after exile, not before (cf. HR: 7-8), whilst certain elements of the account cannot be easily explained. Lines 71-2: '... adhuc parat eis [King and his men] / laqueum mortis' indicate that the discovery of a plot occasioned the King's subsequent, and second, outburst of anger against Rodrigo. The 'plot' was suggested by his having entered the service of the Muslims of Saragossa: 'quod Campidocor, Agarice gentis / obtima sumens' (11.70-1). The King ordered García Ordóñez to pursue the Cid: 'precipiendo quod si foret captus / sit iugulatus' (11.75-6), but the King's general was defeated. Horrent sees in this account hints of the attack on Valencia in 1092 by Alfonso
himself, which was an invasion of what was considered the Cid's sphere of interest. The latter's reaction was to lay waste the lands of La Rioja that constituted the fief of García Ordóñez (HR: 31), because, it can be presumed, he suspected the Count's ill-will was the root cause of the King's offensive. The main objection to Horrent's hypothesis must be that if the CC episode reflects events of 1092, the poet committed an unlikely error. His knowledge of Rodrigo's career increases with time and to confuse a distant event with one occurring only a year or two years previously seems highly improbable. Moreover, the HR records various outbursts of the King's anger against Rodrigo: in 1089 after the failure of their two armies to meet (HR: 33-4) and in 1091 before the walls of Granada (HR: 45). On the first occasion, the Cid's enemies suggest to the King that the Cid was preparing a trap: 'ut rex et omnes ... a sarracenis interficerentur' (HR: 34). A similar allegation was made in 1081 prior to the first exile, according to the same source: 'quod Rodericus hac de causa fecit hoc ut nos omnes simul ... a sarracenis interficeremur' (HR: 11). There can be no doubt that the poet was confused about the events prior to Cabra, but exactly which events he conflated is far from certain and it is rash of Horrent to assert that it was the attack of 1092, rather than the incident of 1089, that is reflected in the CC's version. The events of 1081, after the Cid attacked the Moors living near Toledo, also have features similar to the Cabra episode, in particular Alfonso's outburst of anger at a supposed plot. It is also much easier to confuse events only a year apart
than it is when they are separated by twelve years.

45. The poet's Catalan origin has been suggested by Milá y Fontanals, Observaciones, pp. 62-3; De la poesía heroico-popular, p. 304 and n. 1; Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, II, pp. 878-9; 'La épica española', pp. 87-8; Cirot, 'Le CC', p. 146; 'Quelques mots encore sur le Cid', BH, XLI (1939), 178-80; Curtius, 'Zur Literarästhetik', pp. 170-1. Horrent admits the possibility, but also suggests that the author could have been a Mozarab living on the borders of Lérida ('Sur le CC', pp. 335-6).

46. The dating of the HR is discussed in ch. II(b).

47. These passages are discussed in ch. II(c).
(b) The *Historia Roderici*: form and content

The narrative of the *Historia Roderici* is conspicuously uneven and no pattern can readily be perceived in it that explains the manner of its composition. The history embraces the years 1055-1102, but within this period several large gaps occur and summaries are included in place of more detailed narrative. The impression of unevenness is clearly conveyed in the edition of Bonilla y San Martín, which is presented as if the HR's chronology were unbroken. The subsequent edition of Menéndez Pidal, however, shed light on the work's genesis, for it divided the text into six separate parts, of which three contain continuous narrative, one an extensive summary, another a much briefer summary, while the other narrates the background to an isolated event. Parts 2, 4 and 6 are full accounts of relatively short periods: from 1079 to 1084, from 1089 to 1094 and from 1097 to 1099, together with a short continuation up to 1102. Part I summarises at length various events over the twenty-four-year period, 1055-1079. Part 3 links parts 2 and 4, mentioning three core incidents within the years 1085-1089, while part 5 explains a single event in 1094, omitting all reference to the years 1095 and 1096. The gaps create a partial account of the career of Rodrigo Díaz, concentrating on three phases: the first exile in Saragossa, the second exile spent in the Levant and the Valencia campaign, and the later period of rule in Valencia. A temporal schema affords the most objective description of the form of the HR and of its distribution of material. Part 4, which covers a five-year period, is by far the most extensive,
occupying more than fifty per cent of the total narrative. This is evident from a plan:

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The basic choice of material was obviously determined by the role played in events by Rodrigo Díaz, but the narrative breaks off at various points in time. Geographical factors underline the temporal divisions of the HR. The Cid's movements from one sphere of operations to another explain some gaps, for information could not be derived from all parts of the Peninsula, in particular from Castile. The remaining lacunae cannot be explained in this way, for part 2 ends before the Cid left Saragossa for Castile and part 4 begins after his return from his homeland. Part 5 inadequately conceals a lacuna at the time when he was in Valencia, just as he was at the end of part 4 and throughout part 6. These gaps must be attributed either to the movement of the writer himself or to his inability to record events at the time or to find written sources for those periods at some later date.

Menéndez Pidal emphasised the HR's link with the eastern part of the Peninsula, in particular the Muslim kingdom of Saragossa and the area bordering on the rival kingdom of Lérida. Part 2 concentrates on the wars fought
by the Cid as the mercenary general of al-Mu'tamin, Emir of Saragossa. These consisted of various encounters with the latter's brother, al-Hajib, ruler of Lérida, and with Ramon Berenguer II, Count of Barcelona, who formed a coalition against the Cid in 1084 (14). The historian had a precise knowledge of the political situation in Saragossa which was created by the division of the former kingdom of the late Emir, al-Muqtadir, between his two sons, one of whom received Saragossa itself, the other Lérida (12). He was also aware of the political background to the rebellion staged by Abu '1-Falak, governor of Rueda, on behalf of al-Muqtadir's brother, al-Zafir, against the rule of al-Mu'tamin (18). In the same period the historian shows a detailed knowledge of the role played by the Catalans in the politics of the region. He recalls the allies of Ramon Berenguer: the Counts of Cerdaña, Urgel, Besalú, Ampurias, Carcassonne and Roussillon (14). He displays a similar familiarity with the names of the Aragonese nobles who were involved in the action of 1084, when Sancho Ramírez, allied with al-Hajib, was defeated by the Cid (22-3).

Just two episodes disturb the pattern created in part 2 by the focus on the Cid's activities in the Saragossa area, but the reasons for their inclusion are abundantly clear. The betrayal of Alfonso VI by Abu '1-Falak, leader of the Rueda rebellion, did not concern the Cid directly, but its incidental effect was not negligible. After the slaughter of Alfonso's exploratory force, Rodrigo offered the King his aid, but he was not well received (19). These
events do not alter the geographical orientation of part 2, for they took place only about twenty miles from Saragossa itself. Rodrigo's offer was his first tentative attempt as a banished vassal to reestablish normal relations with his King.

Prior to the Saragossa period, a full account is given of the Cid's expedition to Seville to collect tribute on behalf of Alfonso VI and of the subsequent battle of Cabra (7-9). Precise reference is made to the duration of the conflict, to the various Leonese and Castilian noblemen captured by Rodrigo and to the length of their captivity. The importance of the incident in the Cid's career is obvious, for his defeated Christian enemies bore him a grudge and gained possession of certain facts which they later used against him. The episode leads directly to his banishment from Castile, as a result of the accusations of his enemies following the violent raid on the Moors living near Toledo (10-11).

The geographical orientation of part 4 is more varied than that of part 2, because the Cid's activities extended throughout the Levant and were not centred in one area. The political situations chronicled in part 2, Rodrigo's relations with both Saragossa and Aragon, are kept up to date and covered in detail. The alliance of 1092 with the new Emir of Saragossa, al-Musta'in, is recorded (47), as is the peace agreement of the same year with Sancho Ramírez and his son Pedro (48). Events of the second coalition of Ramon Berenguer and al-Hajib are narrated more comprehensively than those of the first. The texts of the two letters exchanged by the Christian leaders are copied verbatim (38-9),
while the victory at Tévar is told in more detail than that at Almenar in 1082 (40, 16). Certain events are also fully narrated that took place outside the Levant. Conspicuous are the two disastrous attempts at reconciliation between Rodrigo and Alfonso VI, both of which took the Cid south into al-Andalus, first to Aledo in Murcia (32-3) and then as far as Granada (44-5). Rodrigo's expedition to La Rioja in 1092 is included, when he left the kingdom of Saragossa and devastated the lands of García Ordóñez near Nájera and Logroño (50).

Just prior to the end of part 4, the HR's geographical focus is fixed for the second time, centring now on Valencia after its capture in 1094. Up to that point, the perspective on the Valencia campaign grows progressively more distant, until the city's final capitulation is summed up in three lines. When Rodrigo acquired a permanent base, as he did at Saragossa and at Valencia, the focus is narrower and detail and accuracy increase accordingly. The narrative is however interrupted again after the battle of el Cuarte in 1094 and the thread is not resumed until 1097. Part 6 continues to record events in virtually uninterrupted sequence until the hero's death in 1099. This gap in the account of the Valencia period indicates the predominance of factors other than changes in the Cid's sphere of activity in the determination of the form of the HR.

One region was almost totally unknown to the writer: Castile. The events of part 1, most of which took place there or directly concerned the kingdom of Sancho II are
summarised sketchily and not entirely accurately. The placing of Rodrigo's duel against the Navarrese champion after the death of Sancho is chronologically impossible, since the Cid lost his official posts on the succession of Alfonso VI. Menéndez Pidal points to various omissions: the siege of Saragossa, the war of the three Sanchos and the war against García of Galicia, all of which involved the Cid. His return to Castile in 1087 falls in the middle of the lacuna, bridged by the summary part 3, and very little is recorded beyond his return to royal favour and the concessions granted to him by the King (25-6). The only substantial quantity of material concerning events in León-Castile tells of the Cid's raid near Toledo and his subsequent banishment (10-11). These paragraphs are not inconsistent with the HR writer's seeming connection with the eastern peninsular kingdoms, for the incidents were probably very well known and his version omits more details than it includes.

This description of the form of the HR in terms of its content in relation to the periods covered and the geographical location of events has observed the divisions in Menéndez Pidal's edition. It has departed from his own account of the history only by suggesting the orientation toward Valencia at the end of part 4. He wrote that: 'la información que el autor tiene sobre la batalla del Cuarte es muy incompleta ... el interés de este fragmento [part 4] es mucho mayor cuando el Cid opera entre Zaragoza y Tortosa que cuando actúa en Valencia'. This latter claim is true, but the account of el Cuarte differs very little in its
amount of detail and overall accuracy from that of Bairen in 1097 (66). Yet there are other reasons for questioning Pidal's conclusion about the method of the HR's composition. He believed in a single author and in his closeness to events:

En resumen: la Historia Roderici no es una biografía completa del Cid, sino la unión de tres fragmentos discontinuos, separados por dos grandes lagunas, escritos con recuerdos muy directos de un coetáneo a los sucesos narrados. El fragmento de 1089-1094 difiere de los otros por insertar textualmente varios documentos; no obstante, mantiene los mismos puntos de vista que el trozo de 1080-1094. Creo, pues, que se trata de un autor único. Era probablemente un clérigo aventurero y soldado, natural de tierras aragonesas o mejoret catalanas ... El autor acompañó al Cid más o menos asiduamente en tres ocasiones: primero, en el reino de Zaragoza, de 1082 a 1084; luego, otra vez hacia Zaragoza, de 1089 a 1092, y acaso poco en Valencia, de 1093 a 1094; y por último, en Valencia, de 1097 a 1098.6

The argument is convincing, primarily because the historian's nearness to the Cid at various periods allows the gaps in the chronology to be related to the Cid's absences from the north-eastern parts of the Peninsula and to the writer's own movements. The historian's contemporaneity with events has, however, already been challenged, while discrepancies also exist between the six sections which cast doubt upon the supposed method of composition.

The Rueda episode involved Alfonso VI, rather than the Cid, but it is not his only appearance in the work. He is referred to by his Leonese title of imperator throughout that passage. Elsewhere in the HR, he is referred to simply as rex, except in the fourth oath taken by Rodrigo where he is addressed by his full title 'regem et imperatorem' (939.23-4). Pidal recognised this irregularity: 'Esta digresión
[the Rueda episode] es sin duda un fragmento tomado de otro texto; en ella se llama siempre a Alfonso "imperator Aldefonsus" o "imperator" ... mientras en todo el resto de la historia no se llama sino "rex Adefonsus" o "rex". He does not relate this irregularity to others that exist, while what is meant by 'otro texto' is not abundantly clear. Yet the passage illustrates the difficulty of isolating distinct elements, for only the use of the imperial title distinguishes the Rueda episode from the surrounding narrative. Stylistically, it is integrated within the entire history.

Part 4 is the only section of the HR containing word-for-word transcriptions of documents, another feature that was recognised by Menéndez Pidal. The fourfold oath sworn by the Cid in his attempt to prove his innocence of treachery seems to have been copied in full (35). Also included are two letters containing various insults, that were exchanged by Rodrigo and the Count of Barcelona before the battle of Tévar (38-9). No other documents were transcribed in their entirety, but there is further evidence of the use of written material. The account of Rodrigo's gift to Valencia cathedral includes elements of the text of the donation, which were unwittingly copied:

Dedit quoque prefate ecclesie duas citharas serico et auro textas pretiosissimas ... Missam ... cum laudum modulationibus et suauissimis ac dulcissimis cantum uocibus, deuotis mentibus unanimiter tune celebrauerunt, et Redemptorem Nostrum Dominum Ihesum Christum, cui est honor et gloria una cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto per omnia secula seculorum amen, ibidem exultantibus animis laudauerunt. (968.)
Pidal pointed to traces in part 3 of the wording of two other documents, of the royal diploma giving Rodrigo possession of various lands in Castile and of the unusual privilege that allowed him possession in perpetuity of all the lands that he conquered from the Moors. In addition, there is the unknown written source of the Rueda episode, which Pidal concluded was derived from a different source from the rest of the history. The HR's use of written material appears particularly erratic, for the origins of the various items are geographically very far apart. The two letters originated in the north-eastern Peninsula, while the four oaths were drawn up somewhere to the south of Valencia, probably at Elche. The donation to the cathedral was written in Valencia, while the diplomas of Alfonso VI were drawn up in León-Castile, possibly in Toledo. The Rueda account is most likely to have been Leonese in origin. The picture is not quite so diverse as it might first appear, since the destination and resting place of the material are the vital factors. It seems strange, however, that only one written source is evident in part 2 and only one in part 6, in spite of the historian's detailed knowledge of those periods. The documents used in the HR do not seem to have formed part of a kind of cartulario cidiano, since so little material is involved and its origins are so varied. It thus seems unlikely that they were accessible by 1110 to one man who was responsible for the entire history.
Other differences in points of detail exist between various parts of the HR. Temporal references, both to the extent of time and to specific moments, are concentrated in parts 4 and 6. The detailed narrative of part 2 contains no dates and just four temporal references. Part 4 opens and closes with mention of the era (28, 62) and within those limits not fewer than fourteen other references occur. The majority refer to specific moments: religious festivals, the season, the month of the year, the rest to the extent of periods of time. Part 6 contains one reference to the era at the time of Rodrigo's death (75), three references to religious festivals and five to length of time. This concentration of temporal references toward the end of the work is not easy to explain. The simplest explanation would be that a single author recorded dates only for events in the recent past, having ignored them or been unable to record them in earlier periods. There is however no corresponding lack of detailed information that could be expected for the period covered by part 2. In addition, the number of references to actual moments of time decreases slightly rather than increases in the period 1097-1099, covered by part 6, relative to the Levant period, 1089-1094, in part 4. Leaving aside this last minor variation, the absence of dates in part 2 remains inexplicable, for the other obvious explanation, that the writer used different sources for parts 2 and 4, is again invalidated by their similarity of focal point and their amount of detail.
Toward the end of part 4 and throughout part 6, the religious aspect of events is increasingly emphasised, even to the extent that the period of the Cid's rule in Valencia is interpreted according to the theological view of history traditional in the Middle Ages. In addition to the references to Midsummer Day and to other festivals, the providential intervention of God in human affairs and the reciprocal gestures and attitudes of the Christians are frequently mentioned. Outside the fourfold oath and the two letters, God or the divine mercy is referred to on only four occasions prior to paragraph 62, whilst in that paragraph alone there are no fewer than five further references. Rodrigo is recognised for the first time as a soldier of Christ, 'invincibilis bellator in Domino' (960. 2-3), and for the first time he prays that God will grant him victory (959. 31-2). Two commonplaces attributing the victory of el Cuarte to divine providence are also included (960. 6-7, 8). Similar elements proliferate in part 6, for the victory at Bairén and the capture of Murviedro are both attributed to the effect of God's mercy. 13

Part 5 contains the first significant items of monastic and ecclesiastical history, recording that Sancho of Aragon was buried in San Juan de la Peña (64). In part 6, the foundation of the churches of Santa María at Almenara and San Juan at Murviedro are mentioned (67, 72), while the reconsecration of the mosque at Valencia is narrated at length (73).

The invasion of the Almoravids in 1086 can explain the introduction of the Christian interpretation of history into
the account of the later stage of the Cid's career, since his deeds acquired a new significance. Warfare after 1086 had taken on the features of a holy war, for the fanaticism of the new wave of Muslim invaders contrasted markedly with the neglect of religion and lax observance of the Hispano-Muslims. The Cid's extensive conquests in the Levant also gave him the opportunity of reestablishing and founding churches, actions which redoubled in meaning in the context of a religious war. Nevertheless, the almost total absence of reference to God's intervention and providence prior to the end of part 4 is unusual. Medieval thought attributed all deeds and all events to God's designs, whether they concerned matters of faith or not. The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, for example, interprets all of Alfonso VII's victories, against the Aragonese and Almoravids alike, as the fulfillment of God's beneficent intentions, for both are integral parts of the divine plan. In the HR, Rodrigo's victories prior to el Cuarte are but rarely interpreted as the results of God's designs. The introduction of the new element alters the conception of the central figure that has been projected hitherto and it marks a final more laudatory phase in the account of his life. The discrepancy appears more marked when it is considered that the Almoravids invaded in 1086. Not only is this not recorded in the HR, but the specifically Christian interpretation of events is not adopted until the battle of el Cuarte in 1094. The Almoravids' incursions did not seriously threaten Rodrigo until that point, but their hostile presence has been mentioned on five occasions.
These four areas of discrepancy between the six parts of the *HR* do not totally invalidate Menéndez Pidal's view that the history, as it has survived, was written by one man. They do, however, cast doubt on the idea that its composition involved only an Aragonese or Catalan cleric whose main sphere of interest was the Saragossa-Lérida area, but who went with the Cid on various expeditions outside that region. The variations in the narrative suggest that the method of composition needs a different and more complex explanation, possibly that the single writer utilised written historical sources other than his own records. Certainly the material for the Rueda episode was not provided by the 'clérigo aventurero', while the accounts of the Saragossa period and of the Valencia period post-1094 might have originated separately. The historian's reworking was, however, so thorough that the separate origins of earlier material cannot be determined, for the history possesses a stylistic unity. Its Latin is unliterary and unpretentious and no conscious attempt is made to create a particular style, but the same forms of expression, the same linguistic traits and extensive use of rhyme as a decoration recur throughout.

**Date of composition**

The exact date of composition is not greatly relevant to a study of the *HR* as a celebratory work, but questions raised about Menéndez Pidal's dating underscore the doubts concerning his explanation of the method of composition.
It is in fact difficult to determine an accurate date, since only one reference is made to an event or situation which falls outside the scope of the narrative. The last event actually recorded, except for the burial of the Cid in Cardeña, is the entry of the Almoravids into Valencia in 1102 (76). The city is however viewed as still being in their possession: 'Sarraceni ... nunquam eam ulterius perdiderunt' (969. 15, 19). It was not recaptured until 1238, but it is clear that the date of composition was very much earlier. Before Menéndez Pidal, Dozy had first proposed 1170, but had later revised this to 1150.14 Menéndez Pelayo placed it some ten years earlier still, while Bonilla agreed with Dozy.15 Pidal, however, considered the history's composition to have followed closely the events that it narrated, dating it between 1102 and 1110. This view was based on the absence of reference first to the recapture of Saragossa by the Spaniards in 1118, then to the capture of that kingdom, together with Lérida, by the Almoravids in 1110.16 The HR records that in 1092 those two regions were kept free of the new invaders only by Rodrigo's actions:

Rodericus ... ad opidum Cepulle peruenit ... Nisi uero tam cito uenisset, ille barbare gentes Yspani[am] totam usque ad Caesaraugustam et Leridam iam preoccupassent, atque omnino obtinuissent. (955. 14-17)

The omission of reference to the Almoravids' domination of Saragossa seems significant, but it does not prove conclusively that the kingdom had not been overrun by the time that the HR was composed. Allusions to events or situations outside the immediate temporal or geographical
context of particular passages are rare throughout the history, for its historical method was not intended to highlight underlying patterns in events or even to pinpoint connections between them by referring to the past or to the future. The mention of the Almoravids' continued occupation of Valencia is exceptional. Moreover, Pidal's dating is now opposed by that of Ubieto Arteta, who has adduced from the text concrete evidence to suggest that the HR may not have been composed until 1144. He cannot prove, however, that it was written in its entirety after that year or that a substantial part of it did not in fact already exist.

Ubieto points out two items of detail whose implications at first appear considerable. Paragraph 7 of the HR tells how Alfonso VI sent the Cid to collect tribute: 'Interea namque rex Aldefonsus nuntium eum pro paria sua ad regem Sibille et ad regem Cordube misit' (921.12-13). The reference to the Kings of Seville and Córdoba is extraordinary, because at that time both cities were ruled by one man, al-Mu'tamid, 'Almuctamit rex Sibille' (921.14). The political union lasted until 1144, when Córdoba achieved independence. The break with precedent lasted just four years and Ubieto proposes that the HR must date from that period. This conclusion is excessive, for the reference need imply no more than that the history was reworked or simply copied at that time. The rest of the passage contains accurate and detailed information and the reference to the Emir of Córdoba is superfluous, as the supposed ruler is not introduced again... An individual writing or copying in the period 1144-1148 could have
inserted an error of his own into an accurate account. A similar partial objection can be raised to the conclusion which Ubieto draws from a single reference to the Almoravids. In paragraph 54, they are unusually described in periphrastic form as 'illis barbaris qui dicebantur moabitae' (956. 7). The use of the imperfect tense suggests that they were no longer present in Spain at the time of writing, which again dates the history after 1144, the last year of the Almoravid rule. 19 The peri-

phrastic qui dicitur construction is usually employed in medieval Latin writing to introduce into a text unusual expressions, in particular vernacular place-names, but its use in this context is strange for two reasons. First, the moabitae have already been mentioned twice and on neither occasion were they referred to periphrastically. 20 Subsequently, they are mentioned seven times, but not once in such a manner. 21 The periphrastic reference to the Almoravids could thus be an addition of a later writer. In itself, the use of a past tense is unusual and it is hard to be sure that it even served a specific function. If the HR were written between 1144 and 1147, as Ubieto proposes, it is highly unlikely that memory of the Almoravids would have faded so rapidly from the mind of any writer or reader as to require a past tense.

Any form of correction is impossible in the case of a third piece of evidence, the nature of references to the kings of Aragon. Both Sancho Ramírez and Pedro I are referred to as 'rex Aragonensis' (six times), while Sancho is called 'rex Aragonensium' on only two occasions.
title **rex Aragonensis** does not figure on documents issuing from the Aragonese royal chancery until 1162, the form **rex Aragonensium** persisting, but Ramon Berenguer IV governed the kingdom as **princeps Aragonensis** from 1137. The impact of this evidence on the HR's composition is substantial, because it affects all those sections concerning the Aragonese and not just one as is the case of the references to the **moabitae** and the Emir of Córdoba. In the light of Ubieto's argument, the evolution of the HR must have continued until 1144, before the history achieved the state in which it survives. It could not have continued after 1147, because the earliest manuscript in Carolingian hand contains traces of Visigothic spelling and errors that can be explained by the similarity of certain Visigothic letters. Much remains to be discovered about how the HR was composed, for both Menéndez Pidal and Ubieto Arteta present attractive, but not foolproof, conclusions. Perhaps an alternative solution to the problems posed might be afforded by combining certain elements of their analyses, although even the partial reconciliation of two such opposing views is fraught with contradiction. The lack of reference to events post-1102 can be explained partly by the historical method of the HR, partly by adapting Pidal's conclusion that the history was written soon after the events which it narrates. If much of its material was written down at that time, a later composition of the actual HR can be attributed to an individual other than the 'clérigo aventurero!'... The Rueda episode was shown to have come from a separate source, in spite of its
stylistic similarity to the surrounding narrative. This stylistic similarity limits the further isolation of original elements to those that survive in the form of wholly or partly transcribed documents. The existence of one later individual can however be detected in the details spotted by Ubieto, but it is impossible to know whether the writer of 1144-1147 was responsible for the final organisation and reworking of the HR, for his presence can be perceived only in those allusions. At any time before 1144, a writer could have composed the HR, using material drawn from more than one source, a process reflected in the various discrepancies between the six parts of the history determined by Pidal. Nevertheless, by whatever process the HR was produced, two facts emerge. The importance of an individual such as Pidal's 'clérigo aventurero' is considerably diminished and greater weight can be attached to the use of written sources, although these may have been derived from one or more eye-witnesses. Secondly, the history, as it has survived, has an overall coherence and a stylistic unity that enable it to be studied as the first single piece of historical writing, rather than a collection of fragments, devoted to the figure of Rodrigo Díaz.

The Historia Roderici as a celebratory work.
Historical method: a chronicle-biography

The HR differs from the other twelfth-century histories, the Historia Silense and the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, in that it is no more than a partial biography and only
partially celebratory. Its narrative contains the various gaps that have been detailed, entailing the omission of two periods in the Cid's career. Part 3 does not refer to Alfonso VI's siege of Saragossa, to Rodrigo's subsequent reaction or to the attack on Valencia by al-Musta'in and the Cid, and it does not explain how the reconciliation with Alfonso VI was achieved in 1087. The lacuna in the account of the Valencia period is not bridged even by a summary and the history of the years 1094-1097 passes virtually unrecorded. Events were recorded in the HR according to when and where they occurred, a characteristic of a chronicle, rather than of a history or a biography.

The chronicle aspect of the HR is also manifest in its historical method, which ultimately relates to the representation of the central figure. Connections between incidents are only rarely pointed out and there is a consequent lack of explanation and of a clearly defined causality in their presentation. The most conspicuous instance of this lack is the failure to account fully for the series of charges and counter charges made in the letters exchanged between Rodrigo and the Count of Barcelona (38-9). Three letters were involved, two sent by the Cid, one by the Count, of which only two are transcribed, although the first refers back to an original letter sent by the Cid to al-Musta'in that was shown to the Count: 'quia uidimus tuam epistolam quam misisti ad Almuzahen...dixisti ei quod eam a nobis ostenderet' (942. 22-3). The letter from Ramon Berenguer also mentions
a series of insults levelled at him and his men by the Cid, who accused them of cowardice and of an unwillingness to fight, and branded them as effeminate. In his turn, the Count accused the Cid of having violated and destroyed churches. None of these incidents, including the sending of the original insulting letter with its specific request, is mentioned outside Ramon Berenguer's letter. The Cid's reply, the second transcription, contains a series of counter accusations in justification of his action, but these too are based on a new set of incidents. It is claimed that the Count and his men denounced Rodrigo as a coward before the Emir and at the court of Alfonso VI and that he boasted there of the victory that he would win: 'et de terris de Alfaqib uinctum me [Rodrigol quidem eiecisses' (944. 10). Nowhere else in the HR is this series of events recounted, nor does the writer confess his ignorance of the situation in which they occurred and which provoked them. The letters were copied as pieces of available documentary evidence, in spite of the inconsequentialities and inexplicable elements that they entailed.

The account of the exchange of letters typifies the historical method of the HR, even though that particular set of events was of relatively minor importance in the context of Rodrigo's whole career. Other omissions result in a lack of explanation of more significant events. No reason is offered for the marriage that Alfonso VI arranged between Rodrigo and Jimena, 'daughter of the Count of Oviedo; other than the King's high regard for his vassal: 'atque
eum nimio reverentie amore apud se habuit' (921. 9-10).
Yet Dozy's conclusion that the King was politically moti-
vated by the desire to bind together the Leonese and
Castilian nobilities after the assassination of Sancho II
is probably correct.25 The marriage between his own
cousin and the Castilian nobleman who had been Sancho's
alférez and one of his leading generals must have seemed
a sure step towards the restoration of national unity,
even though it turned out not to be so.

The lacuna in the narrative corresponding to the
years 1085-1088 entails the omission of the most important
event in the Pensular history of the period: the invasion
of the Almoravids (1086). Their arrival altered the course
of the history of the Leonese imperium in the reign of
Alfonso, for it resulted in the series of defeats that
began at Sagrajas. Only the action of the Cid in the
Levant prevented their advance in the north-east into
the Ebro valley, as the HR itself records (955. 15-17).
The Almoravid presence may explain the shift of emphasis
in the history's presentation of events, which was observed
after the capture of Valencia. Whatever may have been
the cause of the change of perspective, it cannot be fully
justified without reference to the events of 1086, which
fall within the scope of the inadequate summary in part 3.

The initial banishment of Rodrigo in 1081 is inadequately
explained, but this can be attributed either to an omission
or to an unawareness of the full facts or to the combination
of both.26 The chronicle aspect of the presentation of
events is however also evident in the disproportionate
length of certain passages in relation to the historical importance of the events that they narrate. The siege of Murviedro takes up one hundred and seventy-four lines in Pidal's edition, while the entire Valencia campaign, which lasted more than two years and involved the capture of the arrabales prior to the capture of the city itself, occupies ninety-seven lines. Such a disproportion, which is the result of an inadequate perspective common to historians as well as chroniclers in the Middle Ages, is the more conspicuous in a work conceived in memory of the deeds of a great man. The capture of Valencia was by far the most memorable of Rodrigo's achievements, while that of Murviedro was relatively minor. This lack of perspective that underlies the HR's basic organisation thus affects directly the nature of the account of the hero's career, because it entails a structural failure to emphasise and heighten peaks of achievement. Strangely, the accounts of the Valencia and Murviedro episodes in the Cantar de Mio Cid display a similar disproportion, but the significance of this is less because the poet is not so concerned with the Cid's deeds in battle as the Latin historian.

The historical method of the chronicle is matched by a restricted representation of the central figure. The HR cannot be considered a full biography because it conveys no conception of the character of Rodrigo Díaz and only intermittently relates his deeds to an historical process beyond their immediate context. This contrasts with the portrayal of Alfonso VII in the Chronica Adefonsi
Imperatoris as one of God's heroes who fights the battles of the Lord in opposing the Almoravids. It can also be distinguished from the representation of Fernando I as an ideal emperor in the Carolingian mould in the Historia Silense, while the lack of even semi-symbolic significance in the Cid's deeds is in contrast to the significance of Alfonso VI's recapture of Toledo as a counterweight to the invasion of 711. Only in the concluding passages of the HR do Rodrigo's deeds assume an import beyond that of territorial gain, the acquisition of wealth and the maintenance of his honour as a vassal of Alfonso VI. The absence of causal connections in the narrative linking events is thus paralleled by the lack of perspective on Rodrigo's achievement at different stages of his career. This in turn severely restricts the attribution of politically and religiously symbolic significance to his deeds. Yet the limitation of the historical method and of the celebratory function of the HR cannot obscure its importance as an heroic biography. In technique, it is a chronicle, but its focus is that of a biography nonetheless. Only one passage - the Rueda episode - is not directly related to the recording in writing of Rodrigo's career. Moreover, the HR was one of the first historical works after the broken sequence of Leonese chronicles and the first to concern itself with just one figure and indeed one who was not a monarch. As a celebratory biography, it lacks those features inherent in works in the celebratory mode: the relation of theme to structure and the representation of the central figure in heightened
terms not bound by the immediate historical context.
The use of language is consequently more restricted than
in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris and the Historia
Silense, where the stylistic imitation of literary models
conveys the writers' conception of the central figure.

Language

The restricted use of language in the HR does not
entail the complete absence of features characteristic
of the celebratory work. The exordium, whose overwrought
style is quite different from that of the rest of the
history, explains the writer's motive in terms of the
historical topic of the need to preserve great deeds from
oblivion:

Quoniam rerum temporalium gesta, inmensa annorum
uolubilitate pretereauntia, nisi sub notificationis
speculo denotentur, obliuioni proculdubio traduntur,
idcirco Roderici Didaci nobilissimi ac bellatoris
uiri prosapiam, et bella ab eodem uiriliter peracta,
sub scripti luce contineri atque haberi decreuimus.
(919. 1-5)

The similar exordium preceding the twelfth-century Historia
Compostelana mentions the same concepts of oblivion, lapse
of time and the remedy of the written word, 'scripturae
notationem'. The Praefatio of the Chronica Adefonsi
Imperatoris refers also to the recording of great deeds
and to its preservative, even celebratory effect:

Quoniam semper ab historiographis antiquis
historiarum memoria, quae posteris per scripturam
traditur, regum et imperatorum, consulum et potestatum
aliorumque insignia heroum facta de veteribus nova
faciunt.

Topics of brevity, modesty and taedium, which in the Carmen
Campiddoctoris were regarded as especially suited to the pane-
gyric, evince a consciousness of the role of language
in the praise of heroes. An example of each of these topoi occurs in a concluding passage of the HR that outlines the Cid's total achievement:

\( \text{Uniuerka autem bella que Rodericus cum socijs suis fecit et ex eis triumphum obtinuit, et quot uillas et uicos dextera ualidissima ... depredatus est atque omnino destruxit, seriatim narrare perlongum esse uideretur, et forsitan legentibus in fastidium uerteretur. Sed quod nostre scientie paruitas ualuit, eiusdem gesta sub breuitate et certissima ueritate stilo rudi exaruit.} \) (968. 14–20)

In the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris and the Historia Silense, the deliberate use of language is manifest in their literary imitations, but in the HR the desire to forge a style worthy of the hero achieves no consistent outward expression. The CAI writer's use of the language of the Vulgate is consistent with the themes of his history, those of divine election and of God's providence, that ultimately were derived from the ancient Hebrew historians. It is consistent also with his representation of Alfonso VII as a soldier of God. In the HR, forms of expression and individual phrases echo quite frequently this same language, but they are generally introduced unconsciously and their use has little part in the historian's artistic intention.

The history's few stylistic pretensions are matched by the large number of examples that it contains of stylistic features which are not specifically literary, but are typical of the mode of thought and expression of the twelfth century. Conspicuous among these are binary phrases, consisting of pairs of nouns, verbs or adjectives, and physical phrases referring to parts of
the body. These occur in most Latin texts of the period, but their frequency depends upon the degree of literary aspiration of the individual writer. They occur rarely in the neo-classical Silense, but rather more often in the CAI, while they abound in non-literary material, such as legal diplomas, monastic charters and donations. Their occurrence is frequent also in vernacular narrative texts, including the Cantar de Mio Cid. The style of the HR is otherwise distinguished by its use of phraseology similar to that of the Vulgate and by reminiscences, even conscious borrowings, of particular phrases.

The borrowings do not contribute to any specific process of association, but are generally employed to raise the level of the narrative, or dialogue, at dramatic moments. Two speeches of Rodrigo contain obvious borrowings, one of which has a precise source, the other a variety of possible sources. His outburst against the Muslims who attacked San Esteban de Gormaz: 'Persequar latrunculos illos, et forsitan eos comprehendam' (923. 9-10) is taken from David's enquiry of the Lord concerning the Amalechites. The interrogative form of the Biblical phrase is easily transformed into an expression of anger and determination. The Cid's speech of encouragement before the battle of Bairén includes elements of various similar speeches in the Vulgate:

Audite me, socij mei dilectissimi et dulcissimi, estote fortes in bello et potentes, et uiriliter confortamini; nullo modo formidetis, neque multitudinem illorum paueatis, quia hodie tradet eos Dominus-Noater-Theseus-Christus-in-manus-nostras. (962. 26-30)
The same phrases recur in the later speech of exhortation of al-Musta'in to the inhabitants of Murviedro:


The phrase 'dure ceruicis' is also of Biblical origin.  

Two Biblical reminiscences are combined to form the writer's apology for not including all Rodrigo's deeds in his history: 'Bella autem et oppiniones bellorum que fecit Rodericus ... non sunt omnia scripta in libro hoc' (931. 17-18). The comparison of Rodrigo with an immovable rock, 'tamquam lapis immobiles' (941. 13) recalls a phrase from Exodus: 'fiant immobiles quasi lapis' (xv. 16). Menéndez Pidal believed that the conspicuous phrase 'dentibus suis cepit fremere' (946. 5) occurring in a battle narrative was a trace of a lost poetic source.  

Again, however, this is an echo of similar phraseology in the Vulgate.  

Certain phrases are found in the HR whose frequency in the Vulgate is such that they constitute narrative formulae. No single source can be specified for any one of the HR's phrases, but they fall into convenient categories. The most common formulae are those used in the numerous battle descriptions and they express repeated actions like drawing up lines, joining battle and retreating.  

Drawing up battle lines

utriusque partis direxerunt acies suas (926. 20-1); suasque acies direxerunt contra illos. (930. 2-3).
Joining battle 39

 interleunt bellum (926. 21); inito itaque inserto certamine (930. 3)

Retreat, flight 40

uerterunt continuo terga ... fugierunt a facie Roderici (926. 22-3); uersi sunt terga ... fugierunt a facie Roderici (930. 4-5); in fugam continuo sunt reversi, et ... a facie eius fugerunt (935. 9-10); dantes terga uersi sunt in fugam (960. 9)

Other motifs recurrent in historical accounts of military campaigns are shared by the HR and the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. These include references to sieges, descriptions of scenes of welcome and triumphal processions and lists of spoils and plundered wealth. Some of the phraseology again recalls the Vulgate, but only distantly and the number of examples in the HR is small 41

 Certain syntactical features are common to the HR, the CAI and to the Vulgate, but their frequency in the HR is considerably less than in the CAI. Various instances occur however of one of the most habitual features, the use of two verbal notions, either coupled by et or consisting of a main verb plus a semantically related present participle. These tend to involve notions of speaking, shouting and praying, e.g. 'clamauerunt dicentes' (964. 24) or 'orauit ... dicens' (963. 31, 964. 1). 42

 The writer's concern for language and for its suitability as a medium in which to recount the deeds of Rodrigo Díaz is manifest in his predilection for the figures of homoeoptoton and homoeoteleuton. The one establishes a correspondence between clauses by employing words in the same case, usually with similar terminations,
the other uses words with identical terminations to link the conclusions of one or more clauses. Both figures are used to produce perfect rhyme within and at the end of clauses. Amador de los Ríos traced the evolution of these decorations, rimas, in Hispano-Latin texts from the Visigothic and early Reconquest periods to the beginning of the twelfth century, by which time their use in prose had grown progressively more restricted. The HR however is an exception: 'Notamos oportunamente que a pesar de ir escaseando en la prosa el uso de las rimas ... era la Gesta Roderici [HR] el monumento literario del siglo XII en que más abundaban'. In paragraph 4, there is a long passage rhyming in it:

Hunc autem Rodericum Didaci Santius ... diligenter nutriuit et cingulum militie eidem cinxit. Quandoquidem Sanctius rex ad Caesaraugustam perrexit et cum rege Ranimiro in Grados pugnauit, ibique eum devicit atque occidit, tunc Rodericum Didaci Sanctius rex secum duxit, illumque in exercitu suo et in suo triumpho praesentem habuit. (920. 12-18)

The account of the battle of Bairén (66) contains six verbs rhyming in erunt, together with two rhymes each in ante, is and ibus, within the space of five lines:

Rex et Rodericus cum omni exercitu christianorum irruerunt super eos, et fortibus armis et uiribus robustis debellauerunt super eos. Tandem Dei clementia opitulante et operante, eosdem uiriliter deuicerunt atque fugauerunt; quidam illorum gladijs interfecti corruerunt, quidam uero in alueum ceciderunt. (962. 31-5)

The writer indulges also in another decorative device, that of annominatio, the use of two different parts of speech deriving from the same root. Examples include
copia and copiosa (941. 15-16, 951. 25), 'eius pauore perterritus et nimis pauens' (958. 23-4) and 'multas derisiones diridendo' (933. 4).

The various decorative figures and the isolated borrowings and occasional images taken from the Vulgate constitute the only specifically celebratory features of the HR's language. It might be argued that the binary phrases are a form of rhetorical device, serving as a means of amplificatio. The precise function of these phrases however is not easy to determine in each case, for while some may serve as an ornamentation or add emphasis, others may be used to achieve greater clarity, even precision. In vernacular epic, the word-pairs, together with physical phrases, form an integral part of the fundamental language and it is possible to relate them to the ritual aspect of heroic poetry. If such features are omitted from a consideration of the HR's style, the writer's restricted use of language in the celebratory mode is further, and probably correctly, emphasised.
Footnotes

1. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 'Gestas del Cid Campeador (Crónica latina del siglo XII)', BRAH, LIX (1911), 161-257. The text, based like that of Menéndez Pidal on MS I, is given on pp. 188-246.

2. La España del Cid, II, pp. 914-5.

3. La España del Cid, II, pp. 691-2. See above p. 70.

4. La España del Cid, II, p. 911.

5. La España del Cid, II, p. 913.


7. La España del Cid, II, p. 911.

8. The authenticity of the documents contained in the HR was denied by Menéndez Pelayo (Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, XI [Madrid, 1903], p. 293). Menéndez Pidal, however, has conclusively demonstrated their authenticity, especially that of the letters of the Cid and Ramon Berenguer, by comparing their content with their narrative context (La España del Cid, II, pp. 907-8). The allusions contained in Berenguer's letter are not explained by previous or by subsequent events: 'Una epístola retórica no es natural que se componga con alusiones a cosas y personas de que no hay noticia'.

9. Mox dedit ei castrum qui dicitur Donnas cum habitatoribus suis, et castrum Gormaz et Ibia et Campos et Egunna et Berbesca et Langa ... cum omnibus suis alfozis et suis habitatoribus. (931. 6-10)

Insuper autem talem dedit absolutionem et concessionem in suo regno, sigillo scriptam et confirmatam, quod
omnen terram uel castella que ipsimet posset adquirere a sarracenis in terra sarracenorum, iure hereditario prorsus essent sua; non solum sua, uerum etiam filiorum suorum et filliarum suarum et tocius sue generationis. (931. 11-16)


11. The era is mentioned at 932. 1 and 960. 19, the first reference alluding to the season, which was spring. Nine references are made to specific moments, at 932. 13; 940. 5, 15-16; 949. 17; 951. 28; 955. 3; 956. 9; 957. 17-18; 958. 11. The remaining references are to the extent of time, at 948. 2; 954. 4; 15; 959. 24-5. Part 2 contains just four references, at 926. 28-9; 928. 15, 22-3; 930. 1; of these only the last refers to a particular moment.

12. The reference to the era occurs at 968. 23-4; to the festivals at 966. 33, 967. 3-4 and 8, 967. 11; to the extent of time at 963. 23, 965. 11 and 12, 966. 16, 25 and 27, 968. 30.

13. See 962. 33; 963. 7, 28. The Christians praise and give thanks to God after battle (963. 8, 10-11, 967. 14-15). Before the siege of Murviedro, Rodrigo prays for the second time to God to grant him success (964. 1-7). He also speaks of God's mercy on two occasions (962. 29-30, 967. 7-9). Similar references prior to paragraph 62 occur at 922. 26, 928. 13-14, 942. 9 and 947. 1-2.


16. La España del Cid, II, p. 917.


18. 'La HR y su fecha de redacción', p. 242.

19. 'La HR y su fecha de redacción', pp. 241-2.

20. At 933. 25 and 950. 21.

21. At 956. 14; 957. 2; 959. 6, 12; 962. 13; 965. 31; 967. 26.


23. The references to the 'rex aragonensis' are found in paragraphs 12, 21, 22, 48, 64. Much less convincing is Ubieto's other argument based on the evidence of mistaken references to the Catalan nobles who entered the coalition of al-Hajib and Ramon Berenguer (p. 243). In paragraph 14, the writer seems not to have heard of the Count of Cerdaña, writing 'Cardauiese' (MS. I) or even 'Cordouiese' (MS S) instead of Cerdaniese (925. 7). He was also confused by the Count of Besalú, for both MSS read 'Usason' instead of Usaldonensi (925. 8). All the other names are correct, but significantly the titles of Count of Cerdaña and Count of Besalú had disappeared by 1117, when both lands were incorporated in the condado of Barcelona. Ubieto concludes that the HR must have been composed after Pidal's estimated 1110. Yet could not both
errors be those of later copyists, particularly as the MSS disagree on one of the names? They would have been wholly unfamiliar with the titles and could have misread what was in fact correct.

24. See Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, II, pp. 904-5; Ubieto Arteta, 'La HR y su fecha de redacción', pp. 244-5.


27. See Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, II, p. 913 and n.3.


29. See ch. VI(a)i and ii.

30. cf.: 'Persequar latrunculos hos, et comprehendam eos, an non' (I Kings xxx.8).

31. cf. in particular: 'Viriliter agite, et confortamini: nolite timere, nec paveatis ad conspectum eorum: quia Dominus Deus tuus ipse est ductor tuus' (Deut. xxxi. 6); also 'Confortamini, et estote viri ... confortamini, et bellate' (I Kings iv. 9) and 'Viriliter age, et confortare, et fac: ne timeas, et ne paveas: Dominus enim Deus meas tecum erit' (I Chronicles xxviii. 20). These same phrases are used in a similar speech in the CAT [13].

32. cf.: 'Cerno quod populus iste durae cervicis sit' (Exodus xxxii. 9). See also Exodus xxxiii. 3, 5; xxxiv. 9.

34. See also 954. 16.


36. cf. for example 'Peccator ... irascetur, dentibus, suis fremit' (Psalm cxii. 10).

37. A comprehensive list of narrative motifs in the twelfth-century historiés together with possible vernacular parallels, is given in ch. VI(b).

38. cf. I Kings iv. 2; II Kings x. 17.

39. cf. I Kings iv. 2; I Kings vii. 10.

40. cf. I Kings iv. 2; I Kings xxx. 1.

41. See ch. IV(a), pp. 324-8 and the full account in ch. VI(b).

42. See ch. IV(a), pp. 323-4.

43. Historia crítica, II, p. 318 n.1. See also pp. 310-27.

44. The function of binary phrases in different contexts is outlined in ch. VI(a) i.
(c) The portrayal of the Cid in the Historia Roderici; his relationship with Alfonso VI in the history and in the Cantar de Mio Cid.

The Historia Roderici and especially its account of the life of the Cid have been recognised as historically truthful by the majority of historians and critics, ever since Dozy demolished the theory of Masdeu that the entire history was a fabrication. Dozy himself claimed that the HR contained a certain quantity of legendary material: 'Ce ne sont pas les chants populaires qui se mêlent à ses récits ... ce sont plutôt des traditions déjà moins exactes, décolorées, confuses, incomplètes, fausses même, qui s'y glissent imperceptiblement ... Voilà ce qui est arrivé à l'auteur des Gesta'.¹ This judgement was not well substantiated, for Dozy did not reveal what form the legends took and gave little indication of where fact ended and fiction began. Menéndez Pidal suggested that the Cid's exile and the events near Seville were fictitious.² Dozy had in fact rejected this opinion, after the HR's version had been corroborated by evidence in Arabic histories.³ It was Menéndez Pidal himself who demonstrated most convincingly the historical accuracy of the HR, while admitting that it contained omissions and that part 1 was an incomplete summary and not entirely accurate. The greater part of the narrative he accepted at its face value, for the author had not attempted to give a false or flattering picture: 'No idealiza nada; ni atenúa la envidia del rey ni su porte inconsiderado con el heroico ... De aquí su gran valor como fuente histórica'.⁴ This judgement is
well founded and it is consistent with the historian's few stylistic pretensions and his refusal to project a conception of the Cid that exceeded the limits of the immediate historical context. Like any historical writer other than a simple chronicler, however, the historian had his own view of his hero and his career and he sought to record his deeds and achievement in writing without contradicting that view. This does not imply that he idealised the character of Rodrigo Díaz or allowed popular legend to influence him consciously or even unconsciously, but that he maintained a particular perspective whilst composing his history. This may have entailed the omission or falsification of events, but it is exceedingly hard to know this, when the HR itself is the most detailed and reliable historical record. Yet an idea of the perspective can be gained by considering what events and what actions are included that could be thought unfavourable and how the HR's version of the Cid's career looks forward to, or differs from, later versions, as the story evolved and legend accumulated. As a heroic biography, the history has so far been shown to have a restricted celebratory function and the historian can be expected to have maintained an accordingly wide perspective.

Comparison of the HR's version of the Cid's career with that of the Cantar de Mio Cid reveals that the most conspicuous omission from the epic is an account of Rodrigo's period of service in Saragossa. According to the HR, he served as commander-in-chief of the army from 1081 to 1087, while in 1092 he formed a fresh alliance with the Emir
Such a course of action was in no way dishonourable from a contemporary viewpoint, for it was a political reality that Christian warriors allied themselves with Moorish rulers and even entered their service. This fact emerges from the history itself, for García Ordóñez, Count of Nájera, was among many Christian knights who aided the King of Granada against his rival in Seville in 1079, although the latter was a tributary of Alfonso VI (HR: 7). Ramon Berenguer formed two coalitions with al-Hajib of Lérida against the Cid, once in 1082 and again in 1090 (HR: 14, 37). Rodrigo, as an exile, had no other course of action open to him but to offer his services to anyone who would support him in return, until he was in a position to use his talent as a warrior on his own account. Dozy's virulent accusation that the Cid's service with the Emir was evidence of extreme veniality and of a particularly mercenary attitude is excessive and misjudged. This shift of emphasis does however highlight the difference between the historical Cid, the epic hero and the later figure that gradually acquired Christian ideals until in the Cardeña legends his death had the appearances of that of a saint. The HR's representation of Rodrigo adheres to historical fact, at least until the battle of el Cuarte, when he becomes 'inuincibilis bellator in Domino' (960. 2-3). In the CMC, the hero still does not conceive his role primarily in Christian terms, although the accepted religious values of the age are implicit and Rodrigo's privileged status before God is implied by the vision of the Archangel.
The poet does however choose to omit all reference to the Cid's stay in Saragossa and to his service on behalf of the Emir. A change in attitude towards the Muslims had taken place after the arrival of the Almoravids, for this introduced a religious spirit into a conflict that had hitherto been fought for the repossession of territory and the acquisition of material wealth. The poet's omission was made partly in response to this new feeling, for heroic poetry evolves in accordance with changes in accepted social and religious values. In addition, the distinct criteria of the historian and the poet demand the inclusion of different material, for the one aims to produce a comprehensive account, the other a coherent work of art.

Some passages in the HR show the Cid in a light unfavourable to the figure created by legend, but reveal nothing unusual in the historico-political context of the late eleventh century. Nevertheless, their inclusion in a history conceived in memory of a great man is surprising, because they cannot be said to make the portrait more flattering, whereas the period of service in Saragossa earned Rodrigo his considerable reputation as a general. The accusation made by Ramon Berenguer concerning the letter that was sent to al-Musta'in is freely admitted by the Cid in his reply. In spite of the provocation, to ask that the insulting letter be shown to the Count seems an underhand tactic and not one in keeping with an image of the Cid as the perfect Christian knight, as his character has been interpreted in the CMC. Yet his behaviour toward the Count in the epic does not flatter him especially, for
the invitation to the banquet is an invitation to celebrate the Cid's victory and his own defeat. The inclusion of this detail in the epic contributes to the creation of a complete portrait, adding an element of maliciousness, which was combined with cunning in the historical Cid's treatment of the Count. Cunning would not be an inappropriate quality in an epic hero. Ramon Berenguer's other accusation cannot be justified in this way, even though the substance of the charge was again unexceptional at the time. He claimed that the Cid had sacked and violated churches: 'ecclesias, quas uiolenter confregisti et uiolasti' (943. 26-7). Rodrigo neither affirms this nor denies it in his reply. The original accusation remains inconsequential and its very inclusion is the result of the chronicle-like historical method, which did not aim at the total integration of all the material that was utilised. The view of Rodrigo as a sacker of churches conflicts with his later portrayal in the HR as a soldier of Christ.

The account of the siege of Murviedro raises the question of the Cid's cruelty, which was stressed by the understandably partisan Arab historians and then by Dozy. Rodrigo threatened the citizens that:

\[\text{Si castrum protinus mihi non dederitis, quoscunque uestrum capere uel habere potero, uiusos igne cremabo et gladio non sine tormentis trucidabo.} \]

\[\text{(966. 27-30)}\]

He later threatened them with certain imprisonment, if they did not return all the goods that they had offered to the Almoravids.
Nunc uobis ... precipio, ut cuncta que[is] hominibus abstulistis, et ea que contra me et ad mea dedecus et meum dampnum mohabitis contulistis, mihi reddatis; quod si facere nolueritis, uos in carcerem intrudi, et uinculis ferreis dire illaqueari nequaquam dubitetis. (967. 24-8)

The threats mentioned in the history are not the only instances in the Christian literature to offer evidence of Rodrigo's use of torture and of punishments that, to modern eyes at least, appear excessive. Another occurs in the CMC, when he decrees that any man who leaves his service without obtaining his leave should be hanged:

Que ningún omne de los sos ques le non spidies o nol besas la mano,
sil pudiessen prender o fuese alcançado
tomassen le el aver e pusiessen le en un palo. (1252-4)

Such treatment was normal in an age when justice was enforced by the threat of violent penalties. Alfonso VI seems to have been particularly severe and many of his diplomas, as indeed do some of the Cid's, threaten effosio occulorum, although it is not certain that this was actually exacted. The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, however, includes a description of other forms of physical disfigurement and of crucifixions being carried out in the King-Emperor's presence. It is known too that the historical Cid passed sentence of death by fire on Ibn-Jahhaf, the former cadi of Valencia, for having concealed some of the treasure of the dead Emir, al-Qadir, and for his part in the regicide. Ibn-Jahhaf was also a perjurer, for he had taken an oath affirming that he was not in possession of any of the treasure and that if his guilt should be proved subsequently, he should be executed.

The seemingly barbaric penalty demanded by Rodrigo was set
out in the Fuero de Cuenca and he thus acted in accord with the practice of his time and religion. He rejected the finding of the Muslims who made up the joint Christian-Muslim court that Ibn-Jahhaf be stoned, the penalty prescribed by their custom. 16

It is the inclusion of the various passages cited in a history at least conceived as celebratory that is remarkable, and not the light that they throw on the historical protagonist. The speech threatening the citizens of Murviedro was invented by the author himself and placed in the mouth of his hero. This permits the conclusion to be drawn that the historical Cid, not surprisingly, did exact a harsh justice and was not averse to using torture to achieve his ends. It reveals also that his biographer accepted the practice of the age and did not seek to hide them, thus leaving a remarkably honest portrait of Rodrigo Díaz. This treatment of the central figure, the result of the fusion of the techniques of a chronicle and a biography, contrasts with the stylised king figures in the Historia Silense and the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. The writers of these works omitted material detrimental to the image that they wished to create, whereas the HR author, who conceived his central figure in terms bound by historical fact and by the most immediate objectives, was not forced to leave out very much.

The HR has so far been shown to be only partially a celebratory work, on the evidence of its limited use of stylistic devices and of traditional themes in the interpretation of history. Nevertheless, it contains isolated
features typical of the celebratory mode and it remains to determine the scope of this aspect in the presentation of the hero. The refusal to omit seemingly unflattering material is matched by the general refusal to enhance the stature of Rodrigo Díaz by attributing to him powers or qualities that he did not possess. Even in a partial heroic biography, however, the writer sustains his own view of the protagonist and in the HR it is basically that of the warrior leader. The historical Cid's prowess in battle and his territorial conquests were universally recognised by both Muslims and Christians, for by 1094 he was lord of Valencia and the sole Christian general capable of withstanding the Almoravid onslaught. His success spoke for itself and for the most part the historian relied upon the chronicle technique, content simply to record successive triumphs. It is possible that he omitted any defeats and reversals that Rodrigo suffered, but this cannot be proved. A different attitude to the hero is adopted in paragraph 62 and in the succeeding paragraphs. The introduction at that point of the theme of divine providence has already been mentioned and it is paralleled by a more generally panegyric portrayal of the Cid. Paragraph 74 sums up his total achievement, underlining the author's conception of the undefeated warrior: 17

Vniuersa autem bella que Rodericus ... et ex eis triumphum obtinuit ... seriatim narrare perlongum esse uidetur ... Dum autem in hoc seculo uixit, semper de aduersarijs secum bello dimicantibus triumphum nobilem obtinuit, et nunquam ab aliquo deuictus fuit. (968. 14-18, 20-2)

Rodrigo's stature grows in these last paragraphs. He has
already been referred to as the invincible soldier of Christ, 'invincibilis bellator in Domino', and after his death he is seen as the great hero lost to his wife: 'tanto talique uiro uiduata' (969. 1). The notion of his invincibility is also placed in the mouths of others, even of his opponents and of others who were not his allies. Al-Musta'in feared to confront him: 'quia Rodericus [dure] ceruicis est et preliator fortissimus et invincibilis, et ideo ego cum eo prelium comittere penitus pertimesco' (965. 22-4). The same sentiment is expressed by the ruler of Albarracín to the citizens of Murviedro: 'Quantum plus potueritis, confortamini et resistijte ei, quia ego non ualeo uobis succurrere' (965. 30-1).

Prior to paragraph 62, specific references to Rodrigo's achievements or his qualities are rarer. The opinion of al-Musta'in is implicit in the Count of Barcelona's attitude of reconciliation and his yielding of his Moorish tributaries to the Cid after the battle of Tévar (42). In addition, the virtues of pity and magnanimity are attributed to him in the expression of gratitude of the Count and his men, when they are granted their freedom:

Illi autem ob tantam misericordiam ab eo habitam, eius nobilitati et pietati gratias deuotissime referentes et sibi servire promittentes ... sunt reversi. (947. 24-8)

Rodrigo's warlike qualities are alluded to and his position as a bulwark against the Almoravids is made explicit at the outset of the Valencia campaign in a passage from paragraph 53 that has already been cited.18

One particular quality in Rodrigo highlighted by the HR and one that becomes an integral part of the Cid legend
is his loyalty to Alfonso VI. The treatment of the relationship between king and vassal illustrates how an aspect of a historical situation is presented and sustained in a heroic biography. To determine the real causes of the disagreement is not easy, but to apportion blame wholly to one side, as Menéndez Pidal did, tells nothing about the process of historical writing, for it takes no account of the writer's partiality. Menéndez Pidal attributed the enmity that arose between Alfonso and the Cid first to the King's distrust of his assassinated brother's alférez and then to his jealousy of the exiled Cid's increasing wealth and territorial conquests, which prevented any reconciliation between them. Yet an idea of a more evenly balanced situation does emerge from the HR and the other works devoted to the Cid and from what else is known about his career and about Alfonso VI. Rodrigo had tasted success at the court of Sancho II where in addition to being made his alférez he was nominated as the King's champion in the duel against the Navarrese Jimeno García. This period had given him ample scope to display his abilities, and opportunities that were denied him in the reign of Alfonso VI. The Carmen Campidocitoris indicates how the members of the royal court, perhaps rightly, suspected Rodrigo's ill-will and informed their king:

Sit tibi notum: te nunquam amabit, quod tui fratris curialis fuit. (53-4)

Deprived of opportunity, Rodrigo's personality and energy could have proved over assertive in the medieval regnum-imperium that was dominated by the exalted figure of the
King-Emperor. A certain intractability and a sense of superiority can also be detected in a brief passage in the HR that might repay more attention. When Ramon Berenguer made his offer of peace after the battle of Tévar, Rodrigo categorically rejected his approaches: 'Rodericus uero, audita pro nichilo habens, suum amicum esse et cum illo pacem habere se omnino negauit' (948. 20-1). When his advisers pointed out to Rodrigo that he was in fact in the superior position: 'Non enim ipsum tu rogas, sed ille te rogat quod tecum pacem habeat' (949. 1-2), he agreed to the Count's proposals.

The events immediately prior to the banishment shed light upon another aspect of the Cid's character and at the same time reveal the writer's perspective when dealing with an unfavourable incident. The HR emphasises the vigorous reprisals taken by the Cid against the Moors living near Toledo in revenge for the assault on San Esteban de Gormaz (HR: 10). His enemies used this incident as a pretext for arousing Alfonso's wrath against Rodrigo by suggesting that the reprisals were intended to provoke the Muslims into launching another attack on the royal army. This apparent fabrication secured the Cid's banishment. The writer took care however not to refer to the guarantee of immunity from attack that Alfonso VI had extended to that particular group of Moors. The treaty is mentioned in a different context in lines 527-8 of the CMC and they reflect the general political situation that existed in the area.
In the light of this evidence, Alfonso's wrath and order of banishment were fully justified, for Rodrigo had committed a serious infringement of a royal truce, while still his vassal. The presentation of events in the history entailed even more than the omission of facts, for the unauthorised attack is turned to the Cid's advantage. The writer stresses his anger at the Moors' action by attributing to him the fictitious outburst: 'Persequar latrunculos illos, et forsitan eos comprehendam' (923. 9-10), which intimates that the reprisal will be a justifiable act of revenge on Alfonso's behalf. Rodrigo's impetuosity is suggested by the history's account, but his rashness and improvidence are the more conspicuous when set against the background of the guarantee of immunity given to the Muslims. An absolute self-conviction is also revealed by the result of the dubious enterprise, which is presented as a great triumph:

In partes Toleti depredans et deuastans terram sarracenorum, inter uiros et mulieres numero vii milia, omnesque substantias et diuitias eis uiriliter abstulit secumque in domum suam attulit (923. 11-14)

The less attractive features of Rodrigo's behaviour reflected in these two passages from the HR, together with others that can reasonably be surmised from his historical situation, suggest how a balanced interpretation of the king-vassal relationship might be achieved. The treatment of the causes of exile must inevitably cast doubt on the ultimate reliability of later 'incidents' in the history's version of
the relationship, particularly of the disagreement at Granada (HR: 48).

The historian's desire to throw into sharp relief Rodrigo's loyalty to Alfonso can be judged from the various instances of his reiterated fidelity. When the King summoned the Cid to the relief of Aledo in 1089, he still addressed Alfonso as his lord, replying: 'Veniat dominus meus rex sicut se promisit uenire quia ego paratus sum bono animo et bona uoluntate secundum mandatum eius succurrere castro illi' (934. 9-11). After the failure of the two forces to meet, the Cid sent a messenger to the King to reaffirm his fidelity:

Rex inclite semperque uenerande, dominus meus Rodericus, tuus fidelissimus uassalus, me misit ad te, rogans, tuas osculando manus, ut in curia accipias suam excondüctionem et excusationem de reptatione qua inimici sui illum false reptauerunt coram te. (936. 9-13)

The fourfold oath subsequently taken by the Cid was a further attempt to convince Alfonso of his good faith and to establish his basic loyalty (HR: 35). The implication of these three passages must be that the virtue of loyalty, so exalted in the epic, had a basis in historical fact. The writer did not seek to highlight the quality in the Cid's behaviour by commenting upon it either in explanation or in praise, but at the same time the coincidence of his perspective with that of his hero cannot be ignored. The oath itself is undoubtedly genuine, but the dialogue and speeches are fictitious, just as the outburst against the attackers of San Esteban was fictitious. This is not an unusual feature in medieval historical writing and it had
been traditional in Roman histories too.

A limit was however set to the historical Cid's forbearance, and this is recorded in the HR, when it tells how he devastated the lands of García Ordóñez in La Rioja, which were within Alfonso's kingdom. The manner of the historian's narrative at this point should not be ignored, for it becomes unusually impassioned at the horrors of war and does nothing to mitigate the violence:

Ingentem nimirum atque mestabilem et ualde lacrimabilem predam, et dirum et impium atque uastum inremediabili flamma incendium per omnes terras illas seuissim[e] et inmisericorditer fecit. Dira itaque impia depredatione omnen terram prefatam deuastauit et destruxit. (953. 6-10)

In itself this action does not show the Cid in an inglorious light, for not only was he entitled by feudal law - a fact not mentioned by the writer - to wage war on the lord who had exiled him, but he was provoked by the King's attack on Valencia, an operation assumed to have been devised by García Ordóñez. Clearly a deliberate attempt was made to rouse the Cid to violent action by insulting him, attacking the very centre of his territory, which Alfonso himself had once granted to him. The inclusion of this episode is a further illustration of the balance preserved between the tendency toward a comprehensive chronicle account and the writer's desire to attest Rodrigo's innocence. The other passage reveals that the historical Cid's loyalty did not extend to an extreme of selflessness. Although the attack was aimed primarily at García Ordóñez, it also touched the honour of the King, who had granted possession of the lands to the Count.
The actions and attitudes of Alfonso VI toward the Cid as narrated in the history also suggest a more balanced interpretation of the king-vassal relationship than that usually given. At all times the King endeavoured to treat Rodrigo in a manner befitting the status of a prominent Castilian nobleman who had been the alférez of King Sancho. From the start, when he first received him into his service, he honoured him: 'rex Aldefonsus honorifice eum pro uasallo recepit atque eum nimio reuerentie amore apud se habuit' (921. 8-10). When the Cid was received back in the royal service in 1087, he was again accorded honours: 'redijt as patriam suam Castellam, quem recepit honorifice et ylari uultu rex Aldefonsus' (931. 5-6). It might seem that this is literary stylisation – especially the use of the ylari uultu cliché – but it is on that occasion that the Cid was granted hereditary possession of all the lands that he conquered in the eastern Peninsula. Alfonso's actions went beyond mere formality, for the right of hereditary possession was not part of Leonese custom. On the occasion of the Cid's second pardon, in 1091, he received a similar welcome: 'Rex autem audiens quod Rodericus ueniret, statim exiuit ei obuiam et in pace nimirumque honorifice eum recepit' (950. 6-7).

On the evidence of the HR, it appears that theoretically the King was not ill-disposed toward Rodrigo, that he tried to act toward him in accord with the obligations of the lord-vassal relationship. These are however only the outward and visible signs, for there are equal signs of a deep-rooted personal conflict. The writer implicitly
contrasts the King's public and personal attitudes and this interpretation is maintained consistently throughout the course of the conflict. The banishment was brought about by the machinations of the Cid's enemies at court, but they played upon a salient feature of the King's personality. It is this factor in Alfonso's personality that is the key to the failure of the lord-vassal relationship, but its exact nature is not immediately clear. The first important passage reveals only the jealousy of the Leonese nobles and their use of the Cid's impetuous attack on the lands near Toledo as a potential source of grievance:

\[ \text{Vt autem rex Aldefonsus et maiores sue curie hoc factum Roderici audierunt, dure et moleste acceperunt, et huiusmodi causam sibi obicientes sibique curiales inuidentes, regi unanimiter dixerunt. (923. 14-17)} \]

The account of the next stage of the relationship, the failed reconciliation of 1083, is more informative: 'Sed imperator adhuc tractauit in corde suo multa inuidia et consilio maligno, ut eiceret Rodericum de terra sua' (928. 8-10). The vital word is inuidia, which indicates a particularly violent form of jealousy. The precise nature of this feeling is evident from its manifestation in the next significant event in the king-vassal relationship: the disagreement at Granada. Alfonso summoned the Cid to the south, where they joined forces in order to attack the Almoravids. The King camped on high ground overlooking the city, while the Cid camped on lower ground between the walls and the King, supposedly to protect the latter. Alfonso, however, mistook his action for presumption,
an attempt to indicate his superiority and courage, in placing himself between his forces and those of the Almoravids:

Rodericus autem per planitiem, in loco qui erat ante castra regis ad euitanda et uigilanda regia castra sua fixit tentoria, quod autem regi ualde displicuit. Tunc rex ductus inuidia ait suis: 'Videte et considerate qualem iniuriam et quale dedecus nobis Rodericus infert! Hodie quidem post nos ex longo itinere quasi fessus et fatigatus-uenit; modo uero nos procedit et ante nos tentoria sua fixit'. (950. 10-16)

It is clear that the King was suffering from a jealousy that is the result of what is now termed an inferiority complex, a passion that could not tolerate any form of superiority, real or apparent, in another. Thus, any action was seen as a deliberate attempt to humiliate the King, to make him aware of his own inadequacy. At this point, however, the writer's perspective may have intruded upon his presentation of the actual situation, for the self-assertion that must have been a dominant characteristic in Rodrigo could have prompted him to a demonstration of strength that caused him to overstep his subordinate position. Additional support for the HR's basic interpretation is afforded by the Carmen Campidoctoris when it highlights Alfonso's change of attitude to the Cid:

Quibus auditis susurronum dictis, 
rexe Nldefonsus, tactus zelo cordis, 
perdere timens soliu honoris, 
causa timoris, 
omnen amorem in iram convertit. (57-61)

The underlying sense confirms the supposition that Alfonso, fully aware of the Cid's status during the reign of Sancho, was afraid of conceding his superiority to a man who had lost favour after the death of his former lord. It was
this that had been suggested to him by the Cid's enemies (11.53-4) and the role of the high Leonese-Castilian nobility is thus similar to that attributed to them in the HR and it coincides with the CMC's version as well.

In his efforts to exalt the achievement of the Cid, Menéndez Pidal tended to denigrate the figure of Alfonso VI, as both man and monarch.21 In certain respects he was correct, for he diagnosed the flaw in the King's personality which vitiated his dealings with the Cid. He concluded: 'padecía una deforme hinchazón del yo, una fuerte egoitis. Fue por ello gobernante invidente, que se melancolizaba con la excelsitud ajena, con la iniciativa y el éxito de los ilustres'.22 Although there exists no other example of such behaviour on Alfonso's part, it seems likely that the King did suffer from this envious passion, for the works that Pidal considered - the Carmen Campidocitoris, the HR, the Arabic history of Ibn Bassam and the so-called apostilla of a monk of Silos,23 coincide in their interpretation. Pidal's diagnosis has been followed in this elucidation of the HR's treatment of the king-vassal relationship. Yet it is clear that he overlooked those features of the Cid's character that were at once its qualities and its flaws: his impulsiveness and self-assertion, his resentment at inactivity and his intractability, all of which were likely to have threatened the social order of the kingdom rather than maintained it. This omission entails an unawareness of the degree of perspective in the HR's account. For a heroic biography, this was not especially narrow, for Rodrigo's displays of loyalty are
balanced by the indications of less creditable features of his behaviour and personality, while Alfonso's jealousy is balanced by his evident intention to maintain the normal relationship where possible. However, the writer's care to preserve the Cid's innocence and his basic fidelity as a vassal predominates in his treatment of the king-vassal relationship, certainly in the account of the banishment and most probably in the Granada episode. In this way, his basic view of the central figure is maintained, justifying the composition of the work. This constitutes the most sustained celebratory feature of the history, which otherwise inclines strongly toward a factual presentation.

King and vassal in the CMC

The comparison of the history's version of the relationship between Rodrigo and Alfonso VI with that of the CMC shows how the epic poet reworked and adapted existing material to produce a coherent work of art. It also reveals the different criteria of the poet, who disregarded comprehensiveness and arranged this material so that the poem conveyed effectively his own view of events and reflected that of his audience. This comparison does not imply, however, that the poet actually used or was even acquainted with the HR, although that possibility is not to be ruled out. It simply presupposes that he was working at a much later date and had a mass of material at his disposal wherein historical fact constituted a considerably smaller part.

The history's detailed and seemingly comprehensive account of the relationship reveals that the sequence of historical events was more complicated than it appears in
the CMC. For artistic reasons, the poet simplified and altered this sequence to achieve a unified linear narrative leading to a single satisfying dénouement.²⁴ According to the HR, Rodrigo was received back twice into Alfonso's favour, but on each occasion the fresh understanding was destroyed. The first exile was decreed in 1081, as a result of the accusations of the Cid's enemies concerning the events at Seville and the attack on the Moorish lands near Toledo (HR: 7-11). The Crónica de veinte reyes, used by Menéndez Pidal to reconstruct the lost opening of the CMC, takes up the first of these charges as the reason for the exile. The Cid had been sent to Seville to collect tribute from the Emir, but had clashed with the latter's enemy, the King of Granada, together with his Christian allies. These then claimed that he had embezzled part of the tribute that he had been sent to collect. References to these incidents occur at several points in the text of the epic. The defeated Christians are mentioned in 1.9 and again at 1.267, and Count García Ordóñez, who suffered particular disgrace, stands out as the Cid's enemy (1.3288). Unlike the epic, the history contains no reference to Rodrigo's plucking of the Count's beard, but the fact of his imprisonment and the significance of the activities of the malos mestureros are made clear (HR: 8, 11). The HR lays stress too on Rodrigo's counter-attack after the assault on Gormaz, which provoked a further hostile reaction from his enemies (HR: 1-11). The epic poet does not see this as a cause of exile—he omits all reference to it—but 11.527-8 reveal that he was aware of the political
situation in the Toledo region that the Cid disrupted. 25

In 1083, Alfonso attempted a reconciliation after he had been betrayed by the Moors of Rueda, but the Cid, still suspecting the King of ill-will, returned to Saragossa (HR: 19). Four years later, the first reconciliation took place, but the historian offers no explanation, adding that the Cid recovered his full rights and gained considerable honours, including the hereditary possession of all the lands that he conquered in the East (HR: 25). This new situation was unstable and was destroyed in 1089, as a result of the misunderstanding at Aledo, when the armies of the Cid and Alfonso failed to meet as the generals had planned. Alfonso's retaliatory measures were now as harsh as his previous favours had been abundant (HR: 32-4).

In 1091 Alfonso's queen brought about a second reconciliation in an effort to unite the Christian forces to meet the Almoravid threat. These efforts were likewise frustrated when the King sought a fresh cause for grievance against his vassal, when they pitched camp before the walls of Granada (HR: 45). 26

In contrast to the generally factual and comprehensive narrative of the HR, the structure of the CMC is governed by artistic considerations. The epic poet substitutes a straightforward account of the king-vassal relationship in the form of a crescendo for the more complex, less dramatic and ultimately inconclusive historical situation. The Cid is exiled for just one of the reasons suggested in the HR and is subsequently pardoned by the King and thereafter their causes are one. The hero dies in Valencia, reconciled
with his lord, his honour restored and increased after the joint action at the cortes. The Cid of the HR likewise dies in Valencia, but independent of the King, still an exile and unpardoned.

The path to reconciliation in the CMC is expounded as a continuous and logical process. The poet's art consists in drawing together various threads in a historically plausible manner, while achieving a sense of inevitable progression and gradation. The stages of this process can be illustrated by detailing the Cid's growing wealth and success and the three gifts that he sends to the King, each one richer than the last. In this context however it is more useful to consider another of the thematic threads: the increasingly favourable reaction of Alfonso to the presents.

His reaction to the first gift is understandably guarded, but it does show that the Cid's case is not beyond hope and that he could regain royal favour. Alfonso tells the ambassador, Álvar Fáñez, that:

Mucho es mañana
omne airado que de señor non ha gracia
por acogello a cabo de tres semanas. (881-3)

The figurative reference to 'three weeks' is an interesting indication of the King's true character and it foreshadows his later, more praiseworthy actions. It is a very politic remark, made by a ruler conscious of his credibility, for clearly it would imperil the dignity of his office to confess an error after only a short period. His decisions and actions would consequently lose much of their requisite weight and authority. More significantly, a longer period of trial is
necessary to prove conclusively that the Cid is a good and faithful vassal and that the present goodwill is not a device employed to regain royal favour. This is the voice of the wiser Alfonso who strives to act justly and to avoid hasty decisions and it accords well with the later picture of the deliberate king: 'Una grant ora el rey pensso e comidio' (1889).

Alfonso seems to have a basic fund of goodwill towards the Cid, which is evidenced by the joy and pleasure that he shows whenever he learns of his success. After the first embassy, it is almost as if he wished his initial scepticism to be disproved. In spite of the strict formality of his address, the reply, even to the first present, displays some satisfaction, although it is strictly qualified:

Mas despues que de moros fue prendo esta presentaja; aun me plaze de mio Cid que fizo tal ganançia. (884-5)

On the occasion of the second gift and the announcement of the conquest of Valencia, Alfonso's joyous reaction is greater:

De tan fieras ganancias commo a fechas el Campeador ¡si me vala Sant Esidro! plazme de coração, e plazem de las nuevas que faze el Campeador. (1341-3)

This stage also sees a new development in the Cid's increasing favour, for the King now turns for the first time against Rodrigo's enemy, García Ordóñez:

Dixo el rey al conde: "Dexad essa razon, que en todas guisas mejor me sirve que vos". (1348-9)

Alfonso's joy reaches its peak on the arrival of the third and final embassy: 'Alegre fue el rey, non viestes atanto' (1331); and in reply to the gift he says:
Grado al Criador e al señor Sant Esidro el de Leon estos dozientos cavallos quern enbia mio Cid.
Mio reino adelant mejor me podra servir. (1867-9)

The last line points significantly to the future and the impression is reinforced by the line: 'todas estas nuevas a bien abran de venir' (1876). The way is open for the Cid's pardon, and Alfonso's intention to grant this is announced at 1.1898b.

The increasingly favourable reaction of Alfonso toward the Cid is just one thematic motif and is part of a unifying process maintained throughout the poem. Other contributory motifs - growing material possessions and success in battle, social recognition and the gradual disgrace of the mestureros - are simultaneously arranged to ensure that the narrative advances gradually and in definite stages towards its climax. At each stage, they serve as an indication of the Cid's changing fortunes.

Alfonso VI emerges more favourably both as a man and as a feudal lord from the epic than from the Latin history. The latter did not wholly discredit the King's actions, for it referred to his various efforts to maintain normal relations with Rodrigo. Conversely, isolated incidents revealed aspects of the Cid's behaviour unfavourable to the image of the perfect vassal, although the implications of such actions were well concealed. Such incidents were however few and the historian emerges as generally critical of Alfonso's treatment of the Cid. He stressed that the exile was unjust, insinuating that the King was motivated by jealousy: 'Huiusmodi praua et, inuida suggestione rex iniuste conmotus et iratus, eiecit eum de regno suo' (923).
20.2). He was careful not to apply such coloured language — *praua et inuida suggestione* — to the King himself, but to the accusations of Rodrigo's enemies. Subsequently, however, he revealed Alfonso's jealousy and offered it as the basic motive in his behaviour toward the Cid. The vernacular poet so alters the situation that the King is seen in a better light. He is no longer the jealous monárch, envious of his vassal's achievement, but the established ruler of the Christian lands of Spain, who at first is misled by the false advice of his counsellors. From the beginning, the Cid recognises the insidious role played by those noblemen whom he imprisoned at Cabra and he lays the blame for his unfortunate lot on them rather than on the King. As he leaves Vivar, he says: 'Esto me an buelto mis enemigos malos!' (9). Later on, Jimena will say:

¡Merçed, Campeador, en ora buena fuestes nado! Por malos mestureros de tierra sodes echado. (266-7)

This interpretation coincides with the versions in the *HR* and the *Carmen Campidoctoris*, but Alfonso's jealousy has now been raised to the more dignified level of wrath. Fits of jealousy, such as that shown before the walls of Granada, would be unworthy of an epic character upon whom the Cid's honour depends and before whom all Christian Spain kneels. This rage is stressed on several occasions and its effects are all the more terrible as it is misdirected. The King's wrath is however no ordinary anger, common to all, but the *ira regis*, an institutionalised form of personal royal displeasure, involving various fixed penalties. 27 When a vassal incurred the *ira regis*, for a definite crime or more
usually from royal displeasure, he automatically lost the favour of the king, who exiled him and withdrew his amor. In the CMC, these two ideas are linked: 'Echastes le de tierra, non ha la vuestra amor' (1325). Sometimes the ira regis implied merely exile, but on other occasions when a definite crime was involved it implied loss of estates as well. This happened to the Cid, according to the epic: 'Echado fu de tierra e tollida la onor' (1934). The history's account of the exile follows the same course and, although the King's anger is not labelled as ira regis, the detailed evidence leads to that conclusion.

The epic poet, like his hero, does not speak out directly against the injustice of the King's decision, but much is left unsaid which is implied in subsequent events. The poem proceeds from the Cid's banishment to the restoration of his honour and of the order that has been destroyed by Alfonso's wrath.

The relationship of the Cid and Alfonso, together with the epic's narrative, falls into two parts, divided by their reconciliation. Hitherto, only the first part, the period of exile, has been considered, since it can be related to the events recorded in the history. When both parts are considered together, it is possible to determine the full significance that the poet intended to give to his work, whose ultimate basis was the historical fact that lay behind the HR. The poet follows events, as far as they suit his purpose, but then departs radically from them and provides a purely fictional, ideal solution.
Until the reconciliation between Alfonso and the Cid, the events told in the *CMC* are exceptional in the context of epic poetry. The banishment of a faithful vassal by a wrathful lord sets the scene for a narrative based on the 'rebel vassal' motif. The poet soon reveals that his work does not fall into that category, when the hero does not blame the King, but accepts the decree as a blow of fate. This tendency is developed when the Cid refuses to break his allegiance to Alfonso, even though the feudal bond has been severed by the order of banishment. It becomes clear that the poet wished to compose an epic whose hero possessed qualities that were not limited to the bellicose, but included such virtues as loyalty, generosity and moderation. Out of these elements evolved a work whose culminating scene is set not on a battlefield, littered with the corpses of slain Moors, but in a court of law, where injustice and baseness are put to flight by justice and moral worth. Yet these are very broad terms, all abstract concepts, while the *CMC* is a very precise and concrete work, full of real people, who rarely talk in abstractions and whose deeds and words, not their inner thoughts, reveal their motives. Hence it is important to determine what happens in the poem in human terms, before reaching a conclusion about the poet's intention.

The Cid goes beyond his legal, or even his moral, obligations. He avoids direct conflict with Alfonso (11.527-8) and sends him presents from his own part of the booty. In each of these actions he fulfills his role of vassal to the utmost, and beyond, in an effort to convince Alfonso of his
error. At the outset, the King places himself on the side of the high Leonese nobility, the Beni-Gómez family, and of the Castilian García Ordóñez, when he allows himself to be convinced by their arguments against the Cid. The latter's unshakeable resolve and his loyalty in exile force Alfonso to view him in a new and better light and finally prove that the original judgement was ill-founded. The Cid demonstrates integrity and will-power, as much as loyalty and fidelity. In his obedience to Alfonso, he obeys at the same time an inner demand, which consists in remaining true to his own position in society, in showing an absolute integrity in a world of temporarily confused values. The Cid thus imposes his will, derived from an absolute self-conviction and assurance, upon a world that lacks such conviction and assurance, and for that reason he succeeds in moulding it to suit his own purpose. His reconciliation with the King is the triumph of a personal ethic, a subjective morality, but one which the poet obliges his readers or hearers to share.

The King in the first part of the epic is a weak character, whose actions are in part governed by the malos mestureros. He does not act solely of his own volition, and his actions are not the result of self-conviction. As a consequence, he does not perform his role as king and lord with complete integrity; he has all the appearances — and these are formidable — of kingliness but not the substance. The Cid, whose internal and external personae are one, demonstrates this integrity of character and social position to the King by his example. The three gifts are a series of
lessons to Alfonso on how a man should play his appointed role in society. The exemplary vassal teaches the King exemplary kingship, and it is this that Alfonso subsequently demonstrates.

The second part of the poem highlights very different qualities in the Cid from the first, showing his shrewdness as a politician in his dealings with Alfonso over the marriages and, in the trial scene, his skill as a lawyer. It is from this point that any comparison with the HR ceases to be relevant. Events no longer coincide and the fictional part of the CMC contains the realisation of the poet's intentions. When the Cid has succeeded in making his position in the kingdom secure, he can retire from certain duties and thus he takes no part in the judicial duels. These assume a thematic importance secondary to the total humiliation that the Infantes and their supporters suffer before the King and the cort. This is the culmination of the Cid's achievement, for already he has won his complete rehabilitation and a restoration of his honour within Alfonso's realm, and now he brings about the downfall of those who worked for his disgrace. Behind all of his actions, however, whether in politics or in war, his strength of will remains unchanged.

It is more difficult to talk in human terms of the change in the role of Alfonso, which is central to the poem's significance. His position in the two parts is radically different. In the first, although he takes little active part in the events narrated, his hidden presence is sensed throughout. After his decision that
sets off the chain of incidents in the poem, reconciliation with him remains at all times the fundamental aim of the Cid, whose individual achievements in battle against the Moors contribute to that end. Alfonso’s power is vast, as evidenced by the effects of his original decision and by the fear that he inspires in the inhabitants of Burgos upon the arrival of his carta. In the context of the poem, that power is a force of disorder, both social and moral. The principal action of the poem takes place when the King, through his contact with the Cid’s example, redirects that power to make it a force of order. The radical change of position is such that in the second part he upholds of his own volition those values that the poet has expected his audience to share throughout, but which have been passed over hitherto. Alfonso now fully accepts his responsibilities, both as monarch and as liege lord, just as the Cid acts as the perfect vassal.

Roger Walker points to a contrast between the two parts of the poem and between the roles of the two main protagonists in each part. In the first, the Cid faces a series of obstacles which he overcomes when he achieves the reconciliation with Alfonso. In the second, the burden of proof rests on the latter, although the Cid has a new set of obstacles to overcome, but of a different nature and with different solutions. This is an important distinction, for it emphasises the more active role of the King after he pardons his vassal, yet the change is basically a major alteration of tone. The gravest crisis for Alfonso passes when he pardons the Cid and, specifically, when he raises
him from the ground in admission of his original error.
The challenges that Alfonso faces can then be seen as
opportunities to demonstrate his re-established authority
as King. He overcomes these obstacles with ease, facing
his responsibilities and taking decisions with a sureness
that makes his previous error an aberration. The second
part of the CMC is thus a celebration of the exemplary
concord between king and vassal, wherein both ascend to
greater heights.

Historically, if not poetically, there is also some
difficulty in talking of a late eleventh-century monarch
passing a series of tests. Whatever the outcome of those
tests, whether the Cid received justice or not, the King's
position as monarch would still be inviolable. In the
context of the poem, his position would be impaired if the
Cid lost his suit, because of the legal obligations contracted
when he arranged the marriages. This, however, is pure
hypothesis. Obedience and awe were accorded even to an
unjust king or to one who acted unjustly on one occasion,
as is confirmed by the HR and by the opening scenes of
the poem. Moreover, no evidence exists in the CMC that
Alfonso was forced to redeem his past actions by overcoming
a series of obstacles. Until the reconciliation, it is not
absolutely certain whether his error was the result of
malevolence as well as false advice. It emerges that this
was not so, that he was basically just and was aware of the
responsibilities of a good lord.

The process whereby the King's power changes from being
a cause of disorder to a cause of order operates on two
closely related levels. One is the level of moral order or poetic justice, the other is that of social order and legal justice. At first the King subverts both orders, an error that he proceeds to correct when he observes how the Cid reacts both as a man forced out of society and as a vassal wrongly convicted. The form of the King's disruption of legal justice is evidently his unjust banishment of the Cid. The article of Grassotti makes it clear that in history this was a legal action and not merely the unjust exercise of the King's will, diverted by the Beni-Gómez. In the poem, however, the King fails in one of his duties as monarch by subverting, albeit unwittingly, that justice of which he should be the source and preserver. There is no just cause for the exile of the Cid, as there was in history, i.e. his breaking of the royal truce.

Alfonso's second failing, linked inextricably to his first, consists in his implicit alliance with the Beni-Gómez and their party. They have power over him and it is through their influence, direct according to the poem, but less so according to the history and the Carmen Campidoctoris, that the misfortunes occur. The King's image is thus tarnished by the stain of their low moral standing which is the converse of what the Cid represents. Until the latter's pardon, little is known of the evil qualities of the mestureros or of García Ordóñez, who in the poem is linked to the Beni-Gómez family. When the Infantes de Carrión appear, the negative qualities that they embody can be attributed to the rest of the Cid's enemies. They are in all respects a direct contrast to the Cid. They are socially
esteemed, while he is scorned, yet their recognition is founded on an absence of the qualities that the Cid possesses. Honour is accorded to them on account of their lineage, as they themselves recognise: '¡ca de natura somos de condes de Carrion!' (2554). The Cid's virtues of loyalty, courage and self-restraint, which are upheld by the poet, go unrecognised in the context of the poem until the moment of his pardon, when they recover in part their rightful status.

The second part of the CMC allows the qualities of the Cid to achieve due recognition, when the hero triumphs over the Infantes in the court. Alfonso plays a vital part in this triumph, now that he has recognised the Cid's merits and received him back into favour. He is also legally bound to the Cid by the marriage contract that he arranged and his own honour is thus at stake. The misdeeds of the Infantes provide the King with an opportunity to demonstrate the renewal of his power and to restore fully social and moral order to his kingdom: the King's accession to the Cid's demand for justice ensures that poetic justice will be worked out in a legal setting.

The importance of the theme of justice in the CMC is underlined by the clear expression of the King's intentions. Indeed, Alfonso's aims and motives are stated throughout in an explicit manner that contrasts with the relative reticence of the Cid. The King tells why he wishes to pardon the Cid, when he becomes convinced of his loyalty:

Mio reino adelant mejor me podra servir (1869)
Sirvem mio Cid el Campeador,
el lo merece e de mi abra perdon; (1898ab)

and that he wishes to honour him by arranging the marriages:

...
Abra i ondra e creçra en onor por conssagrar con los iffantes de Carrion. (1905-6)

Semejam el casamiento ondrado e con grant pro. (2077)

Later he makes clear his desire for justice within his kingdom:

Todos meted i mientes, ca sodes coñosçedores por escoger el derecho, ca tuerto non mando yo. (3137-8)

Con el que toviere derecho yo dessa parte me so. (3142)

When the King redirects his power and uses it to ensure justice, he infuses his authority with the meaning it had temporarily lacked. It was hollow and devoid of positive significance, when he favoured his most selfish and envious vassals at the expense of the Cid. The association of the King's power with justice points to the significance of the poem. Its meaning revolves around the relationship between kingship, justice and the obligations of the King as a feudal lord and it points to the dire consequences of a breakdown in that relationship. Alfonso's various utterances demonstrate that such a meaning is not illusory.

The story of Rodrigo Díaz thus evolved from the generally objective account of the HR to the point where it was re-worked and recreated by the epic poet. In spite of the history's factual tone, it had already departed from historical fact in its treatment of certain incidents in the relationship between Alfonso and Rodrigo. At a later date the epic poet perceived in the story the foundation of a work that was less specific historically, but more broadly human. He infused into this story certain opinions that he held about kingship and linked these to values that he shared with his audience. These values are celebrated in his retelling of
the life of the Cid. Such is the process that may lie behind many literary works that draw on a traditional historical subject, but the coherence of the CMC attests the single artistic consciousness responsible for the creation of the poem.

One question remains to be considered: was the epic poet acquainted with the Latin history? Certain basic attitudes toward Alfonso and the Cid are shared by the historian and the poet, but this is inevitable when both are treating the same subject and the material of epic is by its very nature traditional. There is also some evidence of stylistic similarity, but this can be attributed to common habits of mind which suggest similar forms of expression for simple ideas and concepts. Menéndez Pidal suggested that the poem's account of the battle of Tévar had similarities with the HR's version, but it is difficult to prove this, for the resemblances are limited to recurrences of habitual actions in identical contexts. Two episodes in the HR do however suggest that the poet might have known the historian's work. In the Tévar episode, the Cid ordered the defeated Count of Barcelona to be guarded in a separate tent from his own and also that a feast be prepared:

Neque iuxta eum in tentorio suo sedere permisit, sed foris extra tentoria eum custodiri a militibus suis iussit; victualia quippe sibi largiter ibidem dari sollicité precepit. (947. 5-8)

The poem's account contains similar elements:

Priso lo al conde, pora su tie nd a lo levava, a sos creenderos guardar lo mandava.
De fuera de la tienda un salto dava ...
A mio Cid don Rodrigo grant cozinal adobavan;
el conde don Remont non gelo precio nada,
aduzen le los comerés, delant gelos paravan.
(1012-14, 1017-19)

One incident is reversed, for the Count is here placed under
guard in the Cid's tent, but could not the idea of extending
the banquet to the Count have been suggested by the HR?
The latter's account of the battle of el Cuarte includes
a description of Rodrigo's reaction to the arrival of the
Almoravids:

Videns autem Rodericus tantam et tam innumerabilem
gentium multituidinem adversus eum peruenisse pugna-
turam, non raro miratus est. (959. 20-3)

There could be a distant echo of this passage in the poem's
version of the encounter, when the Cid shows the opposing
forces to his wife and children. This contrasts his delight:
'alegravas mio Cid e dixo: "Tan buen dia es oy!"' (1659)
with the women's fear.

A point of contact emerges from a comparison of the
two works that is more important than any dependence of the
epic on the history. The poet's concern for justice and for
the maintenance of the social order beneath the supreme
figure of the king corresponds to that concept of kingship
held by the Latin historians. Menéndez Pidal described how
this concept was derived from the ideology of the church at
Rome and was transmitted throughout the Christian world.34
In Spain the concept was expressed by Isidore in his
Etimologiae and Sententiae. Pidal summed up its basic notions:

El príncipe, según esta idea eclesiástica, representa
da Dios, para bien de la universitas o colectividad
del pueblo, eso es, para cumplir los fines del Estado:
para mantener en justicia a todos, para conservar la
paz pública en el interior del reino ... el rey
impone la paz también a los nobles, impidiendo la
guerra entre ellos.
Disputes between noble factions were not infrequent, since the nobility endeavoured to cling to the Germanic custom of the personal execution of justice, which thus conflicted with the Roman concept: 'Así estaban en continua pugna de adaptación los principios romano y germánico que regían la vida medieval'. The epic poet specifically avoids a personal execution of justice, when the Cid does not seek violent revenge for the dishonour done him by the Infantes, but takes his case to a court of law. The monarch's responsibility to maintain justice in his kingdom is affirmed by the subsequent action of the poem, which ensures the Cid's triumph. Other aspects of the epic, in particular Rodrigo's conception of his relationship with Alfonso, reflect the Roman ideology, rather than Germanic custom. The king-vassal relationship, according to the latter, was based on a mutual offer of service and protection, which could be terminated by either party, but the Cid does not consider that the feudal bond has been broken by Alfonso's action. The traditional values of the nobility are called into question when the Cid continues to observe his obligations because his exile was not decreed in accord with the principles of justice that it was the King's duty to maintain. By failing in this duty, the King also failed in his greater task of acting in the public good, 'para bien de la universitas'. Implicitly, the epic poet sees the obligations of king and vassal as going beyond the Germanic concept of a contractual relationship. He thus shows himself to be an advocate of those Romano-ecclesiastical concepts of kingship and justice that the Latin historians, especially the Leonese writers, accepted.
as part of the Visigothic inheritance. The HR writer shows his adherence to the principles by the immoderate language with which he describes the Cid's attack on the estates in La Rioja. This constituted an act of personal vengeance against García Ordóñez, who was thought to have master-minded the assault on Valencia by Alfonso VI. However, it also constituted an attack against the crown, since the fief of those lands was granted to the Count by Alfonso himself. The emphasis placed by the historians on the king's maintenance of justice is also illustrated by the representation of the monarch as a rey justiciero in the Crónica of Pelayo and in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris. A common outlook on the role of the king and on the nature of medieval monarchy is thus shared by the Hispano-Latin historians of the twelfth century and by the vernacular poet of the CMC.36
Footnotes

1. Recherches (1881), II, p. 72; see also pp. 55-74.
2. La España del Cid, II, p. 909.
4. La España del Cid, II, p. 918.
5. On the exact length of Rodrigo's stay in Saragossa, see Pidal, La España del Cid, I, p. 298, esp. n. 2.
6. Recherches (1881), II, p. 110, pp. 201-2. Dozy then proves that Rodrigo's actions were not exceptional in their historical context, pp. 202-4.
9. See Hart, 'Hierarchical Patterns'.
13. This incident is viewed even more unfavourably by Dozy, Recherches (1881), II, pp. 193-4.


17. Dozy emphasised that the claim that the Cid was undefeated was untrue, but he refers to an Arabic history telling of the defeat of one of his forces, not of the Cid himself. See Recherches (1881), II, pp. 194-5 and pp. xxvi-xxvii. The claim was also disputed by Charles Homer Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 267-8.


20. See Menéndez Pidal, 'La crítica cidiana', p. 120.


22. 'Adefonsus imperator toletanus', p. 262.

23. The text of this is given by Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, II, pp. 708-9.


25. Colin Smith believes that the poet recalls the counter-attack, but that it is placed out of chronological order as
one of the events following the banishment (11.476-81b). The seriousness of the Cid's breaking of the truce raises difficulties of interpretation in the poem, especially at 11. 527-8. See, however, Smith's edition of the CMC, p. 1.

26. In his edition of the HR, Menéndez Pidal fills a supposed gap in the text in the year 1092, by referring to a passage in the Crónica particular del Cid and also to the Crónica de 1344. Both tell of the Cid's absolute pardon. See HR: 51n.

27. See Hilda Grassotti, 'La ira regia en León y Castilla', CHE, XLI-XLII (1965), 5-135.

28. The critical opinion that has been taken into account in this section includes: Gustavo Correa, 'El tema de la honra en el PMC', Hisp. Rev., XX (1952), 185-99; Edmund de Chasca, 'The King-Vassal Relationship in the PMC', Hisp. Rev., XXI (1953), 183-92 and El arte juglaresco, esp. pp. 61-77; Paul R. Olson, 'Symbolic Hierarchy in the Lion Episode of the CMC', MLN, LXXVII (1962), 499-511; Peter N. Dunn, 'Levels of Meaning in the PMC', MLN, LXXXV (1970). I am grateful to Dr Roger Walker for allowing me to read the typescript of his article, 'The Role of the King and the Poet's Intentions in the PMC', Medieval Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton (London: Tamesis, in press). The section is based on my article, 'King and Vassal in History and Poetry: a Contrast between the HR and the CMC', Mio Cid Studies (London: Tamesis, in press), which benefited from the helpful suggestions of Professors Ian Michael and Colin Smith.
29. For a different view of the second part, see Walker, 'The Role of the King', and Erika Lorenz, Der altspanische Cid (Munich, 1971), pp. 30-1. The trial scene has been well studied by Anthony N. Zahareas, 'The Cid's Legal Action at the Court of Toledo', RR, LV (1964), 161-72.

30. This theme has been expounded by Olson, 'Symbolic Hierarchy'.

31. See also CMC, 11.2965-7.

32. See ch. VI.

33. See La España del Cid, I, p. 383 n.2.

34. La España del Cid, I, pp. 99-102.

35. La España del Cid, I, p. 101.

36. In his recent article, Charles F. Fraker has shown that the version of the Cantar de Sancho II in the Estoria de España contains features of the Romano-ecclesiastical concept of kingship. Fundamental to the epic is the error of Fernando I who divided his kingdom among his sons, thus following Navarrese practice and not that of the Visigoths or their Leonese heirs. See 'Sancho II: Epic and Chronicle', R, XCV (1974), 467-507, esp. pp. 476-86. The poet of this version of the epic shares this outlook with the Silense historian who lamented the dissensions that arose between members of the same family as a result of this practice:

Scutare etenim regum gesta, quia sociis in regno nunquam pax diuturna fuit; porro Ispanici reges tante ferocitatis dicuntur fore, quod cum eorum stirpe quilibet regulus adulta etate iam arma primo sumpserit, siue in fratres seu in parentes, si superstites fuerint, ut ius regale solus obtineat, pro uiribus contendere parat. (Silense: 8)
CHAPTER III THE ALFONSO VI MATERIAL

The line of Leonese chronicles was broken off at the beginning of the eleventh century when Sampiro ended his chronicle with Alfonso V’s ascent to the throne (999). Historical writing does not seem to have recommenced in León until the composition in the early twelfth century of the so-called Historia Silense, the projected history of the life of Alfonso VI. Hitherto, much critical debate has focused on the origin of its author, for he tells how the idea of the work was first conceived whilst he was resident in a monastery known as 'domus Seminis' (7), a Latin name that refers to no known monastery. The fifteenth-century copyist noted in the margin of the Fresdelval manuscript that it referred to Santo Domingo de Silos, knowing or assuming the phrase to be a gloss on the word silo, meaning an underground granary. No other reference to Silos or even to the 'domus Seminis' occurs, but the author’s residence in Santo Domingo was accepted by most of the older authorities and by more recent critics and editors, although some of the latter recognise that the history could not have actually been written in Old Castile. Various objections have been raised to the traditional view, but none has yet provided a plausible alternative. The historian’s association with the monastery at Silos has however been finally disproved by Sánchez-Albornoz.
He points out that the author's declaration of intention states that the history was conceived in the 'domus Seminis', but after the death of Alfonso VI (1109).

This emerges from a correct reading of the text:

> Apud cenobium quod domus Seminis nuncupatur habitum monachalem suscepi. Vbi diversis sententiis sanctorum patrum catholicorum regum, sacris indicentibus libris, mecum ipse diu spatiando reuoluens, statui res gestas domini Adefonsy, orthodoxi Ispani imperatoris, vitamque eiusdem carptim perscribere, primo quia ipsius nobiliora facta memoria digna uidentur, secundo quia, vitam fragili iam tempore toto vite sue curriculo, pre omnibus regibus eclesiam Christi catolice gubernantibus celeberrimus videtur. (7)

This re-reading invalidates the recent editors' suggestion that the writer studied at Silos, but moved later to León where the history was written. It is fairly certain that the 'Silense' was in fact composed in the neighbourhood of the city of León itself, for the author's knowledge of the churches and monasteries of the capital and of its surrounds is detailed. Moreover, the accounts of certain events that took place in the city, such as the funeral of García of Galicia in 1090, seem to be those of an eye-witness. 'Domus Seminis' must therefore refer to a Leonese foundation. It is likely that the house was equal in size and resources to Santo Domingo de Silos, if its library contained copies of all the works utilised by the historian. Yet no monastery in León is known to have borne that name. 5

Sánchez-Albornoz extends the implications of his reading of paragraph 7 to include a revision of the Silense's suggested date of composition. The editors dated the history during the second decade of the twelfth
century, since it was clearly written after 1109 and probably within living memory of the last years of Alfonso's sister Urraca who died in 1101. The writer discloses that he had personal dealings with her, for he knew of her wise counsel 'quod experimento magis quam opinione didiscimus' (12). If he was also present at the funeral of García of Galicia, a date of composition between 1110 and 1120 is highly likely. Sánchez-Albornoz proposes a later date, because he envisages a longer interval between the conception of the work and its completion that would allow all the necessary material to be collected. This objection is not necessarily valid, especially if it is assumed that the monastery, the 'domus Seminis', possessed a library containing the works used in the Silense.

The historical compilation of Pelayo of Oviedo, which includes the Bishop's own contribution, is radically different in purpose and method from the Silense, although both are integral parts of the Leonese historiographical tradition. The Silense writer drew material from the chronicles for his account of the lineage of Alfonso VI, but his criterion of selection subordinated comprehensiveness to his celebratory intention. Pelayo ordered the copying of a large number of works and the insertion into this compilation of various passages of dubious authenticity, all of which ennobled the status of the see of Oviedo. The Crónica itself does not maintain the precision and objectivity of the chronicles, but it is basically as a chronicle that it must be considered.
It was intended simply as a conclusion to bring the compilation up to date, a practice common to the earlier Leonese writings. A lack of a definite point of view or perspective prevents the Crónica from being regarded as a history. Pelayo is lavish in his praise of Alfonso VI, but neither the Crónica's form nor its content can be explained by any sustained celebratory function. These basic differences between Pelayo's work and the Silense have often been overlooked or ignored by critics who have endeavoured to compare them. The Bishop's entire historical compendium, the Liber chronicorum ab exordio mundi usque Eram MCLXX, or Liber chronicorum, was compiled in various stages over the period 1128-1143.

The subject-matter and the historical preconceptions of the early chronicles were bound to the changes of fortune and the aspirations of the Leonese monarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries. The twelfth-century histories devoted to the achievements of Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII also share the political outlook of the royal court. By virtue of her ancient origin and her military and political strength, León was the most powerful peninsular kingdom until the last decades of the tenth century. Her political power was then undermined by the effects of a series of weak rulers and by the hostile actions, first of the Caliphate of Córdoba, then of other Christian regions. The ravages of al-Mansur were followed by the persistent revolts of the Castilian counts who sought independence from the central authority. At the same time, the kingdom of Navarre, which had suffered least at the
hands of the Moors, rose to prominence. Sancho el Mayor (r.1000-1035) brought under his dominion Castile - by marriage - in 1017 and the county of Ribagorza in 1018, while he also exercised some control over the Counts of Gascony and Barcelona. Yet the supremacy of León, which hitherto had had a real basis, continued to be recognised by the other kingdoms, although her fortunes were waning dramatically. During the tenth century, Leonese hegemony had come to be represented symbolically by the status of the monarch as imperator and of the kingdom as an imperium. These concepts derived essentially from León's consciousness of her position as heir to the Visigothic monarchy, although an awareness of the Carolingian empire could have exerted some additional influence. The origin of the terms and their significance within the Hispanic context are not wholly clear. Menéndez Pidal believed that they were first used by the sons of Alfonso III (r.866-910) when referring to their father in his lifetime, while Sánchez-Albornoz claimed that they originated in the reign of Ramiro II (r.930-950) and that documents testifying to an earlier use of the terms were false or had been falsified. In either case, the concepts were employed during the first half of the tenth century, which was a period of relative strength. Their widest use occurred when the supremacy of León rested on its traditional status alone, when the basic weakness of the central government was exposed during the reigns of Ramiro III, Alfonso V, Vermudo II and Vermudo III (965-1037). The view of the kingdom as an imperium was held, not only by the Leonese
ecclesiastics and the nobles of the court who sought to bolster its waning prestige, but also by other peninsular rulers. Sancho el Mayor, at the height of his power, referred to the young King of León, Vermudo III, as imperator, even though the latter had lost a substantial part of his territory:

Ego Sancius rex, tenens culmen potestatis mee in Aragone et in Pampilonia et in Sobrabi et Ribagorza et in Nagera et in Castella et in Alava; ... et imperator domnus Vermudus in Gallecia.12

The symbolic significance and status of the Leonese monarchy gained such a degree of general acceptance in the Peninsula that the concept of imperium existed independently of the varying fortunes of the kingdom itself and even of changes of dynasty. When Sancho el Mayor took León in 1034, he designated himself imperator and coins were struck that recorded the fact. His son, Fernando, who at first ruled Castile, was anointed according to Visigothic custom in León in 1039. The superiority of León over the other kingdoms emerges from the large number of documents cited by Pidal, which refer to the rulers of Aragon and Pamplona as reges, but to Fernando as 'imperator in Castella et in Leone et in Astorgas'.13 By the mid-eleventh century, the effective power of León had been restored, for although the Astur-Leonese dynasty had finally come to an end, it had given way to the vigorous Navarrese line descending from Sancho el Mayor, which adopted the neo-Visigothic traditions.

It was in the reign of Alfonso VI that the imperium fully recovered a meaning that was more than symbolic. Alfonso assumed the imperial dignity after he had recovered
Leon from his brother Sancho and had succeeded him as ruler in Castile. In 1085 the Moorish kingdom of Toledo fell, thus completing a triumphant period of the King-Emperor's career, which had taken him as far south as Córdoba and Seville and even to the shores of the Mediterranean. In spite of the defeats that he later incurred, the significance of the recapture of Toledo cannot be denied. Strategically, the action was of great importance, for it represented a great step forward in the process of territorial reconquest, advancing the Christians deep into al-Andalus. It was also the supreme achievement of Alfonso VI and indeed of his whole line, for the Visigothic capital was, as the Silense states, 'christianorum totius Ispaniae olim specula' (9), the centre and the source of Leonese tradition. It might be objected that the remoteness of the period prior to the invasion of 711 and the physical proximity of the present generation of Muslims made the recapture of Toledo, qua Visigothic capital, of virtually no national political significance. Yet the Visigothic inheritance had always been relevant only to the king and his court and the process must have become more marked as time went on. This is pointed out by Melveena McKendrick:

These Visigoths [Pelayo and his followers] and their descendants do seem to have kept alive some notion of a political destiny, of a legitimate claim to power inherited through them by Asturias from the former Visigothic monarchy. It was a concept that had more substance in princely imagination and scribes' records than in political reality, and probably no substance at all in the popular consciousness.14

The concept survived as a result of the military efforts of the monarchs and the propaganda of ecclesiastics and other learned members of their courts and it lent further meaning
to their aspirations of reconquest which ultimately aimed at the reunification of the Peninsula. In the eleventh century, these aspirations achieved a partial fulfillment that was both symbolic and concrete.

The persistence of the notion of the Visigothic inheritance had also been assured over the intervening three and a half centuries by the official chronicles. The Silense, which drew substantially on the earlier writings, took up the theme of the rebirth of the Visigothic kingdom and linked it to Alfonso VI's recapture of Toledo. It also adopted the basic features of the traditional interpretation of the Muslim invasion that had been advanced in those works.  

The concept of the imperium, however, is scarcely present in the chronicles, for not one refers to any of the Astur-Leonese monarchs as imperator and only that of Sampiro to a rex magnus. This absence is partly explained by the dating of the first possible use of the concepts in the reign of Alfonso III, but it does not account for their absence from the later chronicle of Sampiro. Moreover the terms imperium and imperator are used by the Silense writer only on isolated occasions and not at all by Pelayo. In the history, Fernando I's request to the Emir of Seville that he surrender the body of St Just is referred to as 'imperialibus iussis' (95), but Menéndez Pidal does not that the Cronicón Complutense talked of Fernando as 'imperator fortissimus'. The title of imperator is given only to Alfonso VI in the Silense, but on two separate occasions when he is referred to in celebratory terms as 'domini Adefonsy orthodoxi Ispani inperatoris' (7 and 31). These
instances are revealing, for Alfonso figures only slightly in the history and only at the time of his dispute with Sancho II. A change had clearly taken place in the use of the title during Alfonso's reign, for the Astur-Leonese monarchs are all known simply as reges. The absence of reference to the imperial title is most surprising in such contexts as the description of the coronation of Fernando I where he is referred to as rex: 'consecratus [est] dominus Fernandus in ecclesia beate Marie Legionensis, et vinctus in regem' (80). The explanation of this phenomenon must be sought in the peculiar nature of the Leonese imperial concept. Before the reign of Alfonso VI it was rare for the monarch to refer to himself as imperator and it was unknown in the intitulatio or suscriptio of the documents issuing from his royal chancery. Only the titles of basileus, rex magnus or princeps magnus were ever used by the monarch himself. The title of imperator was used by his Leonese subjects, the rulers of other peninsular kingdoms (regna) and by the monarch's successors when referring to him. This latter usage was conspicuous in the form of address adopted by the sons of Alfonso III. The superiority of León in a hierarchy was thus recognised by the other kingdoms, but appears to have been regarded as implicit by the regnum-imperium itself. The chroniclers and the Silense historian all moved in the sphere of the royal court and they shared its outlook and practices. The special meaning of the imperial concept is the only plausible explanation of the reticence in the use of the terms imperator and imperium before the reign of Alfonso VI.
Pelayo's *Crónica* does not reflect the neo-Visigothic outlook of the Leonese monarchy, although his compilation includes the *Crónica de Alfonso III* and many Visigothic texts. This may be the result of the Bishop's preoccupation with his diocese and ecclesiastical matters, rather than with the political aspirations of the king. Nevertheless, the complete neglect of the concept of the Visigothic rebirth gives further indication of Pelayo's inferiority as a historical writer and underlines the basic differences between his work and the *Silense*. The latter can be regarded as the culmination of the Leonese historiographical tradition that dates from the chronicles of the ninth century.

(a) The *Historia Silense*: themes and structure

In the context of Leonese historiography, the form of the *Silense* is unusual. The writer's dependence on the content of the earlier chronicles and of various other historical works, including Visigothic texts, gives his own work elements of a universal history. He adopted in part the method of the Leonese chroniclers by organising some of his material in a strict reign by reign narrative. He also followed the established pattern by adding to his reworking of earlier material his own contribution relating the events of the more immediate period. Yet this unknown writer utilised the chroniclers' material and method only as far as this served his purpose, for his use of his sources was strictly selective and his arrangement of his material was not entirely chronological. The reasons for
this departure from tradition can only be appreciated when his intention and the basic plan of the Silense are viewed in conjunction. It is because the intention was not limited to the recording of fact that the work should be regarded as a history and not as a chronicle. It is an unawareness of the Silense's originality in the context of the development of Hispanic historiography that has led to the historian's method being labelled defective.

At first criticism of the historical method appears wholly justified, for the Silense has many omissions and several repetitions. The reigns of minor kings are omitted and some reigns are included twice, while the chronology of the basic narrative seems at times quite chaotic. The work opens with an introduction which is followed by various unconnected sections dealing with the Emperor Constantine, Hermenegild, Reccared, Wamba and Wittiza (1-6). In the next paragraph the author declares his intention: to chronicle the life and achievement of Alfonso VI (7). There follow several passages that deal with both Alfonso and his brother Sancho after the division of the kingdom by their father, Fernando I (8-13). At this point, the author decides that he must set his principal protagonist in his historical context by relating the development of the Spanish kingdom (regnum Yspanorum) from its earliest beginnings. This digression or explanation constitutes the main body of the work, for the proposed history of the reign of Alfonso VI is lacking from all the surviving manuscripts and no trace of it has ever been discovered in later writings. The Silense ends with the death of Fernando I.
The intervening sections cover the period between the reign of Wittiza and 1065. The reigns of no fewer than nineteen kings are omitted, according to Blázquez, and at an awkward point in the narrative the reigns of Alfonso III, García I and Ordoño II are related twice, but in different form (39-47 and 61-619).20 A similarly awkward passage occurs at the end of the reign of Vermudo II, where not only his reign is repeated but also those of the two preceding monarchs, Sancho I and Ramiro III, and of the subsequent king, Alfonso V (526-30 and 69-73). In both cases a lack of information at the end of one source demanded additional information from another that was copied or reworked separately, thereby causing the duplication. The narrative is then radically interrupted at the end of the second passage on Alfonso V, when a brief account of the origins of the kingdom of Navarre is inserted. It begins with the reign of García II and ends with the marriage of Fernando I to Sancha, daughter of Alfonso V, thereby linking the two lineages, the product of whose union was Alfonso VI (74-5). In addition, the reign of Wittiza is included twice (6-7 and 14-15).

If the writer of the Silense intended to compose a chronologically accurate history in the manner of the official Leonese chronicles, he was exceedingly incompetent. This, however, was not his intention, as is suggested by the opening of the second passage concerning Wittiza that is linked explicitly to the first: 'Igitur tempore Victice Gotorum regis, de quo superius memini ...' (14). Elsewhere, the writer refers specifically to his work and to his
conception of it. In the section on Alfonso II, he avoids digressing from his theme, stating: 'Sed quoniam Adefonsy Ispaniarum orthodoxi inperatoris genealogiam seriatim texere statui, eo vnde originem duxit stillum verto' (31). These two statements indicate that the writer's method is not purely random and that the work does have an organised structure. Setting aside the notion that the work was conceived either as a universal or as a national chronicle, the significance of its structure is discernible, when it is related to the author's express aim and to themes based on the theological ideas set out in the introduction.

In paragraph 7 the author unequivocally states his intention: 'statui res gestas domini Adefonsy, orthodoxi Ispani inperatoris, vitamque eiusdem carptim perscribere'. In the context of the overall scheme, this aim cannot be realised unless Alfonso's achievement is seen as the culmination of the development of the Spanish kingdom:

Ceterum Adefonso in patrio regno corroborato, priusquam ad ordinem bellorum captionemque ciuitatum veniamus, quomodo isdem regnum Yspanorum gubernauerit, quantumue ex minimo paulatim ampliauerit, vt futuris lucidius innotescat, eiusdem originem retexendo, altius ordiendum est. (13)

This necessity determines the subsequent form of the Silense: the narration reign by reign of the history of the Leonese kingdom, together with the origins of Navarre. The narrative assumes in part the form of the Leonese chronicles, as these constituted the only fully developed tradition of historical writing that covered the period. The writer's aim, however, is fundamentally different and involves a criterion of
selection that excludes the reigns of minor kings because of their irrelevance. It seems that this criterion would have applied equally to events in the reign of Alfonso VI, the focal point of the projected work. The author indicates that his narrative would not be comprehensive, but would cover periods of his hero’s life, when he writes: ‘statuiores gestas domini Adefonsy ... vitamque eiusdem carptim perscribere’ (7).

The historian’s desire to relate both the maternal and paternal ancestry of Alfonso VI is the cause of the awkward break at the end of the second section on Alfonso V (73). The maternal line is bound to the Astur-Leonese, the paternal line to the Navarrese, monarchy. Alfonso VI’s mother was Sancha, daughter of Alfonso V of León (r.999-1028), who was descended from Alfonso I and Ermesinda, daughter of Pelayo, the legendary first leader of the Reconquest (26). Alfonso I (r.744-757) was the son of Pedro, Duke of Cantabria, ‘Petri Cantabriensium ducis filius’, who himself is supposed to have been related to the seventh-century Visigothic king, Reccared. The account of this line comprises the greatest part of the history (26-73). Alfonso VI’s father was Fernando I of León-Castile (r.1035-1065), son of Sancho el Mayor who ruled Navarre, Castile and Aragon (r.1000-1032). Fernando I married Sancha and Alfonso was the fourth of five children: Urraca, Sancho, Elvira, Alfonso and García. The account of the paternal line is exceedingly brief (74-9), for there is a complete absence of reliable information before the reign of Sancho el Mayor. He is claimed to be the son of a certain Navarrese monarch, García,
who died, according to a marginal note, in 970 (era MVIII). The editors conclude that this was García Sánchez (García II, r.926-970) and that the Silense errs therefore in stating that he was father of Sancho el Mayor. The latter's father was García el Tembloso (r.995-1000), son of Sancho García Abarca (r.970-995) and grandson of García Sánchez. Two kings have thus been omitted from the narrative at this point with the result that Fernando's father appears to have ruled from 970 to 1035.21 To the writer, however, fidelity to historical fact was less important than the maintenance of his overall scheme, which was intended to make plain Alfonso VI's link with the Visigothic monarchy. García Sánchez is said to have descended from the same Pedro, Duke of Cantabria, as Alfonso I of Asturias, the maternal ancestor of Alfonso VI (74). The latter can thus doubly be described as 'Adefonsus ... ex illustri Gotorum prosapia ortus' (8).

The Silense writer's exposition of the ancestry of Alfonso VI is a logical development of the interpretation traditional to Leonese historiography of the events in the Peninsula in 711 and subsequently in Asturias. The historian followed the usual Christian explanation of Roderic's defeat, which laid the blame on the sons of Wittiza, although he did incorporate some additional elements derived from the version common to the Hispano-Arabic histories. The recapture of Toledo must have lessened considerably the importance to the imperial psychology of this interpretation and of the legends that developed around the first attempts at organised resistance. This achievement completed
a significant stage in the restoration of that state of peace that flourished prior to 711, which is described in the introduction: 'Cum olim Yspania omni liberali doctrina vbertim floreret, ac in ea studio literarum fontem sapientie sitientes passim operam darent' (1). The vital chapter of the history was never written, but the evidence of what was completed permits some conclusions to be drawn about the writer's perspective on nearly four hundred years of territorial reconquest that would culminate in the re-unification of Hispania. Several passages, some derived from sources, make it clear that the regnum-imperium of Alfonso VI is seen as the reborn and regenerated kingdom of the Visigoths. The author prefaces his section on Pelayo with the declaration:

Igitur, post tantam Yspaniarum ruynam, opere pretium est referre qualiter divina pietas, que percutit et sanat, velud ex rediuiua radice virgultum, gentem Gotorum resumptis viribus pullulare fecerit. (20)

Pelayo in his dialogue with Bishop Oppa makes a prediction about the Visigothic revival: 'nos vero ... gentem Gotorum de paucis, velud plurima sata ex grano sinapis, germinare credimus' (22). The section on Pelayo ends with the writer's reflection on the events of the reign, which at the same time looks forward to the achievements of the Astur-Leonese kings that are to be narrated:

Ceterum Gotrum gens, velud a sompno surgens, ordines habere paulatim consuefacit, sciliced in bello sequi signa, in regno legitimum observare imperium, in pace ecclesias et eorundem deuote ornamenta restaurare, postremo Deum, qui ex paucissimis de multitudine hostium victoriam dederat, toto mentis affectu colaudare. (25)

The link between the faith and religious observance of the new Christian nation and its rebirth, which is established
in the last passage, points to the other important theme of the Silense: the relationship between historical events and divine providence. This theme underscores that of the persistence of the Visigothic monarchy and is similarly fundamental in determining the overall structure, but it is not developed with the same thoroughness and is explicit only in the opening sections. Occasional reflections on events are inserted into the ensuing narrative, but they are not sufficient to sustain the thread of ideas throughout the work. The main theme, the narration of the achievements of the ancestors of Alfonso VI, predominates. In the Hispanic context, the theme of divine providence is developed according to a strict relation of cause and effect: the sinfulness of the last Visigothic kings is punished by the Muslim invasion, the effects of which persist for four centuries because this is necessary to the preservation of the nation. Outside the Hispanic context, however, the development of the ideas is more complex. The introduction states certain theological concepts about the punishment of sinners, which are then illustrated by a series of otherwise unrelated examples. Some of these additional concepts are peripheral to the explanation of the downfall of the Visigothic monarchy.

The introduction sets out the three alternative fates awaiting man after death: hell, Heaven or limbo. Sinners can be punished both on earth and in the after-life, but hell is the fate of those on whom temporal punishments are of no avail and who die unrepentant:

Hoc quoque non est preterendum quod plerosque sic corporaliter percutit, quatinus in futuro percussio
illa remedio non sit, sicque fit vt in hiis qui omnino non corriguntur percussio precedentium flagelorum sit initium sequentium tormentorum. (1)

This passage elaborates the answer to the question posed indirectly at the opening of the Silense about the reasons for the Muslim invasion: 'Sed si tanta clades cur Yspanie acciderit sagaciter animaduertis, profecto memorie occurrit quod vniuерse vie Domini misericordia et veritas suīt' (1). The ideas of the introduction are basic theological principles and integral parts of the providential theory of history, but the concept of spiritual damnation by itself is incidental to the explanation of an historical event.

This additional element is also evident in the series of examples illustrating the ideas of the introduction. This results in a lack of balance in the main narrative, for the examples concentrate on eternal damnation rather than on temporal punishment. The writer is preoccupied with heresy and with the fate of such as Constantine and Leovigild who persisted in Arianism and died in sin (2-3). The third example, the defeat of the Frankish heretics, succeeds in combining the two major themes of the introduction. At the instigation of two of the counts of Narbonne, the Franks entered that city and put to death many of the orthodox Christian inhabitants. Reccared, the Visigothic king, sent Claudius of Mérida to quell the rebellion, an undertaking that he carried out most effectively. The Franks were put to the sword and thus suffered both temporal and spiritual punishment, for they died as infidels: 'Tandem Franci, divina animaduersione turbati ... vtramque pariter amiserunt' (4). A similar
interpretation is possible in the following account of the defeat at Nîmes by the Visigoth king, Wamba, of another rebel count, Paul, together with his Frankish reinforcements (5).

The unifying thematic element of the Silense that implicitly links the four examples is weakened by the first two sections that are not directly relevant to the Hispanic context. In medieval thought, the disasters and defeats that befell a nation were considered to be divine punishments inflicted upon the people that had been corrupted by the sins of the ruler. The second paragraph of the Silense begins:

Igitur reges ... vbi pro labore desidia, pro equitate superbia, pro continentia libido cum avaritia paulatim inuasere, Deum verum et eius mandata obliuioni vltro tradendo, creaturam adorare priusquam creatorem cepere.

If the category of reges is widened to include all rulers - dukes and counts, as well as monarchs - the first four sections and those on Roderic and Wittiza illustrate the iniquity of rulers. The heresy of Constantine and Leovigild, however, is not the cause of historical disaster, but of the damnation of the ruler himself. The effect of the ruler's sins upon the course of history in the Peninsula is shown to be fundamental, for Wittiza is held principally to blame for the overthrow of the Visigothic monarchy. Attention is now focused directly upon temporal rather than spiritual punishment, upon the intervention of God in events. The inexplicability of the Muslim invasion and of its dire consequences was answered by the Biblical
Quotation: 'universalis vitæ Domini misericordia et veritas sunt'. All incidents, whether favourable or disastrous, are divinely ordained and part of God's plan for mankind which ultimately is conceived for his benefit. God intervened in the Iberian Peninsula, because Wittiza constituted a threat to its continued Christian existence:

Cum tandem divina prouidentia Victicam, Gotorum regem, inter christicolas quasi lupum inter oves diu latere prospitiens, ne tota soboles prisco voluptabro rursus macularetur. (6)

The fall of the kingdom is directly accounted for by the iniquities of its rulers:

Receserat enim manus Domini ob inueteratam regum malitiam ab Espania, ne in tempore huius ruyn eam protegeret, omnesque deinceps Gotorum milites fus fugatique fere vsque ad iteremptionem gladii peruenere. (17)

A change of ruler did not halt the spread of sinfulness, for Roderic was 'vita et moribus Victice non dissimilis' (15). So great was the corruption of the nation that it could be saved only by the total eradication of its corrupted elements and by the preservation of a chosen few to continue the lineage. A parallel with the Flood is inevitable: 'divina prouidentia ... more temporum Noe ut diluvium terram paucis Christianorum reservatis, barbaras gentes Espaniam ocupare permisit' (6). In spite of the violence of the remedy, God's action was good, because it ensured a more salutary future:

Igitur, post tantam Espaniarum ruynam, opere pretium est referre qualiter divina pieta, que percutit et sanat, velud ex rediuita radice virgultum, gentem Gotorum resumptis viribus pullulare fecerit. (20)

This passage looks forward to the main body of the narrative, the account of the reigns of the Astur-Leonese monarchs,
and it links the two main themes, the rebirth of the Visigothic nation and the workings of divine providence.

The deeds of Alfonso VI are not only the culmination of the efforts of his predecessors but also the inevitable result of continued religious observance: 'in pace eclesias et eorundem deuote ornamenta restaurare, postremo Deum ... toto mentis affectu colaudare' (25). It is stated at one point that God did not abandon their cause even when Alfonso VI lost his kingdom and was exiled. His stay in Toledo was of ultimate benefit:

Sed hoc prouida Dei dispositione credimus factum fuisse ... cumque ab eisdem Sarracenis ut tantus rex pro maximo haberetur, ac iam ut familiarissimus a Maurorum globo huc atque illuc spatiando penes Toletum circumducetur ... quibus locis quibus ac machinamentis ciuitas illa ... a paganorum manibus eruaretur, imo pectore trusit. (9)

A single passage indicates that Alfonso VI himself is considered supreme, not only as a general, but as a Christian monarch also: 'pre omnibus regibus eclesiam Christi catolice gubernantibus celeberrimus videtur' (7).

Sources

The two themes that determine the basic structure of the Silense create a departure from the pattern of the Leonese chronicles. The way in which written sources are used also causes a break with the past. The chroniclers were content to repeat what their predecessors had written, but the Silense writer drew material from a wide range of sources and according to a criterion of selection. He proceeded to rework the chosen material, amplifying certain passages and enhancing the narrative with borrowings from classical authors.23
The writer had two main sources: the Crónica de Alfonso III and the chronicle of Sampiro. The first covers the period from Wittiza at least until the death of Ordoño I (14-38), the second from the beginning of Alfonso III's reign until the accession of Alfonso V. The Rotense version of the Crónica de Alfonso III is used directly, but the author does seem to have been aware of the Ovetense text at certain points. Various secondary sources are employed. The introduction and the passages on Constantine, Leovigild and Reccared draw on the histories of Isidore, the account of the martyrdom of Hermengild is based on a passage from the Dialogi of Pope Gregory, and the account of the French revolt against Reccared on an extract from the De vita PP. Emeritensium. The section on Wamba and Duke Paul is based on the account of St Julian of Toledo, although Isidore is cited as the source. The information on Charlemagne and Roncesvaux (18-19) is drawn from the Vita Karoli Magni and the Annales of Einhard, but it may also reflect the Old French epics that were transmitted along the camino francés or historical texts that drew on those poems. The Silense contains some additional information taken from Arabic sources, for certain elements of the account of the Muslim invasion are not to be found in any pre-existing Christian literature. The rape of Count Julian's daughter by Roderic, as told in the Silense, is peculiar to Arab versions, which presented the Count's desire for revenge as the vital factor in the Christian defeat. Hitherto, the accounts of the northern Christians had blamed the sons of Wittiza, who betrayed their land to the Muslims. The editors
also claim that a substantial amount of material on the reign of Ordono II was drawn from Arab histories. The Crónica de Alfonso III in both its surviving versions ends with the reign of Ordono I, which accords with the practice of Leonese historiography in not narrating the reign of the present monarch. The Silense's account of the reign of Alfonso III is exceedingly sketchy: it includes only a pious incident from his childhood - his giving alms to the poor - and two engagements with the Moors that occurred early in his reign. None of the significant achievements of his life are mentioned; references to the capture of Coimbra and the battle of Polvoraria, for example, are absent. The historian had considerably more information about the reign of Ordono II; he tells of three expeditions against the Moors that are not otherwise recorded in Christian historiography. The editors believe this material to have derived from the Arabic histories. One of these was the chronicle of al-Nasir, which tells of the siege of the city of Evora, while another remains unknown, but is assumed to have been a source for the fourteenth-century historian Ibn-Khaldun. The other text is also unknown, but on this occasion the Silense's passage does not coincide with any version in a later Arabic history. This disturbing fact, linked to the doubt that must surround the second contemporary source, suggests that the solution proposed by Sánchez-Albornoz is the more likely. He hypothesises a continuation of the Crónica de Alfonso III that was not copied in the Rotense version. This additional source
would have given an insubstantial account of Alfonso III's reign, but a fuller one of that of Ordoño II, during which period the supplementary material was added. Pérez de Urbel's hypothesis lacks sure foundation, for not only are two of the Arabic sources unspecified, but there is no trace of their use elsewhere in the Silense. If the twelfth-century historian had access to these works, why did he utilise them on just one occasion?

The chronicle of Sampiro provides a fairly reliable source from the reign of Alfonso III until the death of Vermudo II, although the account of the latter's reign is not wholly disinterested, as Sampiro was Vermudo's notario real. The use of two sources for the period 866-924 entails the repetition of the reigns of Alfonso III, García I and Ordoño II. The subsequent period is not well documented until the historian reaches events immediately prior to his own lifetime. The account of the origins of Navarre is especially fragmentary and the reigns of several monarchs are omitted. None of the editors or commentators cites a major source for the period after that covered by Sampiro. The reign of Fernando I is the most extensive and detailed in the history and it is clear that the writer utilised material contemporary with the incidents related. The final passages that describe the King's death can only derive from a contemporary account. Charles J. Bishko has studied the references made to the Mozarabic rite in those passages (105-6) and has also revealed a discrepancy of two days in the dating of Fernando's death between the Silense and other sources. This he attributes to the use
of the Hispanic ecclesiastical calendar during the reign of Alfonso VI. The change to the Roman tradition was not achieved easily, but by the time of Alfonso's death Roman rite and calendar were both in general use. Bishko concludes that the passages in the Silense were taken from an account composed before the change in ecclesiastical and liturgical practice. The extent of this hypothetical source is limited to the events in San Isidoro de León after Fernando's return from the campaign in the kingdom of Saragossa. The account of the King's gift of a gold vessel to the monastery of Sahagún (104) is most probably taken from another contemporary source, perhaps transmitted orally and then recorded in writing either at Sahagún or at San Isidoro. The most important source for the reign is a hagiographic text known as the Traslación del cuerpo de san Isidoro, which tells how the Saint's body was brought from Seville to León in 1063 (96-102). The influence of this work on the Silense lies not so much in the information that it contains as in the configuration of the themes which foreshadows that of the history.

The Traslación is known to have had a separate existence from the history for there is evidence of three manuscripts of the work. A codex entitled Liber Scintillarum Albari Cordubensis preserves the oldest version, written in Visigothic script and dated toward the end of the eleventh century. Another manuscript survives in Toledo cathedral, which was published in part by the Bollandists, while a third, which Sandoval used, is believed to have been destroyed by fire at Sahagún in 1590. A close verbal similarity exists
between the hagiographic text and the episode of the translation in the history, but criticism has been divided as to which was the earlier. It is now accepted that the Traslación must have been composed first for use in liturgical services and then incorporated into the Silense by the twelfth-century historian who refined and corrected its markedly poorer Latin. The argument for the prior composition of the Traslación is supported by a comparison of the verbal differences between the two texts. The legend of the translation is also clearly linked to the figure of Fernando I who instructed the Bishops of León and Astorga to bring the body of St Just from Seville. Unable to discover the virgin saint's body, the prelates eventually returned with a greater prize: the body of St Isidore, whose location was revealed to the Bishop of León in a dream. There is no mention of Alfonso VI nor of any event after the reign of Fernando. The latter is referred to in the past tense: 'Hic ... pietatis opera qua religiosae gessit' (p. 94, 1.31, p. 95, 1.1), which suggests that the Traslación was written shortly after his death.

Gómez-Moreno and the recent editors of the Silense consider the Traslación to be one of the history's many sources and the former lists the great majority of the verbal similarities. Nevertheless, the thematic relation between the two works has been virtually ignored, even though the arrangement of the themes in each is identical. The major theme of the Silense, the Visigothic rebirth, is centred upon the legendary interpretation and amplification
of events in Asturias at the time of Pelayo. This theme is linked to that of divine providence, which serves as an additional notion in the interpretation of the invasion and the beginnings of the Reconquest. The close relationship between this thematic configuration and the arrangement of the material in the Traslación is evident from the following comparisons which are grouped according to event and theme:

**Traslación**  
The invasion of 711 and its effects  

- *rudericus rex aggregato exercitu gotorum* (p. 93, l.12)  
- *omnis exercitus fere ad inter-nitionem usque gladio deletus est* (p. 93, ll.15-16)  
- *Qui quantas cedes quantasque strages nostrorum dederint; testantur euersa castra et antiquarium urbium diruta menia* (p. 94, ll.1-3)  
- *Ea tempestate omnis Yspania luxit ...* (p. 94, ll.3-4)  
- *thesauros ecclesiarum direptos omnes incolas ferro flama fame consumptos; Tandem pietas illa ...* (p. 94, ll.5-7)

**Silense**  

- *Rudericus ... collecto Gotorum robustissimo exercitu* (16)  
- *Gotorum milites fusi fugatique fere vsque ad iter-emptionem gladii pervenere* (17)  
- *Qui nimirum quantas cedes, quantasue Orrifero ense christianorum strages fecerint, depopulate pro-uintie, subuersa ciuitatum menia, destructe ecclesie ... testimonium perhibent* (17)  
- *Eadem uero tempestate in Yspania omnis diuinus cultus perit ... omnis christi-colarum gloria decidit, congesti ecclesiarum tesauri funditus direpti sunt, cum tandem diuina pietas (71: refers to raids of al-Mansur) ferro, flama et.fame atritam* (17)

The cause of the disaster and the Visigothic revival  

- *rex [Roderic] neglecta religione diuina vitjorum se dominio mancipauerat* (p. 93, ll.13-14)  
- *postposita omni religione diuina (14; refers to Wittiza) Mauri ... totam Yspaniam ... suo dominio mancipauerunt* (17)
regnum gotice gentis sensim
atque paulatim cepit ueluti
uirgultum ex rediuela radice
pullulare (p. 94, 11.19-21)

Covadonga

Qualiter autem ... diuina manus qualiter diuina virtus pro pro nostris pugnauerit (p. 94, christianis dimicauerit (23) 11.19-21)

spicula ... in eos ipsos vis lapides cum saquis in seipsos
diuina retrorsit: et rupes ... esse retortos (23)
quedam dei nutu precisa corruit; quodam supercilium montis ...
et ex sarracenis non minimam a fundamento corruens ... multitudinem opprimendo extinxit (p. 94, 11.14-17)
diuino nutu oppressit eos (24)

Within the translation episode, the Silense follows the text of the Traslación very closely and the few differences have been explained by the editors as part of their proof of the latter's prior composition. The similarities in sections outside the translation episode indicate the debt of the later author to the hagiographer. The historian tells at one point how his admiration for the deeds of Alfonso VI was first aroused when he was resident in the 'domus Seminis'. The Traslación thus appears to be an additional source of inspiration which he could have encountered at Sahagún or in León, possibly at San Isidoro itself.

The historian's use of the Crónica de Alfonso III is fundamentally different from his use of the other major source, Sampiro. The latter's work is incorporated into the Silense in its entirety, without addition or modification, and is therefore of doubtful relevance to the evaluation of the literary merits of the twelfth-century writer. It is impossible to know whether the chronicle
of Sampiro would have been reworked, if the Rotense had been completed. In its extant form, its unity is considerably disrupted by the presence of the source work in its original state. The extent of this disruption can be judged from the indications that remain of the Rotense version of the Alfonsoine chronicle.

The effect of reworking on the Crónica de Alfonso III is considerable, for its plain and unadorned language is completely transformed by the neo-classical manner of the twelfth-century historian. Much of its content is still perceptible, but the use of the source is selective. The reigns of certain minor kings are omitted because of their lack of relevance to the main theme. Between the reigns of Fruela I and Vermudo I, the Crónica de Alfonso III includes brief summaries of three reigns: those of Aurelio, Silo and Mauregato. All three are absent from the Silense which proceeds directly from the end of Fruela's reign to the beginning of that of Alfonso II. Vermudo I, who abdicated in favour of his nephew, Alfonso, is also relegated to a subordinate position in accord with his lineage, for he was the son of Count Fruela Pérez, Alfonso I's brother. Fruela Pérez did not ascend the throne, in spite of the Silense's assertion that: 'duodecimo regni sui anno, mensibus sex, diebus viginti peractis ... Veremudo filium reliquit' (32). The reigns of the three other monarchs are omitted for two reasons. None of the kings was related directly to Alfonso VI: Aurelio was confrater of Alfonso I, while Silo, whose origin is not clear, married Alfonso's daughter and left no children. Mauregato, although related to
Alfonso I and the uncle of the future Alfonso II, was a usurper who expelled his nephew and the heir from the kingdom. The complexity of the line at this point must have contributed to the omission of the three rulers, but their inglorious reigns were a more significant factor. Mauregato was a usurper, while Aurelio and Silo were conspicuous for their lack of achievement. The Crónica de Alfonso III tells of Aurelio: 'Prelia nulla gessit. Cum caldeis pacer abuit'. Silo succeeded in subduing a rebellion in Galicia, but also achieved nothing against the Moors. The historian of the Silense was less concerned with fidelity to historical fact than he was to present the glorious lineage of Alfonso VI, untarnished by the presence of insignificant and unmemorable rulers.

A similar criterion determines the omission of passages from the accounts of reigns that are included. The Crónica de Alfonso III records that Fruela I abolished the practice of clerical marriage, a fact repeated by the historian, as it redressed one of the wrongs perpetrated by Wittiza. The Silense's account, however, finishes abruptly, without referring to the end of Fruela's reign or to his death. The reason is clear from the source work that relates certain disastrous events, which are wholly unflattering:

Hic uir asper moribus fuit. Fratrem suum nomine Uimaranem propriis manibus interfecit, qui non post multo tempore, uicem fraternam ei Dominus reddens, a suis interfectus est.

The strict criteria which govern the Silense historian's use of sources reduce the amount of information that can be derived from them. Material that is unflattering or
contributes nothing to the glory of the line of Alfonso VI is omitted. The writer prefers also to relate the achievements of the monarchs against the Moors, rather than their quelling of the not infrequent internal rebellions, for this latter was not only detrimental to a monarch's image, but peripheral to the theme of the Visigothic rebirth that culminated in the recapture of Toledo. The reduction in the amount of information contained in the Silense is compensated for by the writer's method of elaborating his material and presenting it in a self-consciously literary manner. The writer's aesthetic awareness is particularly evident in the introduction that laments the decline in creative activity that took place in the Peninsula after the Muslim invasion. He stresses the lack of writers to record great deeds: 'Hac itaque necessitudine ingrueante, et scriptores defuere et Yspanorum gesta silentio preteri'ere' (1). His own work can be considered an attempt to redress this tendency, now that the arts and learning can be more freely pursued. The full extent of the writer's literary conception of his work can be measured by the degree of expansion of the source material. The Crónica de Alfonso III is terse and relatively brief, even when dealing with events as significant as those of the year 711. Wittiza's actions are recognised as the cause of Spain's downfall: 'Istut namque Spanie causa pereundi fuit'.36 Although it is augmented by a series of Biblical quotations the account of the King's wrongdoing is summary:

Iste quidem probrosus et moribus flagitiosus fuit. Concilia dissolvit. Cannones siggillauit. Huxores et concubinas plurimas accepit. Et ne aduersus
The *Silense*’s version is based on this information, but it is considerably amplified:

Sed et episcopi ceterique Dey cultores aspernabantur, sacrosante ecclesiæ, clausis foribus, pro nichilo habebantur, synodalia concilia dissolventur, santi canones sigillantur, postremo quidquid pudicum, quidquid sobrium, quidquid honestum videtur, ea tenpestate ludibrio ducebantur. Et quod lacrimabile relatu uidetur, ne adversus eum pro tanto scelere santa ecclesiam insurgeret, episcopis, presbiteris, diaconibus atque omnibus sacri altaris ministris carnales vxores lasciavus rex habere precepit. (14)

The iniquities of Wittiza, his lack of morals and Christian principles are emphasised by the rich vocabulary and rhetorical devices that underline the second major theme of the *Silense*: the link between sinfulness and temporal punishment in the form of historical disaster.

Other passages develop the material of the *Crónica de Alfonso III* by including moral or pious reflections. The source work lists at length the cities conquered by Alfonso I from the Moors, together with the lands that he repopulated. The historian does not amplify this material, since it is presented in the catalogue form, characteristic of the chronicle, which precludes any expansion. He also lacks a supplementary source that could provide him with the necessary details. He is content to summarise thus: 'Sed Adefonsus ... exercitum cum Froyla fratre sepius mouens, quamplurimas a barbaris oppressas ciuitates bellando cepit' (26). An opportunity of elaboration is provided by the legend of the miracle that occurred on Alfonso’s death, when a prophetic voice was heard intoning the liturgy. The details of the events are derived directly from the source, but a pious reflection is inserted at the end of
Vnde non dubium est omni christiano eius animam, a malignorum spiritum potestate ereptam, angelos cum gaudio ad eternam celestis palacii mansionem detulisse. (26)

Criticism has misapprehended at times the essential nature of the Silense, for it was conceived from an aesthetic and literary point of view rather than one of historical accuracy. Amador de los Ríos opened the way to a literary appreciation, when he emphasised the writer's use of classical material and language, his elevated style and his learning. Gómez-Moreno echoed Amador's judgement when he described the writer as basically a 'literato'. In spite of these appraisals, the work has continued to be studied primarily by historians and used as a quarry for reliable information. There is an awareness of the writer's literary pretensions, but this awareness does not extend to his basic intention or to an analysis of the history's structure. It is limited to the decorations used to embellish the historical narrative. The Silense makes complete sense only when the deeds of Alfonso VI and his ancestors are considered as its basic subject matter illustrating the main theme: the revival of the Visigothic monarchy and the reunification of Hispania. Omissions were made not through negligence, but consciously, because certain items of material were irrelevant to that theme. The work is, however, not without its faults. Its unfinished nature inevitably entails more imperfections than there would otherwise have been: the overlapping caused by the inclusion of Sampiro's chronicle unreworked could have been avoided. Other imperfections
are intrinsic to the writer's method. The overall meaning of the various opening sections is confusing and cannot be related exactly to the situation in the Peninsula. Lack of sufficient explanation also results in breaks in the chain of cause and effect. It is not evident from the beginning of the section on Sancho II (10) why he is besieging Zamora, an exploit that had such disastrous results. Yet even this failing and occasional inaccuracies assume less importance than they would in a work conceived primarily to record historical fact. The Silense was conceived as a celebratory work, intended to exalt the deeds of the Astur-Leonese monarchs whose line culminated in Alfonso VI, imperator toletanus, magnificus triumphator. In any celebratory work, the interest of the reader - or of an audience - must be stimulated and retained by a unity of theme and by the remarkable deeds and events narrated. A literary and artistic awareness thus predominates in a work that entertains in the broadest sense.

Language

In a historical work conceived as celebratory, the cultivation of a suitable style is at least as important as the precise and comprehensive presentation of events. This literary awareness is reflected in topoi of modesty and inexpressibility which attest the writer's desire to equate his own style with the magnitude of his subject matter. The crucial passage in the Silense where the author declares his intention to record the deeds of Alfonso VI contains a modesty topos:
Huic Alfonso uero in regnum Yspanorum ampliando, in barbaros exercendisque bellis, quanta animositas fuerit, prouintias ab eorum sacrilegis manibus retractas et in Christi fidem convertas singulatim enumerando, vt mee capacitatis industria dederit eundo profabor. (8)

A subsequent address to the reader, requesting him to believe the account of the miraculous destruction of the Moorish army at Covadonga, opens with an example of the tædium topic: 'Verum ne in hoc quod profero garrulum uel ultra fas loquum me, quicumque legis, existimes, precor' (23).

The section on Alfonso II also contains a brevity topos. The historian's selective use of sources results in the Silense containing a relatively smaller quantity of information than any one of the Leonese chronicles, although the history is very much longer. This compensation is achieved by the elaboration of the material that is included, but the writer's concern for style ensures that it is amplified in such a way that the form of expression is always worthy of the events and deeds narrated. The main device employed to sustain the level of the narrative is the direct imitation of literary models. Grammatical constructions are imitated only rarely, but the use of suitable phraseology, modified to fit the precise context, abounds. These borrowings are indeed so extensive that it cannot be said that the writer possesses a personal style, but such is the thoroughness and consistency of the imitation that the work acquires a manner of expression quite distinct from that of any other Hispano-Latin work. The principal models are the historical works of Sallust and Einhard, but reminiscences from classical poetry are also found. The impact of Biblical and ecclesiastical writing is considerably less. Isolated phrases recall
St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, the liturgy and patristic works. All of these sources have been documented by critics and the majority of individual borrowings are recorded in the recent edition.\(^4\) The ways in which the various models are used are distinct and it is the purpose of each, together with the effect of the writer's literary imitation, that is worthy of study. The wide use of classical and medieval works is a further illustration of the Silense's originality in the context of the historical writing of twelfth-century Spain.

The historian was familiar with the histories of Sallust, De coniuratione Catilinae and De bello Iugurthino.\(^4\) His borrowing extends from the inclusion of key words and short phrases to the adaptation of longer passages and the unacknowledged quotation of some of Sallust's reflections on historical events. The impact is clearly considerable, but its precise effect is important to determine. Does the writer seek to adapt the language of his model to fit ideas that he wishes to convey or do the borrowings impose their own meaning on the narrative and thus affect the historical validity of the Silense?

The writer's acquaintance with his models is such that short phrases are recalled without reflection. The raids by the Navarrese against the occupying Moorish forces are thus described: 'serpendo ex improviso castra hostium, dum adderant, inuadendo, sepe conturbabant' (74).\(^4\) Other short phrases, which are introduced in a similar manner, involve particularly neat constructions that increase the range of expression of the twelfth-century writer. The description
of the remarkable effect on the Moors of Fernando I's ascent of the throne contains one such construction:

Qui, postquam ... sceptra regni gubernandi succipit, incredibile est memoratu, quam breui barbarorum prouintias totius Ispanie formido eius inuaserit. (80)45

The account of Alfonso VI's stay in Toledo includes two borrowings that are combined in one construction:

Familiarissimus a Maurorum globo huc atque illuc spatiando penes Toletum circumduceretur, altius quam cuilquam credibile sit ingemiscens, quibus locis quibusque machinamentis ciuitas ilia ... a paganorum manibus erueretur, imo pectore trusit. (9)46

These reminiscences ensure a felicity of expression and at the same time raise the level of the narrative.

Longer passages from Sallust are incorporated into the Silense to fill out the narrative, presumably when no details of a particular incident are known. This technique is well suited to the narration of repeated actions such as occur on a military campaign. The account of Fernando I's devastation of lands near Alcalá is derived directly from a passage in De bello Iugurthino:

Pleraque barbarorum loca, armentis et pecoribus alisque prosperos rebus opulentissima, preoccupat, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, temere munita uel sine presidio, capit incenditque, mauros interfecit, omne eorum substantiam militum predam esse iubet. (92)47

This borrowing does not particularise - and thus falsify from the point of view of historical accuracy - the Silense's account. Two similar military operations can be performed in the same way and can be narrated in the same terms. Sallust's description of the assault on the Numidian town of Capsa also provides convenient phraseology which is adapted to a parallel situation when Fernando I attacks Viseo:
An isolated passage in the *Silense* includes a borrowing that amplifies the narration of an incident that could have occurred in a variety of ways. Roderic's actions during the battle against the invading Muslims are based upon those of Catiline in his final defeat:

Rex delectos milites et cum hiis balearios ad Visensium ciuitatem cursu tendere et portas obsidere iubet. Deinde, commisso prelio ... (86)4c

Iulianus vero et duo filii Victice, qui in presidio Maurorum erant, postquam Rodericum in prima accio versare, agitare, intendere ac suis militibus integros pro sauciis comutando succurrere vident ... (16)'t-

In this context the borrowing specifies Roderic's action, but in a plausible manner which accords with the view of the king as a brave leader and warrior. The account of the battle of Covadonga, whose incidents are taken from various source works, is augmented by information about the terrain. The editors comment that the writer adds 'en la descripción de la gruta algunos detalles que revelan la experiencia personal, y ciertas noticias'. 50 Part of the description of the overhanging mountain, however, is derived from Sallust:

Magnus mons Asueva inminere videtur, ad radicem cuius montis rupis quedam, natura non artificis opere quarr natura munitum, in inmensum tendens ... (20)51

The phrase 'magis opere quam natura munitum' is reversed to fit the particular context and it is thus congruent with the rest of the description. The editors' assertion that there is evidence of personal experience is clearly ill-founded, for the description consists of an adaptation of Sallust's phrase which specifies and heightens the traditional setting of the Covadonga legend. The borrowing does not falsify the scene, but the process should be viewed as a
literary one, not one of historical investigation prompted by a desire for accuracy.

Sallust's theory of historical causation had little impact on the historical writings of the Middle Ages, in spite of the relative popularity of his works and their wide diffusion.\(^{52}\) The Silense writer's awareness of a parallel between situations in Spain and Ancient Rome allows the inclusion of some of Sallust's maxims even though the significance of his overall theory is not appreciated. The reflection on the iniquity of rulers at the opening of the second paragraph derives from two phrases in Sallust:

\[\text{Igitur reges qui nomine imperii antiquo relatu cognoscimus primum clarere in terris, \textbf{ubi pro labore desidia, pro equitate superbia, pro continenti\textbf{libido cum auaritia paulatim inuasere.}} (2)\]

Both historians perceive a relationship between the deeds and morals of prominent individuals and the state of the nation, which allows the borrowing from Sallust to be included in the Silense. The two theories of historical causation are, however, quite irreconcilable, for the medieval writer interpreted events in theological terms, considering all disasters to be a form of punishment for the sins of the ruler and his people. Sallust, as R. W. Southern concludes, sought an explanation of events in the deeds of man himself, for his theory describes the decline of a society from its primitive vigour and moral purity as a result of the growth of wealth and luxury, until men of the highest talents seek to rehabilitate their dissipated fortunes at the cost of the general overthrow of the state.\(^{54}\) The Silense writer glimpsed a further parallel between the situation in Rome and that in Spain after the death of Sancho el Mayor. Sallust showed
that civil strife arose as a consequence of material prosperity:

Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est.

The passage is adapted so as to serve as an explanation of the quarrel between Fernando I and his brother García Sánchez:

Igitur administratio regni Fernandi regis, post ubi liberis moribus militibusque aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque habentur mortalium, inter eum et Garsiam fratrem suum ex istius opulentia orta est invidia. (81)

The parallels between the two historical situations are not explicit, but implicit. The twelfth-century historian is interested not in comparing events in the Peninsula with those in Ancient Rome, but in seeking plausible explanations for important and decisive events in the periods covered by his history. Of the two parallels, the first offers the more convincing explanation. The iniquity of Wittiza and his court does not account in full for the weakness and consequent downfall of the Visigoths, but it has some basis in reality and is also consistent with the traditional interpretation of the defeat maintained by the northern Christians. The second parallel is less apposite. Sallust was describing an age of material wealth and luxury when Rome had passed the peak of her political greatness. Fernando I succeeded in giving his own kingdom, Castile, a measure of political stability after the division of the paternal realm by Sancho el Mayor. Fraternal strife was the result not of affluence, but of a jealousy that was to become traditional whenever the kingdom was divided by a father among his sons. Fernando
had enlarged Castile by seizing Galicia and León from Vermudo III, his brother-in-law. Sallust's maxim is applied to an involved political situation, the product of rivalry between the peninsular kingdoms, to which it does not apply.

Other maxims and reflections are borrowed which are unenlightening, even confusing. The Moorish King of Seville greets the ecclesiastical ambassadors of Fernando respectfully; the historian attempts to explain this by reference to the mutability of the human will:

Ceterum delitiscendo an vere barbarus nostre legationi ista dixerit parum comperimus; sed plerumque humane voluntates ut sunt vehementes ita et mobiles. (96)

The passage is taken directly from De bello Iugurthino:

Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem prornisit, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes sic mobiles.55

The maxim is absent from the Silense's source, the account of the translation of the body of St Isidore, and its presence in the history in a hagiographic context, whose tone is different from the rest of the work, is incongruous. Indeed, it is less likely that it was intended to account for an unusual historical situation than that it was included to allay the writer's suspicions about the possibility of good motives in a non-Christian. A comment upon the reaction of the Emir of Toledo to the exiled Alfonso VI's imminent departure serves a similar function, whilst clarifying nothing. Neither the Moor nor Alfonso reveals anything in their discussion, the Moor because 'humana natura, inperitandi auida, Halmemonem quam maxime terrebat' (11).57
Sallust's phrase is imposed awkwardly on the historical situation about which not enough is known for the borrowing to seem of more than doubtful relevance. The Emir's fear of disclosure is prompted not by a fear of humanity's desire for power, but more probably by an awareness of it in others and by his own aspirations.

The use of borrowings from Sallust's histories allows the writer to narrate more fully incidents of whose details he is ignorant and to amplify his material in general. The narrative motifs taken from descriptions of military campaigns do not falsify the Silense's account of historical events. Reminiscences ensure the easy advance of the narrative, while phraseology that expresses repeated or stylised actions does not particularise the manner in which an event took place or an action was performed. Isolated borrowings do determine the account of certain incidents, but in a convincing manner. From the point of view of historical accuracy, these lessen the writer's status as a chronicler of facts. This objection, however, loses much of its force in the context of his basic intention of entertaining and persuading, rather than of analysing and producing an objective account. The narration of incidents that took place in medieval Spain in the language of a Roman historian is characteristic of a literary, not a historical endeavour. The writer does not point to similarities between incidents in his account and those in Sallust's histories, but tries to use his language to exalt and magnify the deeds that he narrates. Some parallels, if drawn, would not flatter the subject of his work. Sallust's
rich vocabulary and expressive style is allowed to resonate in the narrative context and to highlight significant points.

The description of the impact of the murder of Sancho II contains two effective borrowings:

\[
\text{Sed interempto rege, tunc cerneres ex tanta audacia, tantaque letitia, dispersio quanta, quantaque tristitia in illo tanto tanque nobili exercitu fuerit. (10)58}
\]

Perhaps there is an abundance of Sallustian phraseology in this one episode, but it is harmonised with the particular context. The reaction of the Castilian bodyguard is highlighted in contrast to the general confusion: 'Cohors tamen fortissimorum militum de Castella, memores sui generis ac pristine virtutis, armis resistendo ...' (11).59

The inclusion of some of Sallust's historical and moral reflections has more drawbacks. Certain borrowings and reminiscences are misapplied or are irrelevant and create confusion rather than enlighten. An excess of pedantry leads to the approximation of situations that have only the vaguest parallel or similarity. Other reflections are introduced not because they appeal to a critical historical sense, but because they satisfy the writer's conscience in his treatment of seemingly high-minded Muslims.

The medieval historian was acquainted with both histories of Sallust, but the majority of the borrowings are derived from De bello Iugurthino. They are taken evenly from the whole work and no one event or situation provides the greater part of the material. Borrowings from De coniuratione Catilinae are more restricted. The majority come from either the beginning or the end of the work, that is from the introductory sections on the political situation and the description.
of Catiline himself and from the account of his final
defeat. This could indicate that the writer possessed
only an incomplete version of the work or extracts of its
most important sections, whilst he had a complete copy of
De bello Iugurthino. Alternatively, he could have found
that only those particular sections contained material
relevant to his own subject.

The distribution of Sallustian phraseology within the
Silense itself is also uneven and not easy to explain. The
majority of cases occur in paragraphs 2-25 which cover the
period immediately before and after the Muslim invasion
and the years 1065-72, and paragraphs 74-96 which outline
the paternal ancestry of Alfonso VI, including part of the
reign of Fernando I. Borrowings are almost totally absent
from the intervening paragraphs covering the period from
Alfonso I to Ordoño II, at which point the chronicle of
Sampiro begins. The use of narrative motifs from the writings
of Einhard is similar to the use of those of Sallust, but
the borrowings are more evenly distributed. They tend to
increase in number from paragraph 30 onward, but there are
five borrowings in paragraphs 1-22, while the greatest inci-
dence is in the biography of Fernando I. A possible thematic
significance is perceptible in the restricted use of Sallust.
The period of the Astur-Leonese monarchy is considered an
integral part of the historical process that led to the
achievements of Alfonso VI and the recapture of Toledo.
Nevertheless, the classical borrowings seem to have been
reserved for the two most dramatic and significant periods:
the fall of the Visigothic monarchy and the rise to power
of Navarre, the campaigns of Fernando I and the reign of Sancho II. Could it be that the writer wished to establish a stylistic link that would underline the thematic connection between the old Visigothic monarchy and its eventual heir?

The biography of Fernando I is the most extensive section of the Silense covering the period of a single reign. In the absence of the concluding section on Alfonso VI, the account of the reign of Alfonso's father can be considered in isolation as an example of the historian's method in which all his resources were employed. His principal model was Einhard's portrait of Charlemagne in the *Vita Karoli Magni*, but borrowings from Sallust, Einhard's other writings and Latin poetry are also evident. Additional historical sources contemporary with events have also been detected, but their impact on the history's language as consciously adopted literary models is negligible.

The biography can be divided into five sections, distinguished by their subject matter and their respective literary models or historical source.

**I:** (80) Internal rebellion by nobility; hostility of García Sánchez.

(81) Fernando I's family: his wife and children.

(82-4) The war against García: the battle of Atapuerca.

**II:** Campaigns against the Moors.

Campaign on the Duero river: capture of Gormaz, Vadorrey, Berlanga, Aguilera. Campaign in the kingdom of Toledo: capture of Talamanca; Fernando refrains from attacking Alcalá.

III: The foundation of San Isidoro de León.

(94-5) Sancha's request for a royal mausoleum.

(96-102) The translation of the body of St Isidore.

IV: Fernando's religious outlook and practice

(103) The division of the kingdom; Fernando's care for churches.

(104) His respect for the monastic life: the incident at Sahagún.

V: (105-6) Fernando's death.

The portrait of Fernando is based on those passages of the *Vita Karoli Magni* which describe Charlemagne's personal qualities, his domestic life and his religious faith and observance. The accounts of his campaigns against the Moors must derive from contemporary sources, but the narrative is augmented by borrowings from Sallust and Einhard in accord with the writer's usual method of amplification. The translation of St Isidore, the episode at Sahagún and the description of the King's death were taken from contemporary accounts, of which the first is extant, while the others are unknown.

Sancha and Fernando had five children: Urraca, Sancho, Elvira, Alfonso and García, of whom Urraca was born before the King's ascent to the throne. Paragraph 81 of the *Silense* tells of the education of both boys and girls in a passage based entirely on Einhard's account of the education of the children of Charlemagne:
Only the minutest alterations are necessary to fit the passage to the eleventh-century Hispanic context:

Rex vero Fernandus filios suos et filias ita censuit instruere, vt primo liberalibus disciplinis, quibus et ipse studium dederat, erudirentur; dein vbi etas patiebatur, more Ispanorum equs cursare, armis ac venationibus filios exercere fecit, sed et filias, ne per otium torperent, ad omnem muliembrem honestatem erudiri iusit. (81)

Fernando's qualities highlighted in the Silense include goodness and piety (81). Both virtues were attributed to Charlemagne by his biographer in a similar context; only rarely did he depart from 'suae naturae benignitate ac solita mansuetudine' (Vita, 20). Another quality shared by these rulers is patience. Fernando is portrayed as long-suffering in the face of jealousy and provocative action of his brother García: 'proposuerat in corde simultates et fratris inuidiam utcumque ferre; ita quod ne ad iracundiam quidem ab eo prouocari potuisse' (81). Charlemagne's patience was also highlighted in his dealings with his brother: 'tanta patientia simultates et invidiam eius tult, ut omnibus mirum videretur, quod ne ad iracundiam quidem ab eo provocari potuisset' (Vita, 18).

The historian's method of illustrating Fernando's qualities may also be influenced by Einhard. Certainly it has features similar to the techniques of historical biography outlined by Southern in his study of medieval historical
writing. The common device employed attributes certain basic qualities to the principal protagonist and then exemplifies these in action, without allowing a single detrimental incident to mar the total effect. Unflattering material can be omitted, but sometimes it is preferable to alter the arrangement of the elements of the historical situation to preserve, even to heighten, the hero's desirable qualities. Fernando is described as good and pious, but the problem of maintaining and demonstrating his virtues arises during the period of conflict with his brother García. The solution consists in emphasizing, just as Einhard did, the ruler's repugnance at contemplating a departure from his true and customary nature and from his resolve to endure provocation:

Ceterum Fernandus, cum per omnia mansuetus et pius inueniretur, a naturali benignitate et solita pietate segmentīri aborrens, proposuerat in corde simulātes et frатris inuidiam utcunque ferre. (81)

An implicit contrast is then drawn between the behaviour of the two brothers in parallel situations. When García was ill, Fernando was moved by fraternal compassion to visit him in Nájera, thus performing one of the corporal works of mercy. He received scant reward for his goodness, for a vain attempt on his life was made in the city. Fernando then fell ill and his brother in his turn came to visit him, but not with Christian motives, as the historian concludes:

Michi tamen videtur magis pro mitigando frustrato facinore, quam ut fratrem de infirmitate consolaretur, Garsiam aduenisse, quippe vt solus regno potiretur, non solum infirmitate fuisse detentum, verum de hoc mundo funditus exisse desiderabat. (82)

His brother's behaviour afforded Fernando ample justification for having him arrested: 'Fernandus rex, in iram compulsus
Ceie in vinculis ponere imperat' (82). A closer examination of the situation reveals that certain incidents and facts have been rearranged and placed in the background, so as to highlight the King-Emperor's attributed tolerance. When he came to Nájera, plots were prepared by both brothers, not by García alone: 'iamque eo ventum erat, cum inito consilio vt regem capiant, insidie mutuo parantur' (82).

On the occasion of García's journey to León, his evil intentions were solely in his mind and Fernando's retaliation was justified only by the malevolent desires attributed to his brother, not by any direct threat. A more balanced view of the situation emerges when greater weight is attached to these not insignificant details. The distribution of right and wrong was no doubt fairly equal in reality, as the writer concludes about the similar conflict that arose between Fernando and Vermudo III: 'Verum in hoc certamine, secundum humanam rationem, vterque suam videtur habere causam' (77).

The same technique is employed to explain Fernando's failure to advance the Reconquest during the first sixteen years of his reign. During that time he was involved in internal struggles with his own nobility, as well as with Vermudo III, his brother-in-law, and García. All blame for Fernando's lack of achievement is attributed to these dissident elements:
The lack of a strong central authority in an enlarged kingdom and Fernando's own territorial aspirations probably contributed quite considerably to the persistence of this domestic strife, but weakness or malevolence is inadmissible in the celebratory context of the Silense.

The thematic division of Fernando's activities into two spheres, the religious and the military, may also derive from the portrait of Charlemagne. Certainly the manifestations of Fernando's religious faith are closely modelled on those of the Frankish Emperor. Two passages from the Vita Karoli Magni are combined to form the Silense's account:

Sed et religionem christianam, quam ab infantia devoce amplexatus est, summa cum devotione custodiens, hanc quan nouiter construxerat ecclesiam et honor e santi antistitis Ysidori dedicauerat, plurima pulchritudinis auro et argento lapidibusque preciosis ac sericis cortinis decoravit. Ecclesiam maner, vespro iter nocturni horis et sacrificii tempore initio frequentabat ... Colebat, pre ceteris sacris et venerabilibus locis, ecclesiam sancti Salvatoris Quietus, quam multo auro et argento dotavit ...

Neque Fernandus pius et excellentissimus princeps toto vitre sue curriculo quicumque carius duxit, quam vt regni sui principales ecclesie suis donis vederi pollerent auctoritate, atque omnes por illum non solum quiete et defense, verum etiam suis laudibus ornate et ditate forent. (103-4)³³

The reference to the care of pilgrims is derived from the same source: 'Amabat pauperes peregrinos, et eis in suscipientibus magnam habebat curam' (104). Devotion to the poor and needy, the construction of churches and their decoration at the king's expense are commonplaces of royal virtue in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Similar obligations are recognised as necessary and pleasing to God in other sources,

rex, talibus impeditus, spatio sexdecim annorum cum exteris gentibus vltra suos limites nichil conWligendo peregit. (80)
for example, in a confirmation of Alfonso VII to the
monastery of Vega;

Est autem Dei placitum viduas et advenas, orphans
et pauperes defendere, oppressis subvenire, ecclesias
ad serviciurn et honorem Dei construere, constructas
regiis possessionibus habundantibus locupletare.65

The exemplary account of Fernando's gift of a gold vessel
to the monastery of Sahagún most probably derives from a
contemporary source (104). The last sections of the Silense
that relate Fernando's death have such an origin, most
probably an account preserved at San Isidoro (105-5). The
contemporary nature of the source has been confirmed by
Bishko's studies of the references to the Mozarabic liturgy
and indications of the use of the Mozarabic ecclesiastical
calendar.66 The language of both these passages is unremark
able and free from neo-classical borrowings and reminiscences,
but the unadorned language of the death scene adds an element
of dignity and serenity in contrast with the more ornate
and rhetorical style of the rest of the work. The episode
of the founding of San Isidoro and the translation of the
Saint's body, which is a further illustration of Fernando's
piety, is taken directly from the earlier hagiographic work.

The account of the King-Emperor's activities in war
against the Moors in Portugal and in the kingdoms of Saragossa
and Toledo is significant for its compression of a complicated
historical situation.67 The writer prefers to narrate several
separate campaigns that were carried out at different times
according to their geographical location, rather than chrono-
logically. Fernando's various successes in Portugal included
the capture of Cea, Viseo, Lamego and Coimbra, all of which
are narrated as if they were achieved in a single campaign. In fact, Lamego was taken in November 1057, Viseo in 1058, while Cea was not captured until 1064, after the fall of Coimbra and following an intermittent and stubborn campaign of eight years. During this period, Fernando was active in the area around Astorga and Oña in 1057 and in the Moorish kingdoms of Toledo and Saragossa in 1060. The Silense places this second campaign after the capture of Coimbra and indeed after the Portuguese expedition. This ordering of events approximates to the technique employed in the Cantar de Mio Cid, whereby the poet compresses into a single linear narrative a series of incidents not necessarily linked directly and which need not have succeeded one another nor have had a definite conclusion. There is however a vital distinction between the process at work in each genre. It is likely that the epic poet possessed an abundance of historical material which he had to condense, while the historian was faced with a lack of information which necessitated a reduction of the time span. A linear narrative is produced in both cases. The Silense's version of the Portuguese campaigns compresses the various expeditions into a single enterprise, while the chronology is altered to provide a satisfying climax. Cea was captured after Coimbra according to the Cronicón Compostelano: 'Fernandus ... bellando cepit Lamego, Viseo, Coimbram, Senam'. The Silense historian places the capture of Coimbra after that of Lamego as the fourth and last in a series of successes, which began with the capture of Cea. The taking of Coimbra was marked by the miraculous appearance at Santiago de
Compostela of St James himself, mounted on a white horse. St James revealed the keys of the city of Coimbra to a hitherto doubting pilgrim, foretelling him that: 'Coymbram ciuitatem Fernando regi in crastinum circa tertiam diei horam se daturum' (89). The miracle heightens the significance of Fernando's final achievement on the campaign and justifies the reorganisation of the chronology, for a continuation of the narrative would be anti-climactic. The intercession of the patron saint on the King-Emperor's behalf also renews the theme of divine providence, for the King-Emperor is seen as the instrument of the divine will:

Pugnat itaque Fernandus rex apud Coymbriam materiali gladio, pro cuius victoria capescenda Iacobus Christi miles apud magistrum intercedere non cessat. (88)

His victories are thus granted by God:

Siquidem Fernandus rex solerti semper cura prospidebat vt de victoriarum suarum spoiliis ad laudem summi opificis, qui eum vectorem redebat, melior pars per ecclesias et Christi pauperes distribueretur. (87)

The language of the account of Fernando's military campaigns relies on the suitable narrative motifs of Sallust and Einhard, rather than on the personal aspects of the Charlemagne biography. There is only one such borrowing from the Vita Karoli Magni, which refers to Fernando's resolution:

Ceterum Fernandus rex ... hoc in domina mente firmiter statuerat, non prius ab incepto posse desistere, aut semel suscepto labori cedere, quam hoc quod eis cura conaretur perfecto fine concluderet. (85/70)

Stock narrative motifs are inserted between each stage of the campaign, corresponding to a separate expedition. After the fall of Cea, Fernando advances to Viseo: 'Triumphato ergo opido Sena, ad debellandum Visensem vrbem accelerat' (85).
After Viseo, he advances to Lamego: 'Inde prope amquenas castra, Lamecensem vrbem peciit' (86). The first phrase recurs to link the Lamego episode to the final passage on the capture of Coimbra: 'Quibus triumphatis, ut Coynbra illarum partium maxima ciuitas ... in cultum christianitatis redigeretur limina beati Iacobi apostoli ... rex flagitando petiit' (87). The remaining narrative motifs in this section are used in the manner of the borrowings from Sallust already considered.

The technique of historical biography adopted in the account of the life of Fernando I is in one sense contradictory. The presence of the borrowings from Einhard in passages devoted to Fernando's personal life, together with the various qualities attributed to him, creates a highly stylised effect. Fernando as an individual, the King-Emperor of León-Castile, is absent, for it is the shadow of the Frankish Emperor who moves through the Leonese capital. Einhard had the benefit of first-hand experience of Charlemagne, living in his court and working amid the school of writers established there. The author of the Silense, lacking such an advantage and any source of detailed information, utilised the material that was available to him and which seemed suitable to the enhancement of his noble subject. His attitude to Charlemagne seems at first paradoxical, for his treatment of the historical figure and of all Franks showed a marked antipathy, yet he endows his own hero with the virtues and habits attributed to Charlemagne. The paradox is however only apparent, for the historian intends no parallel to be drawn between Fernando and the Emperor. He is content to
ascribe to the Leonese monarch certain basic qualities and a way of life that were thought desirable in a medieval ruler and prerequisites of his status. The image of an eleventh-century ruler was modelled to a considerable extent on Einhard's portrait. The biography of Fernando is therefore traditional and in no way particularised in the passages devoted to his domestic and private life.

The remaining passages, those that narrate the King-Emperor's campaigns, are particularised and their information is fairly reliable. The accounts of the hostilities with Vermudo III and García Sánchez have a firm historical basis and contain various details: the name of Vermudo's horse, the manner of that king's death at Tamarón and a description of the terrain at Atapuerca. The passages dealing with the campaigns against the Moors adjacent to Castile, at San Esteban, Vadorrey and Berlanga on the Duero, and in the kingdom of Saragossa are relatively accurate and detailed. 72 The account of the Portuguese campaigns is vaguer from a purely historical point of view. The chronology is altered and considerably abbreviated, while the writer draws on the motifs of Sallust to elaborate his narrative. The impact of borrowings in the accounts of the other campaigns is lessened by the relative abundance of historical detail. Those that are used serve to raise the level of the narrative.
Poetic elements

Reminiscences and borrowings from Latin poetry occur in the Silense at various points. They are intended to lend epic overtones to important incidents and outstanding deeds. Sometimes a single word is used, which is part of the basic classical poetic vocabulary. The personification of 'Titan' replaces the noun sol, the adjective 'mavortius' is used instead of bellicosus which is the more common in prose. The majority of the poetic elements are consciously introduced and adapted to their context and were thus derived from specific sources, rather than recalled to the historian's mind from his reading. The recent editors claim that he was familiar with the work of several classical poets, including Ovid, Virgil, Lucan, Statius, even Manilius. It is however unlikely that the works of all of these were accessible to the twelfth-century writer, at least in an unabbreviated form. Anthologies containing selected passages could have been available, but he does not appear to have utilised any. The source of the great majority of the Silense's borrowings from classical verse is the Ilias Latina, the telescoped version of Homer in the language of Ovid and Virgil. The sources proposed by the editors have only an occasional similarity with the Silense's phraseology and they are never conclusive. Manilius' line: 'Septimaque ex undis pars sese emergit in astra' is not a convincing model for the phrase: 'cum primo Titan emergeretur undis' (84). The additional reminiscence of a line from Lucan: 'Unde venit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit' is even less convincing. A much closer parallel
for this, and for other phrases, is found in the *Ilias Latina*.

The most conspicuous borrowings from the Latin Homer are descriptions of dawn and other natural phenomena. The phrase cited above occurs at the opening of the description of the battle of Atapuerca and is based on 1.126 of the *Ilias Latina*: 'Accipe: cum primum Titan emerserit undis'. The dawn which follows the nocturnal appearance of St James, preluding Fernando I's capture of Coimbra, is similarly described in classical terms: 'Interea, labentibus astris, cum die dominica sol primo clarum patefecerat orbem' (89). The 'labentibus astris' cliché is found at 1.696 of the *Ilias Latina*, while the second phrase is taken from an Ovidian reminiscence in the same work: 'Transierant decimusque dies patefecerat orbem' (1.49). The episode of the translation of the body of St Isidore - which does not appear to have been the work of the Silense writer - contains a poetic phrase, describing sunset: 'Iamque die tertia emenso olinpo sol ocubuerat' (97). The *Ilias Latina* has an almost identical description: 'Interea sol emenso decedit Olympos' (1.108).

Borrowings from the *Ilias Latina* are generally limited to particular phrases whose origin can be determined; only rarely can a more general influence be detected in a passage. Nevertheless, the account of the battle of Atapuerca preserves a slight trace of a battle scene. After the description of dawn, the narrative continues:

ordinatis acciebus, ingens clamor utrimque attollitur, inimica pila eminus iaciuntur; mortiferis gladiis comunis res geritur. (84)

In addition to the narrative clichés, which are derived from
Sallust, the last two phrases recall 1.444 of the Latin Homer: 'comunis hunc gladio, iaculo ferit eminus illum'.

It might be argued that the Silense's phraseology is taken directly from Virgil and Ovid, rather than via the classical imitations of the Ilias Latina. The specific borrowings recalling a phrase, not just isolated words, as in the examples offered by the editors, argue against this. Poetic clichés could derive from Virgil and Ovid, but the way that they are used in the history points to the writer's sole dependence on the Ilias Latina. The Virgilian expression fulgentibus armis occurs at the beginning of the Silense's account of the battle of Tamarón: 'Et iam super vallem Thamaron due opposite acies circunspiciebant se, fulgentibus armis ...' (79).

The cliché's derivation from the Ilias Latina rather than from Virgil is indicated by the context of its first occurrence in the former: 'Iamque duae stabant acies fulgentibus armis' (1.252). Both Ordoño II and Fernando I are compared to lions, to the 'Lybicus leo' of Virgil and Ovid, a simile that is used on one occasion by the poet of the Ilias Latina. The indications that the historian took this borrowing from the Latin Homer are slighter, but the similarity of phrasing is no closer in the comparisons proposed by the editors. Ordoño II's attack on San Esteban is described: 'Non aliter miserum pecudum gregem libicus leo, quam mauorcius rex turbam Maurorum invadit' (47). Similar phraseology is used to describe Fernando's descent from the mountains of Oña: 'Superatis igitur Honie montis ... alpibus, vt famelicus leo cum patentibus campis armentorum turbam oblatam vidit' (92). The Ilias Latina has two such
animal metaphors on which the Silense writer could have drawn. One refers to the lion: 'Ut Libycus cum forte leo procul agmina uidit apertis' (1.488). The epithet 'mauorcius' applied to Ordoño II (47) is found on at least two occasions in the Ilias Latina with reference to Hector, although it occurs widely in Ovid and Virgil. Another commonplace: 'vitam pariter cum sanguine fudit', which occurs in the description of the death of Sancho II (10), is found at 1.515 of the Ilias Latina: 'Uoluitur et uitam calido cum sanguine fundit'. The final argument for the historian's use of the Latin Homer and not of the classical poets is the virtual absence from the Silense of any poetic phrases that cannot be found in the Ilias Latina.

It has been suggested that in certain scenes the historian was drawing on short Latin poems that were probably composed shortly after the events that they describe. This view was based upon the clusters of poetic phraseology in such passages as the descriptions of the battles of Tamarón (79) and Atapuerca (84), and of the much earlier encounter between Ordoño II and the Moors near San Esteban de Gormaz (47). Additional proof rested upon vestiges of hexameters found in the same sections. The San Esteban episode also includes a hyperbolic reference to the number of slain Moors:

Tantam namque ex eis stragem fecisse furtur, quod, si quis astrorum investigatōr tot milia Maurorum computare conaretur, profecto pre multitudine cadauerum modum numerus excederet. (47)

The existence of a single source for virtually all of the Silense's poetic elements dispels substantially the idea of contemporary Latin epics as possible sources. The majority of the metrical traces quoted by Cirot are also included
among the phrases taken from the *Ilias Latina*. Only two remain that are not contained in that work: 'equum suum calcaribus urget' (79) and 'Tanta fuit discordia fratrum ...' (8); both could be isolated instances of the use of the *cursus rythmicus*. This device was employed by Latin prose writers as a narrative adornment akin to the *rimas* in the *Historia Roderici*. Its use in the *Silense* - for there may be other examples - would form part of the general method of stylistic enhancement adopted by the author. The occurrence of the majority of the poetic elements, including the reference to the astrologer, within particular scenes does suggest that Latin poems may lie behind them. This concentration is however the result of a desire to restrict the use of these resources to the highlighting of significant and dramatic incidents.

An examination of the *Silense* writer's development of his themes and his selective use of historical sources revealed that his conception of his work was primarily literary. A similar conclusion has emerged from a study of the function of language and in particular of the use of borrowings and reminiscences from classical and early medieval literature. Indeed, the role of language in the *Silense* is such that it assumes a significance in itself, apart from the notions that it conveys. This tendency is exemplified by the process of the writer's literary imitation, for greater importance is attached to the form of the borrowed phraseology than to the implications of the ideas expressed or the actions described. The narrative motifs of Sallust and Einhard are employed, not because there exits any fundamental similarity between historical contexts, but because they are considered worthy of relating the exploits of the Astur-Leonese kings. The particular
form enhances the content, whose degree of historical accuracy is not increased in the process. The attribution to Fernando I of qualities recognised in Charlemagne by his biographer entails a greater significance attached to content, since the qualities described are evidently desirable and praiseworthy. The poor light in which the Frankish Emperor stands throughout the history limits the approximation of the two rulers as historical figures. Fernando possesses virtues said to be present in the other, but he is at no time likened to him. The Silense writer used the Vita Karoli Magni as much because of the language in which the virtues are described as because of the specific nature of those virtues which are stylised and traditional. The function of language in the Silense justifies the literary perspective adopted toward the work, and the cultivation of a suitable style amply justifies its inclusion within the broad category of celebratory works that also includes the heroic epic and the panegyric.

Attitudes

Admiration for the deeds of Alfonso VI inspired the composition of the Silense and determined its celebratory nature. The historian's desire to exalt his principal subject is manifest in those features typical of the celebratory work: the relation of the central figure to a large-scale historical process, the selective use of various sources and the care to use a fitting means of expression. At the same time, he displays marked attitudes to historical figures other than Alfonso VI and his ancestors. In the sections
covering the troubled periods at the beginning of the reigns of Fernando I and Sancho II his sympathies sometimes appear divided and he is forced to avoid difficult judgements by adopting a detached view of the situation. Certain subjects arouse in him antipathies that are quite out of proportion and which contrast markedly with his more balanced treatment of the events of his own age. The targets of the historian's anger, beside the Muslims who are generally barbari, are Wittiza, the Franks including Charlemagne, and Ramiro, the bastard son of Sancho el Mayor. These prejudices, if not their violence, can be explained in relation to the Silense's celebratory function and also to the political climate of the early twelfth century.

Wittiza is significant as the archetype of the evil monarch, a figure central to the major themes of the Silense. He displays all the vices of the ruler whose actions bring disaster upon his people:

\[ \text{Igitur tempore Victice Gotorum regis ... ex bono et equo multa nefanda et orribilia flagitia in Yspanis sunt rursus multiplicata. (14)} \]

Not only did his moral vices contaminate and corrupt his court and army, but they also imperilled the Christian life of his entire nation, for he was a wolf among sheep: 'quasi lupum inter oues dieu latere' (6). The effect of his irreligious attitude spread rapidly:

\[ \text{Omnis gens Gotorum laxo inperio animum ad lasciuia et superbiam flectere cepit. Namque, postposita omni religione diuina, sprotis animarum medicamentis, alienas prosperas res inuadendi, rapiendi domique trahendi, velud tabes, exercitus Gotorum libido inuasit. (14)} \]

The Muslim invasion and the almost total destruction of the Spanish people was God's punishment of Wittiza's personal
wickedness, but it was inflicted upon the nation as a whole. The latter's survival was assured by the subsequent deeds of the Astur-Leonese monarchs. Wittiza is thus the antithesis of Alfonso VI who, like his ancestors, was an obedient Christian, a brave general and a responsible ruler. Wittiza's position in the work denies him any redeeming feature and he is even charged with crimes that he did not commit. The blinding of Teufredus, Roderic's father, was ordered not by him, as the Silense states, but by Egica, his father and the dynastic rival of Teufredus.83

The historian based his portrait of Wittiza on that traditional to Christian historiography, but he intensified his evil character by the use of emotive language and by associating him with larger themes and forces. His portrait of Roderic, however, is rather different, for it reveals some redeeming features. The Crónica de Alfonso III admits that: 'vir uellator fuit',84 but the Silense writer, possibly adopting ideas from Arabic sources, expands this assessment: 'Vir beliger et durus et ad otzne negotium exercendum satis expeditus'.85 In his final defeat, his qualities as a leader are demonstrated in action:

At Rodericus ... collecto Gotorum robustissimo exercitu acer et inperterritus primo subiit pugne; adeo quod per septem continuos dies infatigabiliter dicitur ... (16) Yspanus rex, more solito, praelio intentus cepit acrius instare ac propensus in hostes ferre ... Rodericus, post ubi nulla sibi auxilia vidit, per aliquot dies paulatim terga prebens pugnando ocubuit. (17)

In addition, the attribution to Roderic of deeds in battle modelled on those of Catiline reinforces the view of the King as a brave warrior in his own right.86 Morally, however,
Roderic is recognised as being no better than his predecessor: 'sed vita et moribus Victice non dissimilis' (15).

The historian's implacable dislike of the Franks and of Charlemagne can be partially explained by contemporary factors. During the reign of Alfonso VI, a large number of French clergy entered Spain where they took up important ecclesiastic and monastic posts and gained considerable influence. These Frenchmen were not always well received and the Spanish monks - at Sahagún and San Pedro de Cardeña, for example - resisted the changes and reform that they brought. The overall reaction was ambivalent, a mixture of admiration and mistrust born of inferiority, as the editors of the Silense point out: 'Estos inmigrados traen libros, ideas y costumbres nuevas, que van a producir en unos admiración, en otros reacción hostil'. The historian may have shared this ambivalent attitude, for his use of French sources is apparently paradoxical. He adopted the Vita Karoli Magni as a source and as a literary model, basing the portrait of Fernando I on that of Charlemagne, while he treated the historical figure with great disdain.

A more specific explanation of the writer's antipathy towards the Franks can be found in the context of the Silense itself. At the time of its likely composition, various forms of French literary expression were telling of the conquests of Charlemagne in Spain in 778. The Chanson de Roland, for example, opens with the statement that he conquered all Spain, except Saragossa:

Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes,
Set anz tuz pleins ad estet en Espaigne:
Tresqu'en la mer cunquist la tere altaigne.
N'i ad castel xi devant lui remaigne;
This does not imply that the Oxford Roland had entered Spain by 1115-1120, but there is no reason why similar poems making the same claim could not have been circulating in the northern Peninsula at that time. The accounts in the Carolingian annals and in Einhard had been more sober, but by the twelfth century the French historiographical tradition had developed various legendary elements intended to reconcile the reality of Charlemagne's Spanish enterprise with its grand design. The Chronica of Adhémar de Chabannes (c.1030), the Chronicon suevicum universale (pre-1050), the Chronica of Sigebert de Gembloux (c.1100) and other texts also attributed to the Emperor the conquest of a considerable area of Spain. It is possible, however, that some of these accounts contained later interpolations or were themselves influenced by the tradition of epic poetry, which was to weigh heavily on the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin (c.1140). The Silense writer might have had the epic poems or the more fanciful historical texts in mind when he denied the accuracy of the French versions of Charlemagne's expedition. His immediate target, however, was not the epic, as is evident from the precise wording of his rejection of the French claims: 'Sed neque Carolus, quem infra Pirineos montes quasdam ciuitates a manibus paganorum eripuisse Franci falsa asserunt' (13). The capture of 'quasdam ciuitates' does not amount to the conquest of nearly the whole of Spain. This objection can also be raised against the view that the historian was aiming at such historical writings as those of Adhémar or Godfrey of Viterbo, for their claims are not
dissimilar from those of the epics. The immediate target is the writer's own source, the *Vita Karoli Magni* itself.92 The account of Charlemagne's activities in Spain before the defeat at Roncesvau is brief, but it refers to the conquered cities:

Hispaniam quam maximo poterat belli apparatu aggreditur; saltuque Pyrenei superato, omnibus quae adierat oppidis atque castellis in deditionem acceptis, salvo et incolomi exercitu revertitur. *(Vita, 9)*

Einhard refers only to the towns immediately beyond the Pyrenees, which surely corresponds to the Silense's 'infra Pirineos montes quasdam ciuitates'. The charge is however directed against the 'Franci', not against Einhard alone. Who then were these 'Franci'? The most convincing identification is that of Horrent père who has proposed that these were the chroniclers and other writers who based their accounts on the Carolingian annals and who may have introduced certain non-historical elements.93 He points not to the eleventh and twelfth-century writings detailed by Pellegrini, but to such works as the *Annales Fuldenses*, the *Annales Laureshamenses* and the *Chronicon Laurissense breve*. It is quite possible that the Spanish writer was aware of the nature of the assertions made in these latter, even if he did not single out any one in particular in his attack. He also probably knew that a greater part of the French historiographical tradition of the post-Carolingian period was based on the *Annales* and on Einhard, which he used as sources.94

The Silense's account of Charlemagne's arrival in Spain
is based on the *Annales Regni Francorum usque ad 829* which halt his advance at the city of Saragossa. The reference to the Emperor's acceptance of gold in return for sparing the city may derive from the *Annales Mettenses posteriores*, but it is amplified considerably:

Inde cum Caesaris regis ciuitatem accessisset, more Francorum auro corruptus, absque vilo sudore pro eripienda a barbarorum dominatione sancta ecclesia, ad propria reuertitur. (18)

The *Annales* stated that 'territi Sarraceni, obsides dederunt, cum immenso pondere auri'. The account of the defeat at Roncesvaux is taken from the *Vita Karoli Magni*, except that the aggressors, the Wascones or Gascons, are replaced by the Navarri. Among various other subtle alterations, the rear-guard becomes 'pars maxima exercitus', which heightens the significance of the defeat, now attributed to a Spanish, rather than to a French, people.

The purpose of the historian's denial of Charlemagne's supposed conquests in Spain is to reserve for the Leonese monarchs alone the fame and glory of the defeat of the Moors occupying the Peninsula. The veracity of his statement that: 'a tanta ruyna ... nemo exeterarum gentium Ispaniam sublevasse cognoscitur' (18), is threatened by the French claims. In other passages, he seeks to discredit the Franks further, singling them out as notorious heretics and as supporters of rebellions. It was they who came to the aid of the heretical counts of Narbonne and who rebelled against Reccared, while they later aided Duke Paul of Nimes in his struggle against Wamba (4, 5). On both occasions, the Franks are said to have been heavily defeated.
One final insult is levelled against the Franks: as fighting men they were effeminate, courtiers, rather than warriors. Charlemagne's withdrawal from Saragossa is partly explained by his desire to have a bath: 'Anelabat etenim Carolus in termis illis citius lauari, quas Grani ad hoc opus delitiose construxerat' (18). The joke is not without its contemporary relevance and would have had particular significance for the informed reader. According to Lucas of Túy, Alfonso VI attributed the general debility of his army to their taking an excessive number of baths.99 References to the baths at Aix occur elsewhere, but without pejorative overtones. Charlemagne's fondness for bathing was mentioned by Einhard (Vita, 22) and in the Chanson de Roland the baths are referred to by Blancandrin, but they served a very different purpose:

Enz en voz bainz, que Deus pur vos i fist, la vuldrat il chrestiens devenir. (154-5)

The charge of excessive courtliness is levelled in the Silense's section on Ordoñño I, when the writer comments irrelevantly that he is describing battles, not courtly activity:

Verum qui quorundam Francorum regum mansiones describere pergunt, animaduertant quia pro nataliciis et pascalibus cibus, quos per diversa loca eos co sumpsisse asserunt, nos labores exercitus Ispanorum regum, pro liberanda santa eclesia a ritibus paganorum, et sudores, non conuiuia et delicata fercula, describimus. (36)

The immediate target on this occasion is the Annales which tell how Charles the Bald, not Charlemagne as the historian believes, ransomed two of his counts who had been captured in battle.100 Reference to this French defeat heightens
the effect of Ordoño I's over Musa ibn Musa and allows the inclusion of a jibe in the account of the Asturian victory:

In quo bello Muza omnem armorum et equorum multitudinem simulque spolia ex diversis victoriis congesta, necnon et insignia munera, que Carolus ei direxerat, amisit. (38)

The Silense's pejorative remarks are not an isolated literary manifestation of anti-French sentiment in Spain. The Cantar de Mio Cid contains the episode of the Count of Barcelona, which is anti-Catalan, but the Count and his forces are referred to as francos. Ramon Berenguer's hunger strike can be seen as a comic inversion of the usual habits attributed to the French to which he reverts when offered his freedom. His enthusiasm for eating, which is redoubled, together with his delicate table manners, underlines the joke. The label as francos allows the Cid his last jest at the Count's expense upon his release: '¡Hya vos ides, conde, a guisa de muy franco!' (1068).

The historian's judgements tend to shed their more violent prejudices, as he proceeds to narrate the events of his own immediate period, in particular the confusion of incident which surrounded the accession to the throne of the three kings, Fernando I, Sancho II and Alfonso VI. Only one figure from this period is treated in a tendentious manner: Ramiro, bastard brother of García Sánchez and Fernando. Ramiro inherited from Sancho el Mayor the kingdom of Aragon which was, the Silense states, the smallest share of the kingdom, in accord with his irregular status:

Dedit [Sancho] Raymiro, quem ex concubina habuerat, Haragon, quandam semotim regni sui particulam, scilicet ne fratribus, eo quod materno genere inpar erat, quasi hereditarius regni videretur. (75)
Attention is twice drawn to Ramiro's origin in the account of his dispute with García, when he took advantage of the latter's absence in Rome to attempt to seize the throne of Navarre. His methods are considered particularly contemptible, because he was forced to rely upon the help of Moorish forces:

Qui nimirum Raymirus ad hoc facinus perpetrandum illexerat sibi quosdam afines Maurorum reges ... quorum presidio magis quam de se fretus. (76)

The final defeat of the Aragonese and their allies is humiliating, while Ramiro himself is exposed to especial degradation:

Sed et Raymirus adulterinus ille, nisi descalciatus super equum, capistro regente, tuta peteret loca, dies illa sibi ultima foret. (76)

Ramiro's action is considered in a worse light than that surrounding the not dissimilar actions of his brothers: it is termed both 'facinus' and 'contumaciam'. It is not easy to perceive whether his origin, his reliance on Moorish allies, or the combination of both, accounts for the virulence of the writer's antipathy. A powerful additional factor in the situation could be the position of Aragon vis-à-vis León-Castile at the probable time of the history's composition. This is suggested by the recent editors who point to 'los males causados por el matrimonio de su hija [of Alfonso VI] con el rey aragones'. They continue: 'Hasta podemos sospechar que el autor escribía en aquellos días calamitosos que debieron poner en su alma nubes de resentimiento contra la casa real aragonesa y hasta contra aquel reino al que llama "una partecilla insignificante" de los dominios de Sancho el Mayor' (p. 69).
The disputes that followed Fernando I's accession to the throne of Castile are treated with greater detachment. A marked sympathy is shown for the Leonese king Vermudo III who was defeated by his brother-in-law and by García at Tamarón and who was himself killed in the battle. Quite a long passage is devoted to the praise of his goodness, piety and his care of churches:

He is described as fighting bravely and his death is the cause of great regret: 'Michi vero mortem tanti regis scribenti, dum nobile eius sceptrum considero, color vtcumque occurrit' (78). Vermudo was the son of Alfonso V and the brother of Sancha, Fernando I's wife and the mother of Alfonso VI. His position as the last Astur-Leonese monarch and his close relation to Alfonso VI are plausible explanations of the writer's sympathy and of his reluctance to judge in the dispute between Vermudo and Fernando. He lost part of his kingdom to Sancho el Mayor, but recovered the capital itself on the latter's death. When Fernando came to the throne, Vermudo sought to regain the remainder of his lost territory. The reactions of both monarchs in this situation are considered justified: 'Verum in hoc certamine, secundum humanam rationem, vterque suam videtur habere causam' (77). The writer's unwillingness to judge is concealed beneath a rather pious reflection on human affairs:
Cum etiam ipsam immortalem creaturam ab angelica concordia diuideret, non videtur magnum si, inter mortales adhuc terrena sapientes, bella mortifera commouit. (77)

The treatment of the hostilities between Fernando and García has already been discussed in the context of the biography of Fernando. The judgement of García is more direct and adverse than that of the Astur-Leonese Vermudo III. Nevertheless García is seen in a more favourable light than his half-brother Ramiro, even though the former also enlisted the military support of Moorish forces in his campaign against Fernando. His actions and motives are reprehensible, but his merit as a warrior and leader is recognised: 'Siquidem in omni bello strenui militis et boni inperatoris officia simul peragere assueuerat' (83).

His self-confidence, in spite of the presence of the Moorish troops, can be contrasted with Ramiro's greater trust of his non-Christian allies:

Confidebat namque Garsias in viribus suis, eo quod tum temporis, excepto regio imperio, pre omnibus militibus insignis miles habebatur. (83)

Ramiro's final humiliation must also be set against the more honourable fate of García after his defeat at Atapuerca:

'Corpus vero Garsie regis in ecclesia beate Marie Nazarensis sepulchre traditur, quam ipse a fundamento devote construxerat' (84). An attempt is made to lighten García's burden of guilt by extracting a universal truth from the situation, but this truth does not justify his action as Vermudo III's hostility was justified. The writer makes use of the inappropriate borrowing from Sallust:

Igitur administratio regni Fernandi regis, post ubi liberis moribus militibusque aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque
habentur mortalium, inter eum et Garsiam fratrem suum ex istius opulentia orta est inuidia. (81)

Although the final sections of the Silense were never written, the period after the death of Fernando I is briefly narrated until the murder of Sancho II and the accession of Alfonso VI (7-13). It was a particularly turbulent time when violent feelings were aroused among the supporters of both parties. The historian's major concern was to preserve the image of his hero and of his relations and supporters, especially of Urraca, but he did not achieve this by adopting a blindly partisan position. He seems to have again preferred to view events with detachment and it has been suggested that this is evidence of a sympathy for the Castilian cause counterbalancing his basically Leonese inclinations. The feud between Alfonso and Sancho is presented in an objective manner that typified the treatment of the fraternal struggle between Fernando I and Vermudo III.

These disputes are seen only as a manifestation of an unpleasant truth in human affairs, but also as an inescapable fact of Spanish history:

Scrutare etenim regum gesta, quia sociis in regno numquam pax diuturna fuit; porro Ispanici reges tante ferocitatis dicuntur fore, quod cum ex eorum stirpe quilibet regulus adulta etate iam arma primo sumpserit, siue in fratres seu in parentes, si superstites fuerint, vt ius regale solus obtineat, pro uiribus contendere parat. (8)

No blame is attached to either side for provoking the quarrel and there is no mention of that invidia which possessed García Sánchez and which also possessed Alfonso VI, as he is presented in the Historia Roderici and the Carmen Campidotoris.
The account of Sancho II's murder at Zamora illustrates the balance maintained by the historian in his treatment of the feud. His attitude is the more conspicuous, if his version is contrasted with that in the Crónica Najerense, which was derived, according to its editor, from an epic source.¹⁰⁵ The Castilian origin of the epic emerges from the hostile attitude adopted toward Urraca in the account of the siege. In the manner of Henry II of England, she wishes to be rid of her predicament, but without incriminating herself: "Urraca ... ait: "Si quis me ab hac obsidione et angustia utcumque liberaret, me et mea omnia illi darem".¹⁰⁶ This humiliating proposition seduces Vellido Dolfos who accomplishes the treacherous murder. In the Silense, Urraca is not mentioned until she is summoned to Zamora after Sancho's death (12), while the blame for the crime is attached to the citizens of Zamora who murdered their king by a trick:

Semurenses, Adefonsi regis presidio muniti, repulsam domini sui non ferentes, misso magne audacie milite ...
Sancium regem dolo interfecerunt. (10)

The description of the murder contains little detail, fictional or historical, except that it tells how Sancho was caught unawares, 'inopinate ex adverso'. Vellido Dolfos is not mentioned by name, although it is he who is referred to as the 'magne audacie milite', sent by the citizens who are ultimately held responsible for the perpetration of the crime, 'huius tanti facinoris' (11). The soldier's bold action is referred to a second time when he escapes: 'qui eum tam audacter percussit ... ab opidanis incolmis receptus est' (10). There is a suggestion in the passage that the deed
was seen as a daring exploit. This sense of admiration is, however, counterbalanced by the description of the general grief and confusion that overtook the Castilian army:

Tunc cerneres ex tanta audacia, tantaque letitia, dispersio quanta, quantaque tristitia in illo tanto tanque nobili exercitu fuerit. (10)

Attention is drawn to the courage of Sancho’s bodyguard which alone stood firm:

Cohors tamen fortissimorum militum de Castella, memores sui generis ac pristine virtutis, armis resistendo, exanime domini sui corpus quantum licebat egregie detulerunt. (11)

Urraca’s guilt in the murder of Sancho II in the version in the Crónica Najerense is attributable in form, if not in substance, to the partisan attitudes of Castilian poets and writers. Her involvement in the imprisonment of García of Galicia is in no doubt even from the silence. The history states quite plainly that Alfonso was acting on his sister’s advice when he decided to deceive his brother:

Huius [of Urraca] itaque Adefonsus acepto consilio, hac scilicet necessitudine anxius, ne rursüs uel sua dolose uel fratris morte regnum corrumpetur, Garsiam minimam fratrem cepit. (13)

Reasons of state justified the act itself, but in the account of García’s imprisonment, some element of virtue is preserved by an adroit shift of emphasis from the fact of his detention to the manner of his treatment: ‘cui in vinculis presto posito, preter licentiam inperitandi, omnis regius honor exhibebatur’ (13). This is the only means available to the writer of giving a favourable veneer to dubious and unflattering actions. It is used again in the description of García’s funeral, when reference is made to
the presence of both Urraca and Elvira accompanied more regio by their suites. The medieval taste for outward display and pomp allows the writer to conceal the hypocrisy—in our eyes—of Urraca beneath such appearances. 107

The recent editors conclude that the pro-Castilian sympathies that they detect in the account of Sancho II's death indicate that the historian could indeed have been a Castilian. This enables them to draw the further conclusion that he could have studied at Santo Domingo de Silos and moved later to León. 108 They base their assertions on the praiseworthy terms in which the actions of the Castilian bodyguard are described and upon the attribution of the adjective bellator to Castile in the phrase: 'Fernandum vero bellatrix Castella ... pro gubernatore suscepit' (75). They could have added the reference to the Castilian army as 'illo tanto tanque nobili exercitu' (10). 109 It is however open to considerable doubt whether these isolated phrases are sufficient to ascribe a Castilian origin to the author of the Silense.

Little doubt surrounds the fact of the history's composition in León, as the editors show. They draw this logical conclusion from various pieces of evidence, in particular from the favourable attitude displayed toward Urraca. The writer recognises and praises qualities in a woman who in other sources—e.g. the epitaph for Sancho II at Oña—is considered little more than a criminal. His assessment is based not on hearsay or on the necessity of providing propaganda alone—Urraca died in 1101—but on
personal experience:

Polebat namque et consilio et probitate, quippe quod experimento magis quam opinione didiscimus; spretis carnalibus copulis periturisque mariti indumentis, de foris sub laycally habitu, sed intrinsecus sub monachali observatione, Christo uero sponso inhesit. (12)

Urraca's qualities are praised again when the writer enumerates the children of Fernando I and Sancha: 'Vrracam namque, decore et moribus nobilissiman puelam, priusquam regni apicem optinuissent, genuerunt' (81). The editors have pointed out that the deeply religious attitude of Urraca was a feature of her later life, when it was most likely that the writer came to know her. 110

Incidental details also point to a close association with the kingdom of León and in particular with the capital. A vital difference has been noted between the passage in the Traslación del cuerpo de san Isidoro and the corresponding episode of the Silense, when they refer to Bishop Alvitus of León, one of Fernando's emissaries to Seville. The earlier work reads: 'conuocauit rex fredinandus uenerabilem aluitum legionensis urbis episcopum' (p. 95, ll.6-8), while the Silense has: 'Legione rex Fernandus conuocat ad se Aluitum huiuscemodi regie urbis venerabilem episcopum' (96). The editors explain the change by the closer relationship of the later author with the city of León itself and by the fact of his actually writing the history there. 111 Two further allusions confirm the writer's link with the city. In his praise of Fernando's devotion, the writer refers to San Isidoro as 'hanc quam nouiter construxerat ecclesiam' in the context:
Summa cum deuotione custodiens, hanc quam nouiter construxerat ecclesiam et in honore santi antistitis Ysydori dedicauerat, plurime pulchritudinis auro et argento ... decorauit. (103)

Georges Cirot had earlier pointed to another difference between the texts of the Traslación and the Silense, which affords an indication of the writer's acquaintance with the churches of the city of León. 112 The Traslación omits the reference to the tomb of Alvitus in the church of Santa María, which is included in the history: 'Aluitus autem venerandus antistes in ecclesia beate Marie, cuy præfuerat, Deo annuente, habet sepulchrum' (100).

The leonismo of the Silense goes beyond a familiarity with the city and even with the royal family. The history was conceived in praise of Alfonso VI and the line of Astur-Leonese kings and it expresses aspirations that had been fundamental to that monarchy's outlook at least from the reign of Alfonso II. The kingdom of León is seen as the worthy successor to the Visigothic kingdom centred on Toledo now that the former capital is again in Christian hands. Alfonso VI is related by both maternal and paternal lineage to the Visigothic ruler Reccared and on his mother's side to Pelayo, the first leader of a re-established Christian state in the Peninsula. The deeds narrated in the history, which point to the culmination in Toledo's recapture, are stages in the fulfilment of the prophecy of the pseudo-Ezechiel that 'Adefonsus in omnia Spania regnaturus'. 113 The Astur-Leonese monarchy aspired ultimately to the reunification of the Peninsula and it is this aim that could explain the historian's seemingly pro-Castilian sympathies, rather than a Castilian origin. Progress toward reunification
was considerably hindered by disputes between Christian rulers, especially between brothers after their father's division of his realm. It is precisely this recurrent feature of Spanish history that is lamented in the Silense (8). León and Castile had been united under Sancho el Mayor and Fernando I, but only to be divided again, and it is not unnatural that the historian should retain some admiration for the qualities of Castile, the kingdom that had fallen to Fernando in his father's will. The ecclesiastical writers of the twelfth century were alarmed at disruptions that threatened the faltering progress toward peninsular unity and in particular at disputes that divided a united kingdom. The anonymous historian regrets the dispute between Alfonso VI and Sancho II, just as the writer of the Historia Roderici lamented the Cid's invasion of La Rioja. Both looked beyond the enmities that caused dissension among secular leaders, glimpsing still the possibility of the unity of the Peninsula under Christian rule.

If little evidence exists to link the writer of the so-called Historia Silense with Castile, equally little must exist to link him with the monastery at Silos. Apart from the reference to the 'cenobium quod domus Seminis nuncupatur', no reference occurs in his work that has any possible association with that monastery. It is not mentioned again and he reveals a knowledge only of the monasteries of León, in particular of Sahagún. The history was written within the sphere of the imperial capital and the cathedral of San Isidoro and there is no reason to deny the Leonese origin of its author.
Footnotes

1. This is a perfectly plausible explanation. The vernacular word *silo* was used in the twelfth century to mean an underground grain store. It also gave rise to various place-names other than Silos in Old Castile, e.g. in the Canaries, near Córdoba, Siles in Ciudad Real and Sils in Catalonia.


Francisco Rico, 'Las letras latinas del siglo XII en
Galicia, León y Castilla', Ábaco, II (1969), 9-91, at
pp. 76-7.
4. 'De nuevo sobre la Crónica de Alfonso III y sobre la
llamada Historia Silense', CHE, XXXVII-XXXVIII (1963), 292-
317, at pp. 307-10.
5. Gómez-Moreno tried to solve the problem of the identity
of the 'domus Seminis' by looking for the monastery on
Moorish territory, suggesting that the author was a Mozarab
(Introducción, pp. xxii-xxvi). This solution is convincingly
rejected by the recent editors (Silense, p. 72).
6. Silense, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorrilla,
7. This date was also suggested by Santos Coco, Silense, p.
x (following Flórez's conclusion) and Sánchez Alonso, Historia
de la historiografía española, I, p. 116.
8. 'De nuevo sobre la Crónica de Alfonso III', p. 313.
9. This was the principal failing of Blázquez who aimed
to establish Pelayo's superiority as a historian and chronicler.
See 'Pelayo de Oviedo y el Silense. Observaciones acerca del
Cronicón del monje Silense', RABH, XVIII (1908), 187-203.
10. Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, su crónica y la
monarquía leonesa en el siglo X (Madrid, 1952), pp. 138 and
164-5.
667-8; Sánchez-Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico, II,

12. Passage cited by Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, p. 107. He dates the document c.1030. On Sancho el Mayor's relations with the Leonese *imperium* and his subsequent rule as *rex-imperator*, see *El imperio hispánico*, pp. 60-82.


15. See above, pp. 11-14.


18. See Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, *El 'regnum-imperium' leones hasta 1037* (Madrid, 1951), esp. pp. 1-37. The observation that the Leonese monarchs rarely referred to themselves as *imperator* was first made by Alfonso García Gallo, 'El imperio medieval español', *Arbor*, IV (1945), 199-228. He also claimed that Leonese supremacy had no basis in political reality and was unconnected with the neo-Visigothic concept. Menéndez Pidal ignored the objection over the use of the term *imperator*, but Sánchez Candeira endeavoured to reconcile it to Pidal's theories and to the existence of a hierarchy among the peninsular kingdoms.


20. 'Pelayo de Oviedo y el Silense', p. 196.


22. See above pp. 35-7.
23. The historical sources of the Silense have been fully documented: see the introduction to the recent edition (pp. 19-52) and the introductions to the works of Santos Coco (pp. xxxii-xxxv) and Gómez-Moreno (pp. ix-xviii). I have relied on their research, except where correction has been necessary in the light of recent criticism.


26. 'De nuevo sobre la Crónica de Alfonso III', pp. 313-17. See also Blázquez, 'Pelayo de Oviedo y el Silense', p. 191; and Gómez-Moreno, Introducción, pp. xiv-xv.


29. This manuscript (BN 112) is the basis of the text of Santos Coco, which is appended to his edition of the Silense, pp. 93-9. I have followed this text.

30. This is the view of Gómez-Moreno (Introducción, pp. xv-xvii). Santos Coco, however, advanced the idea of the prior composition of the Silense, an argument which he based on very little evidence (Silense, p. xxxv).

32. See West, 'La Traslación del cuerpo de san Isidoro como fuente de la historia llamada Silense', HS, XXVII (1974, in press).

33. The editors explain this confusion; see Silense, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorrilla, introd., pp. 23-4.

34. Crónica de Alfonso III, p. 41.


36. Crónica de Alfonso III, p. 27.

37. Crónica de Alfonso III, p. 27.


40. Introducción, p. vi.

41. See above p. 41.

42. Silense, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorrilla, introd., pp. 54-60 and passim; Gómez-Moreno, Introducción, pp. xxvi-xxxviii. I have generally relied on the recent editors' documentation, but it has been necessary to correct their conclusions on the use of poetic works. See below pp. 220-5 and West, 'Una nota sobre la Historia Silense y la Ilias Latina', BRAE (in press).


44. cf.: 'Iugurtha ex improviso castra hostium ... invadit' (Iug., 58: 1). I have indicated phrases common to the Silense and to the model by underlining in the passages in
the former. An unbroken line indicates an identical word and a broken line a synonym or a different part of speech or case of the same word.

45. cf.: 'incredibile memoratu est ... quantum brevi creverit' (Cat., 7:3).

46. cf.: 'Quod verbum in pectus Iugurthae altius quam quisquam ratus est descendit' (Iug., 11:7); 'Corpus patiens ... supra quam cuiquam credibile est' (Cat., 5:3).

47. cf.: 'Itaque in loca Numidiae opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine presidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici iubet, alia omnia militum predam esse' (Iug., 54:6).


49. cf.: 'Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere' (Cat., 60:4).

50. Silense, p. 132, n.52.

51. cf.: 'magis opere quam natura munitum erat' (Iug., 57:1); 'collis ... in immensum pertingens' (Iug., 48:3).


53. cf.: 'Igitur initio reges - nam in terris nomen imperid primum fuit' (Cat., 2:1); 'Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere' (Cat., 2:5).

55. De coniuratione Catilinae, 6:3.


57. cf.: 'Terrebat cum natura mortalium avida imperi' (Iug., 6:3).

58. cf.: 'Sed confecto proelio tum vero cernereres quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae' (Cat., 61:1); 'In tanta tamque corrupta civitate' (Cat., 14:1).

59. cf.; 'Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores ... illi... resistunt' (Cat., 60:3); 'Catilina ... memor generis atque pristiniae suae dignitatis' (Cat., 60:7).

60. The borrowings are taken from: 2:1, 5; 4:2; 5:1, 3, 9; 6:1, 3; 7:3; 14:1; 16:3; 17:2; 57:3 (doubtful); 60:3, 4, 4, 7; 61:1.


62. See above pp. 32-3.

63. cf.: Religionem christianam, qua ab infantia fuerat imbutus, sanctissime et cum summa pietate coluit; ac propter hoc plurimae pulchritudinis basilicam Aquiagranii extruxit auroque et argento et luminaribus adornavit ... Ecclesiam et mane et vespere, item nocturnis horis et sacrificii tempore ... impigre frequentatbat. (Vita, 26).
sed etiam suis opibus prae omnibus ecclesiis esset ornata et ditata. (Vita, 27)

64. cf.: 'Amabat peregrinos et in eis suscipientibus magnam habebat curam' (Vita, 21). 'Peregrinos' in this context seems to have the general meaning of 'foreigners', rather than the specific one of 'pilgrims'. Both Louis Halphen and Lewis Thorpe give it the former sense; see Vie de Charlemagne, ed. and trans. Halphen (Paris, 1923), p. 65 and The Life of Charlemagne, in Two Lives of Charlemagne, trans. Thorpe (Harmondsworth Penguin Books, 1969), p. 76. The Silense writer intends the meaning 'pilgrims', as is evident from the religious context in which the passage occurs.


66. 'The Liturgical Context of Fernando I's Last Days'.


68. See above pp.141-4.

69. Cronicón Compostelano, ES, XXIII, p. 326.
70. cf.: 'non prius incepto desistere aut semel suscepto labori cedere voluit, quam hoc quod efficere moliebatur perseverantia quadem ac iugitate perfecto fine concluderet' (Vita, 5).

71. cf.: 'Igitur ... castra propere movit' (Cat., 57:3). This is probably a reminiscence, not a specific borrowing.

72. See Silence, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorrilla, pp. 42, 75 and 194-6, esp. n. 223. Sánchez-Albornoz, however, considers the historian's account of these campaigns to be considerably less accurate than the editors claim and he points to various errors ('De nuevo sobre la Crónica de Alfonso III', pp. 308-9).


75. See María Rosa Lida, 'El amanecer mitológico en la poesía narrativa española', RFH, VII (1946), 77-110, at p. 81.


77. Traslación del cuerpo de san Isidoro, p. 95, ll. 24-5. The presence of this classical borrowing in the Traslación is disturbing, because it is the only concrete piece of evidence for the prior composition of the history. If the Traslación was composed first - as indeed is more likely
(see above pp.189-90) — then the hagiographer may also have known the *Ilias Latina* or have had access to a stock of classical motifs. No critic, however, comments on the possible implications of the phrase.

78. *Ilias Latina*, 11.529, 543.

79. The phrase 'veluti densissimos nimbos a spiraminibus boree impulsos' (22) that occurs in the description of the battle of Covadonga has clear poetic overtones, but I am unable to find a source for it. Those suggested by the editors are unsatisfactory.


81. See also Rico, 'Las letras latinas', pp. 80-1 and n.139.

82. See above pp.115-17.


84. *Crónica de Alfonso III*, p. 29.


89. See Silvio Pellegrini, 'La data della Canzone di Rolando', *Studi rolandiani e trobadorici* (Bari, 1964), 75-121, at pp. 88-92 and 104-6.
90. For a general account of Charlemagne in history, see Ian Short, 'A Study in Carolingian Legend and its Persistence in Latin Historiography (XII-XVI Centuries)', Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch, VII (1970), 127-52.

91. The object of the historian's attack has been much debated. Three basic alternatives have been proposed: the Old French epic; Carolingian historical writings, i.e. the Annales and Einhard; later historical writings based on the Carolingian tradition. Jacques Horrent gives a full bibliography for the first two theories, see 'L'Historia Silense ou Seminense', pp. 136 n.4, 137 n.5. He rejects both and develops the third which is essentially the same as his father's theory, expounded in "Chroniques espagnoles" (see n.93 below).

92. This has been the opinion of Gómez-Moreno, Introducción, pp. xi-xiii; Jules Horrent, 'Chroniques espagnoles et chansons de geste, I and II', (1947), pp. 282-7; Dámaso Alonso, 'La primitiva épica francesa a la luz de una "Nota Emilianense"', RFE, XXXVII (1953), 1-94, at p. 28, n.2.


94. Although there is no evidence in the text of the Silense, it is even possible that the presence of French clerics in Spain would have facilitated an awareness of the more fanciful historical accounts of Charlemagne's expedition that attributed to him the capture of 'omnem terram de monte Gargano usque in Cordubam' (Adhémar de Chabannes; see
Pellegrini, 'La data', p. 91). The authors of such works were not included among the 'Franci' implied by the historian, but their outrageous claims could have intensified his dislike.

95. See Annales Regni Francorum, ed. G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores I (Hanover, 1826), p. 159. The relevant passage is quoted by Menéndez Pidal, La Chanson de Roland, pp. 526-7.


98. On the many changes that the Spanish writer made in his sources, see Horrent, 'Chroniques espagnoles, III', (1956), pp. 289-91.

99. The compilers of Alfonso X's Estoria de España took the detail of the demolition of bath houses on Alfonso VI's orders after the defeat at Uclés from the Chronicon mundi. Alfonso VI, disturbed by his soldiers' weakness, sought to discover why:

Pregunto un dia a sus sabios que era aquello por que sus caualleros non podien soffrir la lazeria de las armas. Respondieronle ellos porque entrauan mucho a menudo en los bannos et se dauan mucho a los uicios. El rey fizo estonces derribar todos los bannos de su regno, et fizo los caualleros trabaiar en muchas huesetes. [Primera crónica general, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (2nd ed., Madrid, 1955),II, p.555b, 1130-8.]

It is not clear what precisely was meant by 'bannos', except
that they were not just public washing-places.

100. See Silense, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorrilla, p. 147, n.102 and n.103.

101. The reason for García's pilgrimage — to obtain absolution for his crime of slandering his mother — is given in the Crónica Najerense, III:10.

102. Alfonso VI's daughter and heir Urraca married Alfonso el Batallador of Aragon (r.1104-1134). The latter's claim to the throne of León-Castile was successfully disputed by the future Alfonso VII, Urraca's son by her first marriage to Raymond of Burgundy. The Aragonese occupied areas of Castile for a time and incursions continued after Alfonso VII was crowned in 1126. Fighting did not cease until el Batallador's death in battle against the Almoravids at Fraga.


106. Crónica Najerense, III:42.

107. The Najerense states that García was imprisoned by Sancho II and never released, spending his last twenty-four years in prison (III:30). Sancho's responsibility is mentioned again in III:55. See below p.409.

108. Silense, introd., pp. 69-87. They also offer a possible identification of the writer as Alo Grammaticus who wrote the four epitaphs for Queen Constanza (died 1093) and who
may be the same as Bishop Alón of Astorga (1122-1131).
This is rejected by Sánchez-Albornoz, 'De nuevo sobre la
Crónica de Alfonso III', pp. 310-2.

109. They also mention the accuracy of the writer's topo-
 graphical references to places in Castile (p. 75), but this
 is disputed by Sánchez-Albornoz, 'De nuevo sobre la Crónica
de Alfonso III', pp. 308-9.

110. Urraca's change in life-style need not imply a change
 of heart. Medieval rulers and nobles seem to have separated
 with some ease their religious and political activities,
 without perceiving contradictions between them. Donations
to cathedrals and monasteries tended to increase as indivi-
duals grew older, as a reaction to the exhortations of
ecclesiastical advisers and to the promptings of their own
consciences and superstitions. The quotation of phrases
from monastic and ecclesiastical documents does not prove
the existence of a new-found religious faith. It is rash,
for example, to attach great weight to the Cid's donations
to the cathedral of Valencia in 1097-1098 and then to
suppose a particular religious motive for all his actions.

111. Silense, introd., pp. 48-9. This one example might be
insufficient evidence, for the change could be explained
by the need to avoid the repetition of Legionis or rather
of legionensis. 'Huiuscemodi ... (urbis)' would thus have
the meaning of 'this, the latter' and not of 'this, the
present', city.

112. 'La Chronique léonaise et la Chronique dite de Silos', p. 22

113. See above p. 12.
(b) The works of Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo

(i) The *Liber chronicorum*

The contents of the *Liber chronicorum* cannot be immediately determined, as the original manuscripts of the complete historical compendium have not survived. From the various partial copies that were made and from the details given by Ambrosio de Morales in the sixteenth century, it is known that the major works that were incorporated included the histories of St Isidore, Julian of Toledo and other Visigothic writers, the *Crónica de Alfonso III* and the chronicle of Sampiro. Pelayo also caused to be copied a variety of ecclesiastical documents and hagiographic material, some of doubtful validity, which were inserted into the histories at suitable points.¹ It is more difficult to establish the stages in the evolution of the compilation, for some of the material had already been assembled by 1118, while the actual compilation of the *Liber chronicorum* extended over fifteen years, from 1128 to 1143. Dom Justo Pérez de Urbel's hypothetical account of the formation of the entire corpus is based upon the content of the copies and the vitally important references of Morales to the manuscripts that he inspected in the library of Oviedo cathedral.² Two stages in the evolution emerge as especially significant. The first involved the copying of the Visigothic chronicles, while the second stage consisted of the reworking of the two Reconquista chronicles into which the miscellaneous material
was interpolated as integral parts of the text. Pelayo's undertaking seems to link him very closely to the earlier Leonese chroniclers whose writings he ordered to be recopied. He also followed their method by adding a final section of his own composition, the so-called Crónica, which was basically the same in outline as the preceding works and continued from where Sampiro's chronicle apparently finished until the death of Alfonso VI. Yet if Pelayo was initially inspired by the example of the collection of chronicles requested by Alfonso III, as Pérez de Urbel has suggested, it is clear that he used his historical sources and their established methods to achieve an end very different from that envisaged by the Asturian monarch. Pelayo's departure from tradition is first indicated by the interpolations that were made in the Reconquest chronicles, as the compilation passed from the first stage to the second. These additions have not infrequently aroused the wrath of historians and critics who, like Mariana and Flórez, have accused him of falsifying the history of Spain, indeed of being fabulosus. The major interpolations occur in the Crónica de Alfonso III and the chronicle of Sampiro, although some were made in other texts and in ecclesiastical, even papal, documents. The Visigothic chronicles, however, were copied in virtually their original form. The interpolations into the Crónica de Alfonso III include the so-called División [Hitación] de Wamba to which details were also added, accounts of the translation of a chest of relics to Oviedo cathedral, of the translation of the supposed see of Lugo to Oviedo and of the recovery of the body of Santa
Eulalia of Mérida by King Silo, together with numerous items of genealogical information. Sampiro's chronicle in Pelayo's version contains further supposed additions: accounts of the first metropolitan council at Oviedo and of the consecration of the church of Santiago de Compostela, the texts of two letters from Pope John VIII to Alfonso III authorising these events, a list of that king's donations to Oviedo cathedral and some further genealogical details.

The treatment that the chronicle of Sampiro received at the hands of the Bishop of Oviedo is perhaps the greatest justification of the abuse that he has suffered. He not only inserted passages into the text, but consciously falsified the extent of the chronicle so that he could insert his own radically different version of the reign and character of Vermudo II. In the prologue to the compilation, reference is made to Sampiro's chronicle:

Et ab Adephonso, Rege Casto, usque ad Veremundum Regem Podagrogum Sampirus Astoricensis Ecclesiae Episcopus, sicut a majoribus, et praedecessoribus inquisivit, et audivit, de Gotis Regibus prout potuit, plenissime scripsit.

Pelayo's deception is revealed by a comparison with the version of Sampiro contained in the Silense. The absence of the distinctive features of the anonymous historian's style and of his literary borrowings makes clear the exact extent of Sampiro's chronicle, for the section which has been attributed to him is preserved in its original form, free from reworking. The chronicle of the Bishop of Astorga is thus seen to terminate at the end of the reign of Vermudo II and not at the end of that of Ramiro III, as Pelayo claimed. It is possible, of course, that the
The incipit of the Liber chronicorum was not written by its compiler, but this would not alter the fact of the Bishop of Oviedo's falsification. The account of Vermudo II's reign is considered as the first section of Pelayo's Crónica.

A comparison with the Silense also reveals the interpolations in Pelayo's version of Sampiro's chronicle. It might be objected that the two historians worked from different manuscript traditions or that the Silense writer deleted material which he considered irrelevant to his subject, as in his reworking of other chronicles. Pelayo's efforts, however, cannot be concealed, for the complete absence of neo-classical features from the whole of Sampiro's text in the Silense indicates that it was faithfully transcribed in that work. The arguments of Flórez, which are partly independent of this comparison, support the view of Pelayo as interpolator. A comparison of the latter's version of the Crónica de Alfonso III with manuscripts not from Oviedo shows that additional passages were inserted in that work as well. If Pelayo did not hesitate to tamper with the established text of the earlier chronicle, there is no reason why he should not have treated the later one in the same way.

The material undeniably inserted into one text also bears a distinct similarity in subject matter to that presumed to have been interpolated into the other. The common feature of the majority of the interpolations and also of much of Pelayo's other writing is their link with the see of Oviedo which he occupied from 1101 to 1130 and
from 1142 to 1143. Additional passages can thus be detected without great difficulty and they point to the overriding motive of the compilation of the Liber chronicorum. They all enhance the fame and dignity of the church of Oviedo, even though the authenticity of many of them is more than doubtful. Manifestly spurious are references to the foundation of the see of Lugo in Asturias by the Vandals and the translation of the see to Oviedo. This was probably Pelayo's most audacious and most successful fabrication and it was intended to give his own diocese, founded in the reign of Alfonso II, a more illustrious ancestry. The first evidence of the falsification is found in the Liber testamentorum of 1118, the collection of privileges, donations and other documents relating to the church of Oviedo since Alfonso II's reign. The codex contains a seemingly historical account of how the Catholic Vandal Gundemond founded the city of Lugo in Asturias in 436 and on the order of Pope Ceferinus appointed as Bishop one Vistremond. This information is not wholly reliable, for Sixtus III was Pope from 432 to 440. Flórez questioned whether the Vandals were even orthodox Catholics at that time, rather than Arians, but Pelayo's interpolation does emphasise that Gundemond was Catholic, while his predecessor Uniric was not. References to the foundation of Lugo and to the translation of the see to Oviedo were inserted into the Liber chronicorum at various points. The División de Wamba, the probably fictitious division of the dioceses of Spain, which was interpolated into the Crónica de Alfonso III in the reign of Wamba, supports...
the idea of Lugo's foundation by the Vandals. The Crónica de Alfonso III itself contains the reference to the see of Oviedo in the reign of Fruela. The chronicle of Sampiro includes within the account of the first metropolitan council at Oviedo a further reference to the Vandals as founders of the church in Asturias: 'et sicut predicta sede hereditauerunt nostri predecessores, et euandali reges stabilierunt, ita nos eam stare precipimus et confirmamus'.

Pelayo's second major invention is the history of the chest of relics which was brought from Jerusalem to Oviedo via Toledo. Pérez de Urbel identifies this account among the material first incorporated in the Liber testamentorum and then interpolated into the Liber chronicorum at a suitable point in the Crónica de Alfonso III. The relics are also mentioned in the incipit of the historical compilation, but in an unlikely context:

Et a praedicto Rege Bambano usque ad Catholicum Pelagium Regem Gothorum Beatus Julianus Pomerius Toletanae Sedis Archiepiscopus, qui arcam cum Sanctorum pignoribus quænunc Ovetensis Ecclesia gloriatur cum Rege Pelagio secum in Asturias transtulit ... plenissime scriptum.

The extension of Julian's literary activity and his life beyond the Muslim invasion is one of the major errors of the incipit. The División de Wamba which was interpolated into the Crónica de Alfonso III existed in a different version in another of Pelayo's codices. It formed part of a spurious chronicle, known as the Liber Itacii (or Itatii Chronicum), which included other items of ecclesiastical interest relating to the earlier church councils of the
of the Visigoths. This version was copied, according to Pérez de Urbel, during the first major stage of Pelayo’s activities, when he transcribed the Visigothic texts to form the first historical corpus. The other version was copied at the second stage. Both show signs of falsification and bolster the idea of the Visigothic ancestry of the church of Oviedo.

The remaining interpolations include further material taken from the Liber testamentorum, which was first copied alongside the authentic Visigothic chronicles and then interpolated into either the Crónica de Alfonso III or the chronicle of Sampiro. The former contains the account of the translation of the body of Santa Eulalia of Mérida to the church of San Juan de Pravia during the reign of Silo and then to Oviedo in the reign of Alfonso II, together with detailed information about the cathedral of San Salvador de Oviedo. The chronicle of Sampiro contains the Bishop’s most blatant, but no less successful, fabrications. Comparison of his version with that of the Silense shows that the interpolations centre upon the two letters of Pope John VIII to Alfonso III. The first authorises the King’s request that the see of Oviedo be raised to metropolitan status, while the second authorises the consecration of the church at Compostela and the celebration of the first metropolitan council of Oviedo. There follows a long account of that council which is interrupted by the dedication of the church of Compostela to St James. If doubts were raised about the authenticity
of the material relating to Oviedo, they were partially allayed by the passages devoted to Santiago, whose plausibility lends weight to the dubious elements. The inclusion of material not directly related to Pelayo's own diocese also belied any bias that he might be thought to show. The accounts of both events have the same effect. They tell how a great number of the prelates and magnates of Christian Spain came to Oviedo and how its cathedral became the focus of ecclesiastic and political activity. Reference to Pope John sustains the idea that the see was especially favoured by the church at Rome: 'uenerunt Oueto, ad celebrandum Concilium cum auctoritate domni Pape Iohannis'. Other interpolations into Sampiro's chronicle include more trustworthy references to Alfonso III's reconstruction of the church at Compostela, his donations to Oviedo and Ordoño II's restoration of the church and city of León, together with a multitude of genealogical details and information concerning places of burial.

Pelayo's work and his intention must be seen in a perspective that is free from prejudice and preconceptions. Mariana and Flórez have not been alone in condemning the Bishop for falsifying history, for committing lese-majesty against Spain's past. Certainly he tampered with the two major historical records of the Reconquest period that came into his possession and he approached them with an aim very different from that of their original compilers. Yet his intention is no less distinct from the nationalistic viewpoint of his severest critics. Pelayo's historical writings have to be seen as a form of historiography different from both the earlier chronicle tradition and from the other
surviving twelfth-century Hispano-Latin works, notably the Silense. The Liber chronicorum is more comprehensive than this latter, but Pelayo's status as chronicler and as an objective historian is ultimately no higher than that of his anonymous contemporary. Each writer had his own intention, putting the writing of history to a different use, and as recorders of fact, both are found wanting.

Pelayo's intention to create propaganda on behalf of his own see is obvious. The fortunes of both church and city of Oviedo had undergone a considerable decline by the beginning of the twelfth century. The city had been the capital of Asturias in the reign of Alfonso II, when it was also the ecclesiastical centre of the Christian kingdom. As the Reconquest advanced, the focus of religious and political activity moved first to León and then to Toledo. Pelayo sought to restore the prestige of San Salvador by linking it to the supposed see of Lugo whose great antiquity he established, by underlining those honours and dignities that his church had received in its history and by fabricating others. The interest shown by Pope John VIII in its elevation to a metropolitan see is all the more plausible because it occurred at the time of Oviedo's greatest influence. Pérez de Urbel recognises that the success of the enterprise also lay in the skill with which the fictitious material was intermingled with the authentic, or at least with the long accepted historical writings of Spain. The chronicles of Isidore and Julian, the Crónica de Alfonso III and the chronicle of Sampiro were used as vehicles that would carry to all parts of the Christian kingdoms a quantity of plausible, but
basically fictitious, material, redounding to the glory of the diocese of Oviedo. Pérez de Urbel concludes of the Bishop's fabrications:

Aquellos textos antes dispersos en su archivo, después unidos a una colección de opúsculos de carácter general, pero como opúsculos sueltos, van a ser incorporados a esa breve Crónica [Sampiro's], y con ella van a volar más allá de Asturias; por las iglesias y monasterios de España se enterarán de las grandezas y privilegios, del archipresulado de su obispo y de la magnificencia de sus construcciones religiosas. 24

The difference between the historian of the Silense and Bishop Pelayo has emerged from the ways in which they utilised existing written material to serve their own needs. The one selected material that would maintain a particular interpretation of a period of history and which would contribute to the celebration of the achievement of the rulers of León-Asturias. Pelayo also aimed to present a personal view, but one that was more restricted than that which glorified Alfonso VI, the heir to Visigothic Toledo and imperator totius Hispaniae. He saw earlier historical writings as a means to an end, using the form of a universal history to propagate material of spurious validity. His compendium opens with the Creation, 'ab exordio mundi', and ends at 1109, but its perspective narrows as the work progresses in the manner of most universal histories until it focusses solely on the northern kingdoms of Christian Spain. The centre of Pelayo's interest, his own diocese, was even smaller. Yet like the Silense, the Liber chronicorum cannot be detached from its context. Just as the one is seen as the product of the celebratory urge characteristic of its age, the other
is representative of another process that was even more widespread. Sánchez-Alonso recognised that Pelayo was no exception, for his methods were 'muy dentro de los usos de la época, poco respetuosa con los escritos ajenos'.

As a propagandist, Pelayo is not unlike Berceo, who in the thirteenth century wrote his *Vida de San Millán* in the full knowledge that he was furthering a blatant forgery on behalf of his monastery. The raison d'être of his poem was to point to the votos claimed to have been paid to San Millán de la Cogolla by all Castile in the time of Fernán González who initiated the tribute. The record of the Count's donation, which the monastery was claiming to possess at a time of financial hardship, was a fake, the work of Fernandus, whose other Latin writings also provided material for Berceo's poem. Propaganda on behalf of dioceses and monasteries and the consequent falsification of documents was not an exceptional part of the life of ecclesiastical and monastic writers of the Middle Ages.

(ii) The Crónica

Pelayo's so-called *Crónica*, his own contribution to the *Liber chronicorum*, concludes the compilation and advances the period covered from 984 to 1109. This accords with Leonese historiographical practice by terminating the chronicle at the death of the predecessor of the reigning monarch. Yet Pelayo's adherence to the chronicle tradition has been shown to be limited to the outward and visible, and ample evidence has already been adduced of his falsification of the extent of the chronicle of Sampiro which
immediately precedes his own. Sampiro had stopped at
the death of Vermudo II and not at that of Ramiro III,
as the incipit to the Liber chronicorum pretended. The
Bishop's readiness to tamper with the texts at his disposal
is again revealed, for he inserted his own version of
Vermudo II's reign which is the antithesis of that of the
official chronicler and that monarch's ex-notary, as it
is preserved in the Silense. In spite of this deception,
it is not Pelayo's attitude as ecclesiastical propagan-
dist that sets his chronicle apart from the Leonese
chronicles and from the twelfth-century histories.
Except in the reign of Vermudo II, the Crónica contains
very little material concerning Oviedo and virtually none
that contributes to its influence or its greater renown.

The Crónica contains accounts of the reigns of Vermudo
II, Alfonso V, Vermudo III, Fernando I, Sancho II and
Alfonso VI. The first and last of these sections are
quite substantial, but the remainder are brief in the
extreme. The reigns of Alfonso V and Vermudo III in par-
ticular are treated sketchily and lack useful historical
data (Crónica, pp. 70-1, p. 72). The first account consists
mostly of genealogical information and details of the King's
youth and upbringing. The only other references concern a
council held in León and the King's death at Viseo in
Portugal. No mention is made of the death in 1002 of
al-Mansur whose incursions into Christian territory had
dominated events for more than twenty years, although the
repopulation of Leonese lands is mentioned. The reign of
Vermudo III is treated with greater brevity and only his death
in the battle of Tamarón is recorded. Although he ruled for a period of some ten years (1028-1037), Vermudo remained an insignificant figure, but Pelayo's account is in marked contrast to the version in the Silense. The anonymous historian showed a distinct partiality toward the King and attributed to him more than the stylised qualities of the pious Catholic monarch in order to make up for his lack of achievement and prowess on the battlefield. His version also contained considerably more information about the background to the conflict with Fernando I and even included some minor details.27

The accounts of the reigns of Fernando I and Sancho II are rather more substantial, but the amount of information that they contain is still poor, in spite of the increased scope which is offered. Fernando's reign is treated summarily and includes nothing that cannot be derived from other contemporary sources (pp. 73-6). Nevertheless, the majority of important events are recorded and comparison with the Silense does not reveal any grave omissions. Mention is made of Fernando's successes against the Moors, in particular of the capture of cities in Portugal, and of the defeat and death of García of Navarre. As much space is devoted to a summary of the translations of saints and martyrs that took place during his reign. Only that of St Isidore merits any special attention, but even that is limited to a reference to the bishops who brought back the body from Seville. The rest of the section summarises in some detail how Fernando divided his kingdom among his five children before his death. The confused reign of
Sancho II is narrated very briefly and attention is focussed on two incidents: the battles fought by Sancho and Alfonso VI at Llantada and Golpejera (pp. 77-8). All reference to the situation in Galicia and to the fate of García is omitted. Sancho's assassination at Zamora is outlined and just two details are given: the murderer was 'Uelliti Ariulfi' and the deed was committed 'per prudicionem' (p. 78, 11.11-12). Like the Silense, but unlike the later Crónica Najerense, the Crónica makes no reference to Urraca as the instigator or even as an accomplice in the murder. Nor is any attempt made to place the blame on the citizens of Zamora, whom the Silense writer found guilty of regicide.

These four brief accounts illustrate Pelayo's mediocrity as a chronicler and widen the gap separating him from the chroniclers whose works he was continuing. These latter were as devoid of literary pretensions as the Crónica, but they were quite comprehensive and contained a large amount of historical data. Pelayo summarised what must have been common knowledge to a learned man with his resources and he appears not to have conducted any historical enquiry, remaining content with what additional facts came his way. This contrasts with the Silense historian's use of at least three contemporary accounts in his version of Fernando I's reign. The absence of an attempt at comprehensiveness can be explained partly by Pelayo's position as an ecclesiastic who remained bound to the see of Oviedo even when he had retired from office. The Leonese chronicles were official writings and the chroniclers' duty was the recording
of the outstanding events of each reign from the viewpoint of the monarchy itself. Pelayo did not have this all-embracing outlook nor did he owe any especial allegiance to the crown. His historical perspective is thus restricted and his choice of events at times arbitrary, for it is not governed by a fixed and relevant purpose. The only information that Pelayo includes which is not to be found elsewhere is details of the places of burial of monarchs, saints and martyrs, which as a prelate he appreciated, and items of genealogical interest.

The Crónica shows also how Pelayo's attitude to major events further distinguishes him from the Silense historian. He seems quite unaware of the tragic implications for Hispania of Sancho II's murder, which is related in dramatic terms in the Silense, and he displays none of the divided loyalties or the sadness experienced by his contemporary, when considering the recurrent dissensions that arose between the Christian kingdoms and between members of the same family. There is thus a complete absence of the reflections on historical events that characterised the Silense's treatment of Fernando I's dynastic disputes with his brother and brother-in-law and of the struggle for power between Sancho II and Alfonso VI. Criticism has generally been aware of these differences in outlook, but the tendency to compare the two works as sources of historical information leads to a further blurring of the distinction between two different kinds of historiography. The distinction lies in the essentially literary nature of the Silense. This is evidenced not only in its more learned language, but in the writer's
total conception of his work, which demanded the development of certain ideas to which all his material could be related. No basic motive can be perceived in the organisation of the Crónica nor is there a consistent perspective in Pelayo's attitude to his material. The compilation of the Liber chronicorum provided a suitable vehicle for the dissemination of propaganda, while it also ensured the preservation and transmission of a considerable quantity of historical information. The Crónica's account of Vermudo II's reign includes material concerning Oviedo and one of its bishops in particular, but the work as a whole does little to enhance the fame of Pelayo's diocese. It may be assumed that he thought the history of the recent past too well-known to be falsified without attracting criticism that might reflect on other material in the Liber chronicorum. The Crónica also lacks those virtues of comprehensiveness and relative objectivity that distinguished the earlier Reconquest chronicles as historical records.

The Crónica's two longest sections, the accounts of the reigns of Vermudo II and Alfonso VI, contain no more historical information than the shorter ones, for they owe their greater length to the inclusion of a quantity of semi-fictional material. Pelayo's treatment of the reign of Vermudo II is remarkable for its consistent attempts to vilify the memory of that monarch. Sampiro's version, as retained in the Silense, claimed that he was 'vir satis prudens' and that 'dilexit misericordiam et iudicium; reprobare malum studuit et eligere bonum' (S 30). The former
notary of Vermudo was undoubtedly not a disinterested party and the qualities that he attributed to the King were the stylised virtues of the Catholic monarch, but Pelayo's version must still be considered extraordinary by comparison. He states that 'prefatus rex indiscretus et tirannus per omnia fuit' (p. 57, 11.3-4) and he includes various events and details to support this view.

The first misdeed that Pelayo alleges Vermudo II to have committed is the imprisonment of Bishop Gudesteo of Oviedo, whom he held captive for three years (pp. 57-8). A drought and a famine ensued which were interpreted as expressions of God's anger and which finally persuaded the King to release the unjustly imprisoned prelate. Risco, however, established that the account was without foundation, because there was no evidence of a three-year period in Gudesteo's episcopacy during which the imprisonment could have taken place. Bishop Vermudo remained in office until 992, while Gudesteo was his coadjutor, a situation that would have made unnecessary under any circumstances the direction of the see by the Bishop of Astorga, as Pelayo claims (p. 58, 11.12-13). The kingdom of León was devastated by the forces of al-Mansur in 996, an event which preceded the Bishop's imprisonment both historically and according to the chronology of the Crónica. Documents survive from the intervening years that bear Gudesteo's signature, thereby making Pelayo's allegation quite untenable.

Blázquez sought to solve the problem in Pelayo's favour, when he claimed that the imprisoned prelate was Bishop Vermudo, Gudesteo's predecessor. Bishop Vermudo had
supported Ramiro III, whose claim to the throne of León was disputed by Vermudo II and by the Galician nobility. Ramiro died in 982, but Blázquez postulated the detention of Bishop Vermudo for political reasons during the years 981(2)-985, when the signature of the coadjutor Gudesteo, not that of the Bishop, appeared on documents. The hypothesis seems unlikely and not just because of the scarcity of documents on which it is based - Blázquez refers to four over at least an eight-year period. It would again have been unnecessary for the Bishop of Astorga to have assumed the administration of the diocese during the imprisonment, if there was a coadjutor. It is also highly unlikely that Pelayo, whose knowledge of the history of the see of Oviedo must have been great, would have attributed the suffering of an injustice to the wrong prelate in so serious a case.

The other major offence that Vermudo II is held to have committed is an attempt on the life of Bishop Adulfo of Compostela (pp. 58-61). It is claimed that the latter was accused of a serious crime by three 'serui Ecclesie' and that the King believed the accusation, deciding to punish him by setting a wild bull on him. The Bishop miraculously survived, cursed the King and departed to the church of Santa Eulalia in Asturias where he died. His death was attended by another miracle, for after his body had been placed in the coffin, the latter could not be raised 'a mille manibus hominum' (p. 61, 11.8-9). The same incident is related in the Historia Compostelana, except that it is said to have taken place in the reign of Ordoño I and at Compostela, not at Oviedo. 30 It is also narrated briefly in the earlier
Chronicon Iriense in a version almost identical to that of the Historia Compostelana, but in summary form and with an occasional detail added. The Galician version is the more plausible, as there was no Bishop Adulfo of Compostela in the reign of Vermudo II, only in that of Ordoño I. Flórez, however, pointed to certain improbabilities in the Historia Compostelana's version also. He suggested that it was highly unlikely that a Spanish king would have passed sentence on an ecclesiastic without trial and on hearsay evidence and then have condemned him to such a barbaric punishment. Ordoño I seems to have enjoyed a reputation for piety among chroniclers – which is not unusual – and he treated the church of Santiago and its Bishop with marked devotion. The two versions certainly err when they claim that Adulfo retired to a monastery in Asturias after the incident, for Flórez adduced documentary evidence that he was still Bishop of Compostela after 866, the year of Ordoño I's death. Alfonso III confirmed the donations of his predecessor in 866, and in 867 he himself made a donation to Santiago; both documents refer to Adulfo as Bishop.

Neither version of the incident can be authenticated. Blázquez pointed out that Pelayo was obliged to remove his from a reworking of the Crónica at a time when the Historia Compostelana could have come to his notice. It is unlikely that this omission was made out of respect for historical truth, as was suggested, but because a more convincing rival version undermined what claim to veracity his own had ever possessed.

Pelayo's motive for the inclusion of such material and
for presenting a highly unfavourable portrait of Vermudo II is far from clear. He added another offence, adultery, to the list, but on this occasion the charge can be substantiated (p. 63, 11.9-13). Dozy suggested that the attribution of these various vices to the King was intended to illustrate the statement that his sins were responsible for the incursions of al-Mansur:

\[
\text{Igitur propter peccata memorati principis Veremudi et populi, Rex Agarenus cui nomen erat Almanzor, una cum filio suo Adamelch ... disposuerunt venire, et destruere, et depopulari Legionense Regnum. (p. 65, 11.3-8)}
\]

The recurrence of this topic of medieval thought may not necessarily justify such a catalogue of vice. Possibly, Pelayo took the idea in this instance from Sampiro who attributed the invasion to the sins of the people: 'propter peccata populi christiani' (S 30). The earlier chronicler did not expand this explanation and no great weight can be attached to it, for it appears that he included the topic out of a habit of mind. Conversely, in the Crónica, the stress placed on the raids does not justify the vilification of Vermudo II. They receive only one other mention, although they dominated life in the kingdom at that time and culminated in the destruction of the capital itself in 996. The reference to the raids is immediately followed by the Christians' decision to bury the remains of their kings in new tombs at Oviedo, which are then described at considerable length. Neither in Sampiro nor in Pelayo does the topic assume a thematic significance, for there is no development of the causal connection between the sins of ruler or people and their misfortunes.
The most likely cause of Bishop Pelayo's antipathy toward Vermudo II is a grudge that the church of Oviedo had against the King. If the imprisonment of Bishop Gudesteo had taken place, the inclusion of the other offences would have been logical from Pelayo's point of view. Blázquez's attempt to prove that it was Bishop Vermudo who was imprisoned cannot be substantiated, but the evidence that he adduced points to an opposition between Vermudo II and those ecclesiastics who had supported Ramiro III. Documents reveal that the King confiscated the property of Bishop Vermudo in 992, giving it to a certain Ecta Sarracín, although he restored it at a later point in his reign. Blázquez also attributed the episode of the bull to the same political situation, but he admitted that Pelayo conflated a possibly real event with the Galician legend that situated the incidents in Santiago in Ordoño I's reign. According to the Historia Compostelana, Vermudo II is said to have deprived a Bishop Pelayo of Compostela of his see, but this was because the Bishop was leading a debauched life and was neglectful of his duties. Blázquez's idea was taken up by Sánchez Alonso, who agreed that it was not inconsistent for Pelayo to have attributed the episode of the bull to Vermudo II, when the latter did take action against a Bishop of Compostela. Unfortunately, the facts underlying this incident are impossible to determine. Sánchez Alonso's argument is not made any more convincing by his own assertion that: 'Gudesteo y Adolfo, obispos de Oviedo y Compostela respectivamente ... en tiempo de Bermudo no existieron tales prelados'. If Pelayo did err over Adulfo, it is certain that he was partly correct in the
case of Gudesteo, Bishop of Oviedo. Moreover, Flórez questioned the veracity of the *Historia Compostelana* at this point, for there is evidence that Pelayo held office until he retired to the monastery of Celanova in 985 or 986. It is very likely that Flórez is correct, for the Galician historians took an unfavourable view of many of the tenth-century bishops, seeking to explain the disasters of the period - including the destruction of the church of Santiago itself - by reference to the dissolute lives and secular interests of the prelates. Pelayo's accusation against Vermudo II of an attempt on Bishop Adulfo's life thus lacks a reliable basis. His vilification of the King can thus be explained only in the general context of the political opposition of various ecclesiastics, including Vermudo of Oviedo, to Vermudo II. More precise information concerning specific events, particularly during the career of Pelayo of Compostela, is needed to explain fully Pelayo of Oviedo's determined character assassination.

The nature of Pelayo's material is perhaps more important than its historical accuracy in the context of twelfth-century Hispanic historiography. The incident of the bull is clearly an ecclesiastical legend, which centred on some forgotten event, probably elaborated orally in Galicia and Asturias and subsequently taken down in written form when someone had reason to do so. There is a similarity of incident between the twelfth-century versions of Pelayo and the *Historia Compostelana*, but the complete lack of verbal coincidence indicates that no one version is derived from the other, while the earlier and briefer account
of the *Chronicon Iriense* differs in detail and verbally from both. The *Historia Compostelana* and the *Chronicon Iriense* set the incidents in Santiago in Ordoño I's reign, not in Oviedo in that of Vermudo II, as the *Crónica* claims. This change could be attributed to Pelayo's obsession with his own see. The number of accusers in the Galician versions is four and the *Chronicon Iriense* specifies that they were four 'seruis familiae Ecclesiae', while in the *Crónica* the number is limited to three who are named (p. 59, 1.2). The *Historia Compostelana* alone mentions that the charge was sodomy and that it was brought as a result of jealousy and resentment against the Bishop's conscientiousness. Both Galician versions tell that Adulfo afterwards pardoned the repentant King, but Pelayo insists that he cursed him and excommunicated his accusers (p. 60, 11.11-18). Throughout, the *Historia Compostelana* is the most extensive and it includes various explanations and many details, even mentioning that the bull was incited by 'tubis, canibusque venatorum'. The miracle that follows Adulfo's escape varies between the *Crónica* and the *Historia Compostelana*. Pelayo tells of the immovable coffin, while the other version refers to the Bishop's cassock that none could take off, if he had told a falsehood whilst wearing it. The earlier Leonese chronicles also contain ecclesiastical legends: the account of the events surrounding Covadonga and the encounter of Pelayo and Bishop Oppa, the intervention of the Virgin Mary and the destruction of the Moorish forces. These legends are, however, very different, for they became an integral part of the official history of the kingdom of León-Asturias.
and came to be accepted as authentic side by side with verifiable information. Pelayo's legends did not have this wide relevance and were of particular interest to ecclesiastical historians, rather than to official chroniclers or to the authors of the celebratory works of the twelfth century, who generally adopted a broader scope. Nevertheless, the Bishop of Oviedo's restricted sphere of interest allows a glimpse of a fund of pseudo-historical material that would not otherwise have emerged into a universal history.

Pelayo's account of the reign of Alfonso VI falls into two distinct parts (pp. 79-83 and 83-8). The first is devoted to the events of the period, the second to an appreciation of the man and his rule, which is followed by a description of his death and of the national mourning. The Crónica is of potential importance as a source at this point, because it suggests the possibility of filling the gap caused by the Silense writer's failure to complete the task which he set himself. The compiler of the Crónica Najerense relied on Pelayo's account and his only other known Latin sources for the reign, according to Ubieto Arteta, were the Anales Compostelanos and two isolated references to documents held at Santa María de Nájera. Pelayo's account is thus the only one that appears to cover the entire reign, but it is disappointingly brief and adds no significant data to what is known from other sources. Yet this is perhaps to demand of Pelayo more than he intended, for the summary form of the first part of the section is not dissimilar from the rest of the Crónica, in particular from the section on Fernando I. Mention is made of Alfonso's recovery of the
throne of León, together with that of Castile, and then of his seizure of power in Galicia and the imprisonment of García. Considerable space is devoted to his successes against the Moors, but Pelayo's perspective is so ill-defined at this point that there is an impression almost of a lack of interest. The capture of Toledo, Alfonso's greatest single achievement both strategically and psychologically, is merely listed as the first among many captures of towns and cities. Pelayo's distance from events is determined not so much by lapse of time as by his physical separation from the Leonese court whose political outlook he does not seem to share. Unlike the Sílense author, he does not recognise the symbolic significance of the recapture of the former Visigothic capital, nor does he develop or even introduce the theme of the Visigothic rebirth, central to the Leonese historical consciousness. The summoning and the arrival of the Almoravids is attributed to the impact of the King's rapid success, but the Crónica then ceases to record events in the Reconquest. Alfonso's reversal of fortune undoubtedly explains the silence surrounding the last twenty-three years of the reign. The series of defeats, 'multa contumelia', are referred to, but only the battle of Sagrajas is mentioned by name and the result of the conflict is not made explicit (p. 82, 1.5, p. 83, 11.1-2).

The second part of Pelayo's account contains the more interesting material which corresponds in its basically non-historical nature to the semi-legendary material included in the reign of Vermudo II. In the four short sections of the Crónica, the character of the monarch is referred to on
only two occasions, in accord with the factual nature of a
chronicle, Fernando I is described as 'homo bonus ac timens
Deum' (p. 73, 11.7-8), while Sancho II is referred to as
'homo formosus nimis, et miles strenuus' (p. 78, 1.7).
Pelayo gives a relatively long assessment of the character
of Alfonso VI to who he ascribes the stylised qualities of
the medieval ruler. This is unusual in chronicle writing
which tends to narrate what a character does, rather than to
assess his character in the manner of historical biography.
Alfonso's virtues are not dissimilar in themselves from
those attributed to Fernando I in the Silense, for example,
but they are presented pictorially, as images, rather than
described and then exemplified.

Alfonso if viewed as the protector of the churches of
Spain, a topic of kingly virtue in twelfth-century writing. 45
He is also seen as the upholder of law, not so much because
he possessed an inherent sense of justice or of equality,
but because of the terror that he inspired in wrongdoers:

Tanto terribilis fuit ut omnibus maleagentibus
que nunquam auderent parere in conspectu eius;
onnes potestates nobiles et innobiles, diuites et
pauperes, qui erant in suo regno, non auderent
unos in alterum litem mouere, neque aliiquid mali
facere. (p. 83, 11.5-10).

The impression of peace that reigned in the kingdom as a
result of the absence of civil disturbance is described in
similarly vivid terms:

Tanta pace fuit in diebus quibus ipse regnauit,
ut una sola mulier, portans aurum uel argentum in
manu sua per omnem terram Hyspanie, tam habitabilem
quam inhabitabilem, in montibus uel in campis, non
inueniret qui eam tangeret, uel aliiquid mali ei
facere. (pp. 83-4, 11.10-15, p. 84, 1.1)46
Traders and pilgrims were also guaranteed a safe passage through the land. Pilgrims especially were guaranteed to reach their destination, since Alfonso took care that all the bridges on the camino francés, from Logroño to Santiago, were maintained. Peter N. Dunn has suggested a similarity between Pelayo's evaluation of the King and the figure of the rey justiciero, who emerges at the end of the Cantar de Mio Cid. Yet Pelayo's formidable portrait accords better with the King as he appears at the opening of the poem when the citizens of Vivar live in fear of his anger. Alfonso's reputation as an upholder of justice on this evidence draws much strength from the impression created by the severe punishments threatened in the penalty clauses of many of his diplomas. The speech of the little girl in the Cantar de Mio Cid reflects one of these:

Non vos osariemos abrir nin coger por nada;
si non, perderiemos los averes e las casas
e demas los ojos de las caras. (44-6)

The closeness of the parallel can be judged from one of the many clauses in a document from the Becerro gótico de Cardeña, which threatens that any offender: 'in vita autem eius careat lumen amborum oculis'. Punishments involving severe physical disfigurement were also carried out in the reign of Alfonso VII, according to the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, which endows the King-Emperor with the features of the rey justiciero.

Pelayo's account of Alfonso VI's death is typical of his historical writing and stands in marked contrast to the passages in the Silense that treat a similar subject. Pelayo's narrative is highlighted by the miracle that the
author claims to have witnessed, when for three days before
the King's death water ran from the stone steps leading
to the altar in San Isidoro. The whole scene is told
from the writer's own viewpoint, since he delivered the
sermon at the requiem mass and drank of some of the miracu-
loous water. Pelayo's intervention in the situation gives
the passage its intrinsic interest and the merit of immediacy.
In the description of the death of Fernando I, the Sibense
writer utilised an earlier account which he incorporated
into his history, probably with only minor alterations.
This work was evidently that of a contemporary, probably
of an eye-witness, who took a detailed but not a personal
view of events. In the framework of the Sibense, the episode
appears the more objective as it was not reworked by the
anonymous historian himself.

Pelayo adds a description of the popular grief occasioned
by Alfonso's death, which, together with the miracle and its
forebodings for Spain's future, creates an impression of
national disaster:

Tunc comites et milites, nobiles et immobiles,
siue et ciues, descaluatis capitibus, scissis
uestibus, rupte facies mulierum, asperso cinere
cum magnó gemitu et dolore cordis dabant uoces
usque ad celos. (p. 87, 11.12-14, p. 88, 11.1-2)

The death scene of Fernando I in the Sibense is in contrast
restrained and devoid of expressions of excessive grief.
The writer concentrates on the religious ceremonial, giving
details of the liturgical service, and describes the manner
of the King's death, which is considered to have been in
imitation of that of St Isidore. The event is not shown
to have had an impact outside the circle of ecclesiastics
of the court and of San Isidoro. Pelayo's narrative is less learned, both in language and subject matter. It is possible that a Biblical inspiration may have determined the presentation of a scene of universal grief, particularly in the description:

 Una cum omnibus ciuibus, tam uiris quam feminis, intrauerunt Ecclesiam Sancti Isidori Episcopi, dantes uoces cum lacrimis, laudantes mirabilia nostri Salvatoris. (p. 85, 11.11-14)

Pelayo draws upon familiar images of devotion which he inserts into a standard lament on the death of a great man: 'Cur pastor oues deseris? Nam commendatum tibi gregem et regnum inuadent enim eum Sarraceni et maliuoli homines' (p. 87, 11.10-12). The Silense writer includes a lament for the dead Vermudo III, which is both more literary and personal in its expression of grief. The degree of stylisation does however avoid a narrow perspective:

 Michi vero mortem tanti regis scribenti, dum nobile eius sceptrum considero, dolor utcumque occurrit. Nempe Veremudus patricius puer in regem constitutus ... in ipso teneri regni exordio, ecclesias Christi gubernare easque a prauis hominibus defendere cenobiorum ceu pius pater consolator existere cepit.

(78)

Comparison of Pelayo's Crónica with the Silense has made clear the basic distinction between two kinds of twelfth-century Hispanic historiography. The Silense is the more literary, because of the writer's cultivated use of language and his efforts to organise his material other than chronologically, while the neo-classical ornamentation and borrowings reveal it as a work of unusual learning for its period. The introduction and development of themes traditional to medieval and to Spanish historiography ensure the cohesion of the
whole, in spite of the variety of sources used. A long period of history, from the Muslim invasion to the reign of Alfonso VI, is thus interpreted as a continuous historical process. Beside the Silense, the Crónica is un-literary and devoid of stylistic pretension. Pelayo's attitude to his subject matter seems ill-defined, for he is without a sense of historical purpose and lacks any desire to present a particular interpretation of events. His eye-witness account of Alfonso VI's death is effective, but his refusal to utilise additional sources to supplement his own material results in the Crónica impoverishment as a historical record. The attitude of the interpolator and ecclesiastical propagandist of the Liber chronicorum can be detected in Pelayo's own contribution only in the reign of Vermudo II, an absence which may explain the Crónica's lack of thematic organisation. Yet the Crónica is not wholly without intrinsic interest, for it incorporates material that would have been incongruous in the Silense, including ecclesiastical legends more appropriate to a hagiographic context. Events are narrated in these episodes with an immediacy that concentrates on the more sensational aspects.

The passages in praise of Alfonso VI are remarkable for the number of stylistic features that they contain which occur in many different forms of writing in the twelfth century, both literary and non-literary. They are common to vernacular works including epic, Latin histories such as the Historia Roderici, and legal writings. Their relative absence from such learned works as the Silense suggests that they formed part of the habitual mode of
expression of the age and were not necessarily employed as conscious stylistic devices. Conspicuous in the *Crónica* are examples of binary and physical phraseology, in particular in the description of Alfonso VI as an upholder of justice:

> Omnes potestates nobiles et innobiles, diuites et pauperes, qui erant in suo regno, non auderent unus in alterum litem mouere. (p. 83, 11.7-10)

Binary phrases can perform various communicative functions, either denotative or descriptive, depending upon the context. Here, the two inclusive pairs, together with the semi-redundant relative clause, are a means of enhancing Alfonso's stature. Similar basic phraseology occurs in the description of the woman passing through Spain:

> Una sola mulier, portans aurum ut argentum in manu sua per omnem terram Hyspanie, tam habitabilem quam inhabitabilem, in montibus usi in campis ... (p. 83, 11.11-14)

The single notion is reinforced by three binary phrases and one physical phrase, all of which convey little information, but which lend significance to the essential idea. The recurrent use of such phrases is indicative of a fairly low cultural level from the point of view of Latin writing. Repetition is perhaps the simplest form of narrative enhancement or adornment in most writing in most languages and its use by Pelayo as virtually his sole rhetorical device is further evidence of the gap separating him from the **Silense** writer. The use of binary phrases in the passages describing Alfonso VI permits them to be considered celebratory, but the exceptional nature of the passages within the *Crónica* prevent that label being applied to the work as a whole.
Footnotes

1. Ambrosio de Morales' tables of contents of the manuscripts at Oviedo are given in ES, XXXVIII, appendix XL. A summary list of contents is given by Amador, Historia crítica, II, p. 157, n.1.


4. Mariana wrote that: 'Pelagio Ovetensi ... qui ubi Sampirus finem fecit, ipse initio sumpto ad obitum Alfonsi VI qui Toletum cepit, Chronicum perduxit, fabulis foedum. Unde fabulosus vulgo est dictus': quoted by Flórez, ES, XIV, p. 440.

5. See Sánchez Alonso, Historia de la historiografía española, I, p. 121; Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, p. 208.

6. See Sánchez Alonso, Historia de la historiografía española, I, pp. 121-2; Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, pp. 204-7.

7. Incipit liber Chronicorum ab exordio mundi, ES, XXXVIII, appendix XL, pp. 370-1, at p. 371; also Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, pp. 479-80, at p. 480.

8. The two texts are edited side by side by Pérez de Urbel, Sampiro, pp. 275-434.


10. An outline of Pelayo's ecclesiastical career is given in the introduction to Sánchez Alonso's edition of the Crónica, pp. 9-11.
11. Pelayo's method of introducing this idea into his compilation is particularly involved. I have relied on the lucid account of Risco, ES, XXXVIII, pp. 121-2 and on the additional information of Pérez de Urbel and Luis Vázquez de Parga.


15. Sampiro, p. 304.


17. ES, XXXVIII, appendix XL, p. 370.


20. For the texts of the two letters, see Sampiro, pp. 285-7, 287-9.


23. Antonio Blázquez maintained the contrary view. See 'Pelayo de Oviedo y el Silense' and Elogio de Don Pelayo, Obispo de Oviedo é historiador de España (Madrid, 1910).


27. See Silense (77-9) and above pp. 219 and 235-6.


29. _Elogio de Don Pelayo_, pp. 36-8.


32. ES, XIX, pp. 80-6.


34. See Blázquez, _Elogio de Don Pelayo_, pp. 35-6. He refers to contemporary documents which are edited in ES, XXXIV, XXXVIII.


37. _Elogio de Don Pelayo_, pp. 38-44.


40. ES, XIX, pp. 165-74.

41. See Dozy, _Recherches_ (1881), I, p. 20.
42. The usual MS reading of the Iriense is in fact 'maledicens Regi', but Flórez corrected this to 'valedicens Regi' to coordinate the two Galician versions (ES, XIX, pp. 76-7).


45. See above pp. 214-15 and n. 64 and n. 65. See also Silense (78) with reference to Vermudo III.

46. I am grateful to Prf. Colin Smith for pointing out to me the similarity between this passage and Bede's description of the state of peace in England during the reign of King Edwin:


The editors note that 'Stories similar to this were told about any powerful king in the Middle Ages. Thus, in the Peterborough continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 1135, it is said that in the time of Henry I a man could carry a burden of gold and silver anywhere without being molested' (p. 192, n. 2). In spite of the proverbial nature of the description, Pelayo's passage recalls Bede's and it seems likely that he was acquainted with this episode of the Historia ecclesiastica in some form. Both
writers mention the woman travelling the length of the country without being harmed and both use a result clause and admiratio phraseology to convey the idea of the state of peace. Bede subsequently includes two similar result clauses, one of which refers to the fear that the people had of their king: 'Tantum rex idem utilitati suaee gentis consuluit ... neque hos caucos[ for travellers] quisquam ... contingere prae magnitudine uel timoris eius auderet uel amoris uellet'. Pelayo also includes a further result clause, telling how no malefactor dared appear in Alfonso's presence, so great was the fear that he inspired (p. 83, ll. 5-10). In Bede, however, the woman carries a new-born child, not gold and silver, a detail that corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle version of the topic. It is not necessary to suppose a common source for the Crónica and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, given the wide diffusion and the ubiquity of the aurum et argentum binomial.

Professor A. D. Deyermond has drawn my attention to a not dissimilar passage in Alfonso X's General estoria, which describes the effect of the natural laws of the Golden Age during the reign of Jupiter:

Et en aquel tiempo los omnes nin auien torres, nin castiellos, nin otras fortalezas ningunas, nin caullerias, nin armas pora ferir nin pora defflender se, nin lo auien mester, ca ninguno non apremiaua all otro. [Alfonso X, General estoria, I, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1930), ch. XXXII, p. 799a].

47. 'Levels of Meaning in the PMC', MLN, LXXXV (1970), 109-19, at pp. 114-16.

49. See below pp. 338-9.

50. Similar portents foretold the death of Charlemagne, according to Einhard (*Vita Karoli Magni*, 32). These included sun-spots, repeated eclipses of both sun and moon, the collapse of a portico at Aachen, the destruction by fire of a bridge near Mainz, and earth tremors. Pelayo's account seems circumspect beside the profusion of phenomena recorded by Einhard, who took his inspiration from Suetonius.


52. See, for example, the lament for the death of Reverter in the CAI: 'O domine Reverter, dux noster, scutum et lorica, cur nos deseris aut cui nos desolatos relinquis? Modo invadent nos muzmuti et occident nos' 196. Sánchez Belda (n.97) points out that this is based on a passage from Sulpicius Severus: 'Cur nos pater deseris? aut qui nos desolatos relinquis? Invadent enim gregem tuum lupi rapaces ...' (Migne PL, XX, col.182). He adds that this passage is also recalled by el Toledano, lamenting the death of his predecessor, Archbishop Bernardo ([*De Rebus Hispaniae*](Textos Medievales, 22, Valencia, 1969), VII:iv, p. 151a) and in the *Historia Compostelana* (II: LXXXVI:3, p. 450).

53. This topic is fully discussed in ch. VI(a).
CHAPTER IV: THE ALFONSO VII MATERIAL

The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and the *Poema de Almería* are contrasting parts of the same work: the writer included the poem within his history because he considered verse the more fitting medium for an account of the King-Emperor's greatest exploit. It was also a means of variation: 'Nunc autem, ad maiora conscendentes, versibus, ad removendum carminis variatione taedium' [206]. In this chapter, the two elements of the CAI are studied separately, in spite of their common celebratory purpose. The prose narrative constitutes a heroic biography containing the majority of the features that occur in the *Historia Roderici* and the *Historia Silense*, while very few of these features are carried over into the poem. The latter is no less a celebratory work, but it employs quite different means in extolling Alfonso VII. It is virtually without narrative elements, consisting almost entirely of descriptions of armies and their generals, together with biographical details concerning the latter, all of whom were allies or subjects of Alfonso. As the only substantial example of Hispano-Latin heroic verse to survive from the twelfth century, it might be considered as a determined effort to compose a Reconquest epic, but its lack of incident makes it an exception as a heroic poem. Partly for this reason, the *Poema* will here be studied from the point of view of its particular celebratory function as a contrasting section that follows the prose narrative.
The biography of Alfonso VII is radically different from the Historia Silense which aimed to celebrate the achievements of the previous King-Emperor of León-Castile, Alfonso VI. The CAI breaks away in many respects from the tradition of Hispanic historiography that had begun in the ninth century and had persisted until the twelfth. The writer ignores the theme of the rebirth of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo and does not feel obliged to narrate the reigns of his hero's ancestors, as the Silense writer had done. The CAI is devoted primarily to the reign of Alfonso VII, although it does include a substantial interpolation that returns to the death of Alfonso VI as a form of prologue to the second part. This break with the practices of the past may be explained by the change in historical circumstances that had taken place in the Peninsula since the recapture of Toledo. Until 1086, the war of Reconquest had been inspired by the idea of the reunification of Spain under a Christian monarch, an inspiration that had been continuously entertained at least since its first written expression in the chronicle of the pseudo-Ezechiel of 883. The religious element in the conflict had been implicit, for it was only with the arrival of the Almoravids that the war against the Moors became openly religious. By the mid-twelfth century this element had been intensified by the growing power and threatening presence of a new wave of fanatics, the Almohads who had overthrown the Almoravids in North Africa. The emphasis of the CAI rests upon the defeat of the enemies of Christianity and not upon the establishment of a neo-Visigothic monarchy. The Poema in
particular shows an intensification of this religious hostility which amounts, in its literary expression at least, to a crusading spirit hitherto absent from Hispanic writing.

It might be argued that, unlike the Silense writer, the historian of the CAI was not familiar with the earlier chronicles or did not share the inspirations of the Leonese regnum-imperium. Luis Sánchez Belda, however, has amply demonstrated the leonismo of the CAI, highlighting its relatively detailed information about Leonese affairs and historical protagonists. The author always refers to Alfonso VII as rex Legionis or imperator Legionensis, but never as rex Castellae. He reveals a detailed knowledge of Leonese noblemen such as Suero Vermúdez, Rodrigo González and the rebellious Gonzalo Peláez, while his information about the activities of the Lara family of Castile is vaguer. Geographical detail concerning Castile is non-existent or imprecise, whereas it is accurate and relatively minute for Toledo and for León, which is referred to as 'civitas regia' [193]. It appears also that the author witnessed certain major events that took place in the imperial cities: the declaration of Empire in 1135, the wedding of the King-Emperor's daughter Urraca and the burial of Rodrigo Martínez. Any writer who composed an extended prose panegyric of Alfonso VII and who was so evidently familiar with the events and principal political figures of his reign must have been intimately associated with the monarch and his court. The break with the previous historiographical tradition can therefore be most convincingly attributed to the waning of
neo-Visigothic aspirations and to the change in the nature of the conflict between León and the Muslims.

One other major difference between the CAI and the Leonese tradition cannot be explained by historical factors. As official works, the early chronicles and the Historia Silense focussed their attention on the deeds of successive kings, while tending to ignore the achievements of other prominent personages in the kingdom, with the exception of rebel vassals who rose unsuccessfully against the central government. The CAI also appears to have been an official work which received the King-Emperor's patronage, for the Poema states that it was intended to please him:

Optima scriptori, si complacet imperatori, reddantur [iura], quod scribat bella futura. (VIII-IX)

However, the CAI introduces a large number of secondary personages, successful generals and loyal vassals, as well as rebels, whose stature heightens that of the King-Emperor and whose valour, even if they are worsted by Alfonso, enhances the glory of the regnum-imperium.

The CAI was written during the King-Emperor's lifetime, as is evident from the first lines of the Poema, and it has been dated by Sánchez Belda between 1147 and 1152. He attributes the authorship to Bishop Arnaldo of Astorga who is referred to in paragraph [203] of the history and at lines 361-71 of the Poema where he delivers a speech of encouragement to the faltering troops. More recently, the possible date of composition has been restricted to the period 1147-1149 by Ubieto Arteta, since references to the Empress Berenguelia indicate that she was still alive at the time
of composition. 4 Ubieto does not disagree with Sánchez Belda's attribution of authorship and he adds some conjectures concerning Arnaldo's early life about which nothing was known, although nothing has even now been proved. He suggests that Arnaldo was at the court of Ramon Berenguer III from 1120 to 1126 and went to Toledo with the Count's daughter on the occasion of her marriage to Alfonso VII. This visit would explain the author's evident knowledge of the geography and contemporary history of Toledo. Sánchez Belda's hypothesis has, however, been challenged by Angel Ferrari who has proposed the Cluniac Peter of Poitiers, the secretary of Peter the Venerable, as the author. 5 He bases this assertion on similarities between the Cluniac attitudes toward rebellious subjects and Muslims and the implicit views on those subjects found in the CAI. Ferrari's conclusion was accepted by Gibbs and Gárate Córdoba, but it has been rejected by other critics, partly because of the frequent references in the CAI to the Spanish vernacular as 'nostra lingua', and definitively because the course of Peter of Poitiers' career would not have allowed him to have written the heroic biography of Alfonso VII. 6 The attribution of authorship to Bishop Arnaldo still appears the most likely.

(a) The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris: the prose sections

Form and themes.

The prose narrative of the CAI is divided into two parts, the first book comprising ninety-five sections, together with the Praefatio, the second one hundred and eleven
sections plus an incipit. The division corresponds approximately to the distinct nature of the subject matter contained in each, for the first book deals primarily with the internal affairs of León-Castile and her hostile relations with Aragon, the second book with the war of Reconquest. This implicit but obvious contrast was contained in the first Leonese chronicles and its presence in the CAI indicates the recurrence of the historical situation in which the Reconquest aspirations of the imperium were hindered by the actions of rival Christian kingdoms. From 1109 until 1130, the kingdom of León-Castile suffered the incursions of the Aragonese led by Alfonso I, el Batallador. Before his death, Alfonso VI had arranged the marriage of his daughter Urraca to the Aragonese king and León-Castile had been ceded to the latter as part of the marriage contract in an attempt to strengthen and expand the regnum-imperium. It had also been agreed that Alfonso, Urraca's son by her previous marriage to Raymond of Burgundy, should renounce his claim to the throne if Urraca had another son. Alfonso I proceeded to adopt the imperial title, but the determined opposition of Archbishop Bernardo of Toledo to the marriage and to Alfonso VI's original plan proved strong enough to ensure the dissolution of the marriage by Pope Pascual II in 1114. Alfonso I continued to exert his authority over Castile and to use the imperial title, sometimes laying claim to sovereignty over León and Toledo as well. However, after the coronation of Alfonso Raimúndez as King of Toledo, el Batallador seems to have gradually dropped the title, but the occupation of areas of Castile continued even after.
Urraca's death in 1126, and did not end until 1130. Like his predecessors, Alfonso VII was confronted by fellow Christians opposing him both without and within his kingdom, and these had to be overcome before he could turn his attention to his principal foes. The author of the Historia Silense, faced with narrating the not dissimilar situation in the reign of Fernando I, extracted what advantage he could on his protagonist's behalf, stressing how such opposition delayed the process of territorial reconquest. In the CAI, the Aragonese and the rebel factions within León-Castile are represented as obstacles to the fulfilment of Alfonso VII's designs. Thus, the structure of the CAI, the account of a single reign, is determined to a considerable extent by the historical situation that demanded the unity of the kingdom as a necessary preliminary to the declaration of the imperium (1135) and then to the sustained campaigns against the Almoravids.

The basis of the CAI's narrative is chronological and the disposition of material in two parts results primarily from the order of events. This arrangement is illustrated by the presence of an important episode in Book I, which demonstrates that the history's two major narrative elements - internal affairs and the Reconquest - do overlap and are not absolutely separated by the bipartite division. Paragraphs [33]-[42] narrate Alfonso VII's first major raid into Andalusia culminating in the sack of Jerez de la Frontera and Cadiz in 1133, two years before the Empire was declared. The impression of strict chronology is strengthened by the historian's apologies for disrupting
the historical order of events. He apologises for breaking the sequence to include the death of Alfonso I of Aragon:

Superiori loquendi ordine omissa, ut divertamur paulisper ad ea, quae ad rem pertinent, historia regis Aragonensium, hoc modo agrediamur, ut loquamur de eius morte. [49]

A similar apology occurs at the beginning of Book II: 'Omissa naturali ordine, ad quae olim christianis asperrima fuere bella, tractandi veniamus' [96].10 This latter aside suggests that the author had in mind a continuous chronology running through both books, but departed from it at this point to return to events earlier in the Reconquest, to 1109 and the death of Alfonso VI. The author's conception of an underlying chronology has been suggested by Ubieto Arteta and it is part of what he terms the 'analismo' of the CAI. 11 This approach contrasts with that of other critics who have perceived an organisation by subject matter, which produced two complementary, even interlocking, halves. 12 This apparent arrangement is partly explained by the order of events and by the historical situation of 1126-1138, rather than by a sustained attempt at thematic rearrangement by the historian. Yet it would be wrong to pretend that the CAI's narrative was entirely linear and to ignore the additional passages for which the author felt obliged to apologise. At the beginning of Book II, the chronological sequence is disrupted by thirty-five paragraphs before it is resumed, the narrative being interrupted at the year 1136 by the prologue to the central section of the history. Some incidents are included twice as a result of this interpolation, when they do not fall exactly into one sphere rather than the other.
The pilgrimage of Rodrigo de Lara to the Holy Land in 1134 occurs in [47] and [48] of Book I and in [125] of Book II. Neither account is complete, for no explanation is offered for the Count's loss of the King's favour, but the author is aware in [125] that he is in danger of repeating himself: 'sic ut superius scripsimus'. Another, though smaller, disruption occurs in Book I when the author resumes his account of Aragonese affairs [49]. After apologising for breaking the natural sequence, he includes thirteen paragraphs which interrupt not only the chronology by returning to events prior to Fraga, but also the work's unity of content, for the conflict does not affect Alfonso VII directly.

The disposition of material in the CAI shows that the form of the work consists of a chronological narrative, with interpolations. The historian's conception of a natural sequence has been illustrated by his apologies for interrupting it and it is further indicated by the form of the temporal references included in the interpolated paragraphs [96] - [130] which are quite distinct from those in the rest of the narrative. Outside the Reconquest summary, the chronological sequence is marked at the opening of paragraphs containing new material by a reference to the year in the form: 'In Era ... post millesimam' or 'Anno tertio decimo imperii Adefonsi imperatoris' [145]. Within paragraphs [96] - [130], these precise references, characteristic of chronicle writing, are replaced by much vaguer indications of time: 'Tempore autem illo'[105], 'Post aliquot vero annos' [109]. The precise system of dating does not operate within the prologue to Book II and, if this were
omitted, there would be a continuous time sequence from 1126-1137 and then from 1138 until 1147, linking Books I and II, as Ubieto has indicated.

The chronological interpolations are outward signs of the writer's tendency to view his material other than as a sequence of events. As he proceeds from Book I to Book II, he is conscious of the transition from one sphere of activity to another, of a change of emphasis that demands the substantial prologue to the second part. This awareness can be related to the celebratory function of the CAI. Alfonso VII's activities in al-Andalus are considered not only the culmination of his achievement, but also his raison d'être as Emperor and the reason for his portrayal as a hero chosen by God. The inclusion of the summary in Book II is necessary to an adequate account of his victories as imperator, which did not begin until the campaign in Jaén, when he took over the command from Rodrigo Fernández, the governor of Toledo. The sense of progression from one area of achievement to another extends to the Poema whose description of the siege of Almería is introduced by the phrase: 'Nunc autem, ad maiora conscendentes' [206]. The inclusion of the other interpolated section, the account of the battle of Fraga, can also be justified by the celebratory function and it can be related specifically to the themes developed in the history. Alfonso el Batallador is represented as the antithesis, as well as the enemy, of Alfonso VII and thus his defeat and death also serve to heighten the later achievement of the King-Emperor. Historical fact again determines in part the course of the narrative at this point,
but the material is so arranged that a clear contrast is established between the two monarchs. It is significant that the defeat of Alfonso I and the reception of Alfonso VII into Saragossa are placed directly before the declaration of Empire in 1135.

The two interpolations show that a tendency toward a thematic organisation, closely linked to subject matter, interacts with a fundamentally chronological structure. This can be illustrated by reproducing in summary form, but slightly augmented, Ubieto Arteta's outline of the CAI's narrative content, which follows the sequence of historical events.

Basic chronological exposition

111-121 (1126-8) Alfonso's ascent to the throne. Initial opposition within kingdom. State of relations with Aragon.

1129 (1129) Conflict with Aragon.

1130-2 (1130-2) Internal affairs of kingdom, but inclusion of expulsion of Aragonese from Castile. Submission of dissidents.

1133-4 (1133-4) First campaign of Alfonso VII in al-Andalus. End of internal rebellions.

Contrast with Alfonso VII leading to

climax of Book I
Continuation of chronological narrative and an epilogue

1134 Situation before the battle of Fraga. The battle and the death of Alfonso el Batallador. Capture of Nájera. Triumphal entry of Alfonso VII into Saragossa.

1135 Declaration of Empire. (1136-44) War with Portugal and Navarre.

Book II
Summary and prologue

Campaigns of Ibn Yusuf and other Almoravids in al-Andalus. Achievements of the governor of Toledo in the Reconquest.
Chronological exposition of Alfonso VII's achievements in Reconquest as imperator in al-Andalus. Death of Muño Alfonso. Preparations for the siege of Almería.

The extent of the chronological narrative is evidently considerable and it underlies the whole work. The interruption of this narrative at two points to introduce subject matter of a different nature or relating to an earlier period is sufficient to suggest an awareness in the writer of the possibility of organising his history other than chronologically. The presence of these passages is justified when they are related to the two basic concepts of medieval historical thought expressed in the CAI. A consideration of these concepts will show that the narrative progresses toward the celebration of Alfonso VII's achievements in the Reconquest as a warrior leader. The close parallel between historical events and the introduction and development of the two themes that are used to interpret those events ensures that the work is not falsified as a historical record. At the same time, the partial interaction of two distinct modes of organising material is a justification for treating the CAI as a history and a heroic biography, rather than as a chronicle.

The two themes of medieval historiography that run through the CAI are those of the individual chosen by God and of temporal punishment for sin. They are commonplaces in chronicles, charters and diplomas, but they do not occur in the history simply as asides or as semi-conscious reflections on events, but serve a structural function. The first theme is sustained throughout, while the second is introduced
as either a corollary or a contrast to it. Alfonso VII is portrayed as the instrument of God's will, exacting punishment from those who offend God or who obstruct the divine plan. The concept of temporal punishment is used in two ways: it accounts for the defeats of the King-Emperor's Christian enemies and it explains the reversals suffered by the leader himself, by his generals and by his men. The two ideas form the basis of the writer's historical outlook and they serve as a means of interpreting events. From the theological point of view, the task of the historian thus consists of the revelation of the divine plan in terms of these two ideas. Such a conception of historical writing suggests that historical events are seen in the CAI not as an interaction between men, but as the interrelation of God and man.

The Praefatio introduces the theme of the leader chosen by God, sent to save his people who are representatives of Christianity: 'Deus omnipotens, per eum et cum eo, ut salus in medio terrarum populi Christi dare tur operatus est'. Alfonso VII is the direct means by which the Christian population of Spain will be spared from the Muslims. The King's divine mission and his favour with God are confirmed in the opening section which tells of his coming to power:

Adefonsus vero, flius eius [of Urraca] et Raymundi ducis, qui post eam, quia promisum de supernis misum-que feliciter, Deo dispensante, regnavit, sequenti die postquam mortua est mater eius, iam iuvenis decem et novem annorum, beato iubilei anni tempore, ducente Domino, in Legionensi civitate, unde regnum ducitur, venit. [1]

From the outset, Alfonso VII receives God's aid and his ascent to the throne is not only felicitous at the time, but
preordained. The emphasis upon the fortunate time of the
coronation: 'beato iubilei anni tempore' offers a religious
parallel to the presentation of Rodrigo Díaz in the Cantar
de Mio Cid as a hero favoured by fate, as one knighted 'en
buena ora'.

The two passages cited illustrate the twofold aspect
of Alfonso VII's 'divine' status. He is the instrument
through which God's plan for mankind is realised and his
efforts against the Aragonese and the Muslims are favoured
with success. To the Spanish Christians, he is an inter-
mediary, their means of defence and salvation, for their
preservation is an integral part of the divine plan.
Alfonso's relationship to his people is not mentioned again
specifically, but the continued success of the Empire must
be considered divinely ordained in the manner of the Astur-
Leonese monarchy in the Historia Silense. This accords
with the providential view of historical events current in
the Middle Ages and it is implicit in the CAI's account.
God's care for the kingdom which he regards as his own is
illustrated by his preservation of the city of Toledo from
the attacks of the Almoravids during Urraca's reign. The
entire clergy of the city and all its weaker citizens prayed
that they might be spared and God indeed had pity on them:
'Sed Dominus Deus excelsus exaudivit orationes eorum et
misertus est populo suo, et misit Michaelem archangelum
qui custodiret civitatem Toletanam' [101]. The lands of
Asturias and Galicia were also protected from the attacks
of the rebel Gonzalo Peláez, whose intentions were frustrated
by God:
Gonzalo Peláez was well received by the Portuguese ruler, but divine retribution soon ensued, for he caught a fever and died.

Alfonso VII is favoured in his conflicts with both the Moors and the Aragonese. Clichés such as 'auxiliante Deo' recur, but the idea that the King-Emperor enjoys a special relationship with God is consciously developed and sustained. An awareness of his status as a chosen vessel is expressed by a variety of individuals. The King of Aragon refuses to engage his forces with those of Alfonso VII because he recognises his opponent's advantage: 'Cognovit autem rex Aragonensis quod Dominus esset cum rege Legionensi et avertit faciem suam ne pugnaret cum illo' [10]. On another occasion, Alfonso I el Batallador retreats for the same reason, but now on the advice of the Bishop of Pamplona: 'Vides illam gentem minimam? Non est pauc, sed multa. Deus enim est cum illa, et Deus est defensor eis' [15]. The Spanish Muslim, Zafir al-Dawla, a descendant of the Kings of Saragossa and now governor of the castle of Rueda, becomes Alfonso VII's vassal, partly because even he, a non-Christian, recognises the strength of God's providence: 'quia sicut ego novi ipse dominabitur terrae Sarracenorum, quia Deus coeli liberator eis est, et Deus excelsus adiutor eis est' [27]. The Emperor's own men express the same belief, when they console him for the death of Muño Alfonso: Fortunam quam homines dixerunt Munionis Adefonsi, tua fuit et est et erit cunctis diebus vitae tuae,
quia a Deo missa est tibi: nullus nostrum est fortunatus a Deo sicut tu. [186]\textsuperscript{14}

The second major theme of the CAI, that of temporal punishment for sin, operates in two ways, just as it did in the Old Testament histories of the Hebrews. The Aragonese and the rebellious vassals of Alfonso VII suffer defeat as a temporal punishment for the sins that they have committed, usually against the King-Emperor himself. Defeat is certain, because their opposition entails the obstruction of God's providential plan by hostility toward his chosen instrument. Awareness of this fact explained the warning of the Bishop of Pamplona to Alfonso of Aragon [15]. The account of the crushing defeat of the Aragonese at the hands of the Almoravids at Fraga represents the most elaborate example of the use of this concept to interpret a historical event. In spite of his success against the Muslims, Alfonso I's defeat is inevitable because of the weight of his sins. He is punished for the destruction that he wrought on Christian territory in León and Castile and for his theft of a cross and of various other religious treasures from the church at Sahagún [52-3] and possibly for breaking the peace at Támara [11]. God is shown to refuse him aid even against non-Christians:

Verumtamen noluit eam [Fraga] recipere, quia Deus induraverat cor eius ut venirent super eum omnia mala quae ipse fecerat super christianos in terra Legionis et Castellae et super gentem suam, sicut et postea venerunt. [53].

The Aragonese monarch's unawareness of the massing of the Moorish forces is attributed to his sins, for God denied him insight: 'Sed peccatis exigentibus, hoc totum latuit
regi, quem Deus nolebat adiuvare, sed confundere' [53].

The destruction of the Aragonese army is then represented as a divine retribution that implicitly has been long threatened: 'Et ecce, ultione divina disponente, venerunt acies paratae Moabitarum et Agarenorum in circuitu castrorum et coeperunt pugnare' [55]. The defeat is preordained, just as the victories of Alfonso VII are so determined, for even the faithful religious observance of the Aragonese is of no avail. The historico-theological commonplace of divine punishment is expanded and given graphic form so that Heaven itself appears ranged against them:

Hoc videntes episcopi et clerici et omnis populus christianorum, coperunt rogare Dominum Deum ut eos eriperet de manibus Sarracenorum et ne reminisceretur peccatorum regis nec parentum suorum vel qui cum eo erant, et ut ab ipso mitius corripertur. Sed, peccatis exigitibus, orationes eorum non sunt exauditae ante Deum, quia Gabriel Archangelus, summus nuntius Dei, non tullit eas ante tribunal Christi nec Michael, princeps militiae caelestis, misus est a Deo ut eos adiuvaret in bello. [55].

This passage should be set against that in [101], which describes how the Archangel Michael was sent to protect the city of Toledo.

The author's treatment of events in the Reconquest is different from his interpretation of the conflict between León-Castile and Aragon and between Alfonso VII and his rebellious nobility. The King-Emperor's raison d'être as a chosen vessel is to defeat the Muslims and to save Spain for the Christians: 'ut salus in medio terrarum populi Christi daretur' (Praefatio). The author's conception of his central figure conveys the certainty of this throughout, while his use of language and the inclusion of certain incidents reinforce the impression by recalling the Old
Testament victories of the Israelites. Alfonso's position is thus fixed and his role as chosen leader establishes a parallel with the various leaders of the Israelites. His principal enemies are the Almoravids because they are directly hostile to the Christian religion. They represent a different form of threat from the Aragonese, for the latter are an obstacle to the realisation of God's intention to eradicate the Muslim presence from Spain. The Moors are a threat from outside, and as pagans they seem to be outside the sphere bounded by the theological concepts of the medieval historical writer. The theme of temporal punishment for sin does not therefore function as an explanation of the defeats that they suffer, for these are implicitly inevitable. In the sections devoted to the conflict between the two Alfonsoes, the two historiographical themes provide contrasted interpretations of the positions of the two sides. In the Reconquest narrative, only the theme of the chosen individual operates. Hence the form of Book II of the CAI tends toward that of a chronicle, for the absence of defeat as a punishment for sin limits the possibilities of a thematic arrangement of material.

This second concept does however operate in the case of Alfonso VII and his forces where it serves its other function as a corollary to the theme of the chosen individual. The reversals and defeats which befall the instruments of God's will are explicable only as temporal punishments for sins committed, whose nature has to be revealed. A typical example of such an explanation occurs in the account of the
death of Muño Alfonso, the King-Emperor's alcaide and general in Toledo. Hitherto victorious, he was killed in action against the forces of the Moorish ruler of Calatrava [178-84]. His defeat and death are viewed not in military terms as a misfortune on the battle field, but in theological ones, for Muño Alfonso paid the penalty for a gross sin committed in a personal affair. It is told how he killed his daughter after finding her in the company of a young man:

*Mortuus est gutem Munio Adefonsi ... et omnes viros bellatores qui cum eo erant, pro peccato magno quod fecit contra Deum, scilicet quia occidet suam filiam, quam habebat legitimae coniugis, quia ludebat cum quoddam iuvene, et non fuit misertus filiae suae sicut Dominus miser-icors erat in omnibus proeliis quaecumque faciebat. [185]*

The writer's basically theological outlook is further evidenced by the ensuing reference to the Biblical story of the woman taken in adultery: 'qui vestrum sine peccato est, primus in illam mittat lapidem'.

The concept is also employed to explain the death of some of Alfonso VII's soldiers who were cut off from the main force:

*Sed obviaverunt eis paratae acies Moabitarum et Agarenorum et commiserunt bellum cum eis. Sed, peccatis exigentibus, victi sunt christiani, et filii comitum et ducum et alii multi, gladio perierunt. [38]*

Their sin is not difficult to determine, since cupidity drove them to seek plunder without the orders of the King. They were thus not only guilty of greed, but were at variance with the divine plan, for they disobeyed God's chosen instrument. A similar incident occurred when
Alfonso VII was on campaign in Extremadura, for God again refused his aid to those who were acting without the orders of the King-Emperor [132-4].

The history's development of the two traditional themes is doubly significant. The themes have a structural importance in a work that combines the narrative sequence of a chronicle with a tendency toward an arrangement by subject matter. The material of the CAI is organised to illustrate how Alfonso VII's success increased because he was favoured by God and how the fortunes of León-Castile prospered as a consequence. It also demonstrates how the King-Emperor's opponents were defeated because they were in opposition to the design of God as it was realised through the warrior king of Castile. The structure of the CAI can thus be linked to the functioning of the two themes. The theme of the chosen individual operates throughout the chronological narrative, relating the evolution of Alfonso VII's power, first as King, then as Emperor, in Christian Spain and in al-Andalus. The narrative is interrupted at one point by the account of the defeat of the Aragonese at Fraga. This episode contains the fullest expression of the theme of temporal punishment.

An examination of the themes running through the history has also revealed in what light the writer viewed the events that he was narrating. His interpretations are based on theological concepts, not upon analytical methods adopted by modern historians and generally followed by most of those who have studied the CAI. Events are not explained as the interaction of conflicting forces, of the
armies of two Christian kingdoms, of the Moorish army and that of the imperium, or as the outcome of the clash between two leaders with different qualities and abilities. The absence of an analytical attitude is characteristic of medieval historiography in general and it is through the point of view of the writers themselves that such works can best be approached.

The historico-theological outlook of the CAI writer is exemplified by his explanation of Alfonso VII's success. The King Emperor's achievements are not accounted for primarily by his great courage or his skill as a tactician - the writer shows little appreciation of such matters - but by his relationship with God. He possesses the qualities of a warrior king, but his specifically human virtues are second to that relationship. The scope of the writer's vision is enlarged to the extent that individual human actions and characteristics assume significance only in relation to the divine plan. The particular and individual features of the King and other personages count for little and are subordinated to the writer's total vision of his subject. Thus no explanation in military or human terms is offered of how Alfonso VII came to triumph over the Almoravids, when his grandfather had so conspicuously failed.

The interpretation of the battle of Fraga and the fall of Alfonso I of Aragon follows the same pattern as the explanation of the King-Emperor's success, but in reverse. The role of the particular king is minimised, in that his personal skill and bravery are of no avail when the will of God is against him. Moreover he fails not so much as
king and general, but as a protagonist in God's grand
design. His ignorance of the great assembly of Almoravid
forces is shown to be not a tactical error, but the result
of God's refusal to reveal the situation to him. Similarly
the defeat itself is less a victory for the military or
numerical superiority of the Moors than God's punishment
of the Aragonese monarch who stole the relics and church
treasures and invaded areas of León and Castile. Yet this
Alfonso was a wise and courageous king, one of the greatest
that the Aragonese had ever had, even according to the CAI:

Post ipsum autem, vel ante, non fuit similis ei in
praeteritis regibus Aragonensium, neque fortis neque
prudens, seu bellicosus sicut ipse. [58]

In spite of his possession of the qualities of fortitudo
and sapientia, his virtues count for nothing in the situ-
ation as it is interpreted according to the medieval con-
ception of history as the revelation of the divine plan.
From the point of view of the post-medieval historian, this
approach is detrimental to the work qua historical text,
for it cannot explain how a particular battle was lost or
won by a particular general. In the context of defeat or
victory, every situation is interpreted and accounted for
in preconceived terms. For this reason, the manner of
interpretation of events told in the CAI is as important as
the reliability of the information contained. Its absolute
consistency produces a unified account and emphasises how
the writer's focus, which is not at all objective, but is
determined by the preconceptions of his age, makes his
work less a chronicle than a history, conveying a world-view,
rather than a factual record of events.
If the Moorish foes of Alfonso VII are not seen in the CAI as sinners who pay the penalty for their misdeeds, how are they represented? Certain historical factors must be taken into account, for the writer's attitude to the Muslims varies according to the particular group to which they belong: Hispano-Muslim, Almoravid or Almohad. The work thus reflects the outlook of different stages in the evolution of the Reconquest. Toward the first group, the Spanish Muslims, Agareni or Ismaelitae, the spirit of convivencia persists and the relationship between Moor and Spaniard can be that of lord and vassal, as the example of Zafir al-Dawla shows. In the latter half of the eleventh century, the Reconquest had been basically a struggle for the recovery of lost lands, while religious differences, if they arose, were of secondary importance, and alliances had been formed between Muslim and Christian. The invasion of the Almoravids (Moabitae) from North Africa in 1086 had two effects. It introduced the element of religious difference into the conflict and it placed the peninsular Muslims in an equivocal position, because in matters of belief they were almost as far removed from the fanatical Almoravids as they were from the Christian Spaniards to the north. The Almoravids had come not as liberators, but as prospective conquerors of the Peninsula. In the twelfth century, the Christians still received the Hispano-Muslims as tributaries or vassals, but they also used them as a lever in their struggle against the Almoravids. It is told in the CAI, for example, how Alfonso VII endeavoured to stir up feeling against the North Africans by threatening the total devastation of
lands in the south rather than their subjugation [188-9].
The resident Moorish population thus ran the risk of being grouped with the Almoravids, if they did not make peace and submit to the rule of the King-Emperor. The fresh wave of invaders were the latter's principal foe on account of the threat that they constituted, not just to the Christian lands, but also to the continued observance of the Christian religion. Alfonso's different attitude to each group is highlighted, as Garaté Córdoba points out, by the distinct fate that they received at his hands: the Almoravids were put to death, the Spanish Muslims captured. The relativity of the author's attitude to Muslims can be further glimpsed in his references to the Almohad advances in North Africa, which brought about the overthrow of the Almoravid empire. The Almohads (muzmuts) can be seen as a potentially greater threat to Christianity, while the Almoravids are brought closer to the Spaniards by their grief at the death of Reverter, the leader of the Christian captives fighting alongside the Almoravids. Just as his fellows lamented his death, so Ibn Yusuf: 'et rex Tesufinus et omnis domus eius planxit super Reverter' [196].

The CAI does however reflect a more marked religious hostility toward the Muslims than the earlier Spanish chronicles and histories or the Cantar de Mio Cid, even though the absence of the theme of punishment for sin might appear to minimise this. Alfonso VII is God's chosen leader, sent to destroy the Almoravids and to preserve Spain for the Christians, and the use of Biblical language and incident and the implication of certain vital passages make this
purpose clear. In Book I, Alfonso himself urges the Toledan leaders not to spare the Moors (Sarraceni) and to fight for the Christian faith:

Iussitque alcaydis Toletanis et omnibus habitato-ribus totius Extremi facere exercitus assidue et dare Sarracenis infidelibus bellum per singulos annos et non parcere civitatibus vel oppidis eorum, sed totum avindicare Deo et legi christianae. [72]

A similar sentiment was expressed by Archbishop Bernardo and the people of Toledo in their prayers at times of peril in the reign of Urraca:

Unanimiter rogabant Dominum Deum ... ne ipsi darentur in captivitatem et gladium, et mulieres in divisionem, et infantes eorum in praedam, et civitas eorum in exterminium, et sancta lex Dei in opprobrium et in pollutionem et conculcationem. [101]

Two passages concentrate on the destruction of the Muslims' mosques and shrines, their books and places of learning, all of which furthered the cause of Islam. The description of an attack on town near Jaén does not conceal the violence:

Et miserunt ignem in omnibus villis quascumque inveniebant, et synagogas eorum destruxerunt, et libros legis Mahometi combuserunt igne; omnes viri doctores legis quicumque inventi sunt, gladio truncati sunt. [131]

The account is factual, but a similar episode, the recovery of the town of Coria from the Almoravids, indulges in more emotive language:

Postquam autem redditae est civitas imperatori, mundata est ab inmunditia barbaricae gentis et a contamina- tione Mahometis, et destructa omni spurcitia paganorum civitatis illius et templi sui. [161]

This passage and the two speeches quoted above are relatively rare in the CAI in opposing the corruption of Islam to the purity of Christianity. The author interprets the Reconquest as a struggle on behalf of the Christian religion, but the CAI is not allowed to develop into a polemic against the
Muslims. He does not represent them in a wholly unfavourable light, for he does not falsify or make fantastic their customs and behaviour. There is an absence from the CAI of the exoticism and diabolism inherent in their representation elsewhere: in the Chanson de Roland, for example, where the Muslims are an unknown quantity to the poet. The tone of the Poema de Almería, however, will be shown to be different from that of the two books of the CAI.

Language

The importance of language in the celebratory work has been exemplified in the study of the Historia Silense. In that work, classical borrowings were used to elevate the narrative to a level worthy of the deeds of Alfonso VI and the Astur-Leonese kings. The nobler and more exalted the form of expression, the seemingly more impressive the events narrated. The classical phraseology borrowed did not enhance the twelfth-century text by adding specific overtones derived from the content of the classical model, for it retained only a literal meaning in its new setting. Thus there was no equation between the historical context of the Leonese regnum-imperium and the Roman Empire in the time of Sallust nor that of the Frankish empire of Charlemagne. The only possible overlap occurred in the portrait of Fernando I which drew heavily on Einhard's biography of Charlemagne. Even in this instance, however, the majority of the qualities ascribed to both rulers were commonplaces of kingly virtue and behaviour in the twelfth century and it is evident that no specific intention to liken Fernando I to Charlemagne
was intended. The classical imitations of the *Historia Silense* thus serve two functions. They facilitate the narration of incident by widening the medieval author's range of expression and they lend the narrative greater weight and dignity by the use of classical constructions and vocabulary. A study of the contexts from which the borrowings were taken does not reveal any pattern of association and does not illumine significantly the themes developed in the work or the intention of the author. The language of the *CAI* poses a different problem, because thematic considerations determined the choice of work whose form was to be imitated. The events of the reign of Alfonso VII are narrated in language that directly recalls that of the historical chapters of the Vulgate Old Testament and Apocrypha. The Israelites fought the battles of the Lord against the Philistines, and, similarly, the Leonese-Castilians are representatives of Christendom in their struggle against the Almoravids, the forces of Islam. This is central to the writer's conception of his work and the language of the Vulgate runs through the whole of the narrative, influencing the choice of vocabulary and constructions and offering parallel scenes and incidents. There is thus always the possibility in the *CAI* of an equation of context between situations involving Alfonso VII, a chosen leader, and the various Biblical figures, David, Solomon and Judas Maccabeus, all representatives of a chosen people. The extent of the equation, however, and the effect of verbal borrowings on the work as a historical record remain to be determined. The majority of source passages have been located and they are detailed by Sánchez Belda in his edition.
What he does not do is to consider the literary function of these borrowings, which is necessary if the CAI is to be seen as an example of historical writing, rather than as a mere record of facts decked in Biblical trappings.

Forms of expression characteristic of the Vulgate exert a weighty influence on the CAI's language, but it is still possible to establish different categories of borrowings and imitations to show how they function in the narrative. Single words and short phrases, together with particular syntactical constructions, occur in every paragraph and determine the characteristic form of the language. Frequent are expressions having Biblical precedents such as invenire gratiam, vir strenuus, concludere in manu, cunctis diebus vitae suae.19 The syntax of the CAI bears no trace of classical influence, for there is a relative absence of subordinate clauses, ablative absolutes, past participles used as adjectives, all of which are characteristic of classical Latin writing. These features predominate in the rhetorically elaborate Historia Silense, whose style was influenced by Sallust and bears traces of Suetonius, via the medium of Einhard. The CAI's syntax is basically paratactic, consisting of series of main clauses linked by the simplest conjunctions, usually just by et. Word order too is thoroughly unclassical and might be considered a reflection of vernacular habits. Main verbs tend to follow the subject rather than to come toward the end of a clause, and there is an abundance of present
participles used in the manner of the gerundive in modern Spanish and the participle in French. It is however more likely that the Vulgate, rather than the increasing pressure of vernacular forms, exerted a direct influence on the CAI's language. One recurrent construction in particular betrays the influence of the Vulgate and exemplifies basic features of the CAI's syntax and word order. Notions of gesture and speech are often conveyed at dramatic moments by two verbs, either two main verbs or one main verb plus a present participle. The first usually consists of a physical description of the action or of one immediately prior to it, the second refers to it directly. Two expressions are used in this manner for the verb 'to see':

Reges et principes et duces et omnis exercitus, levaverunt occulos suos et viderunt imperatricem sedentem in solio regali et in convenienti loco.

[150]

In the Vulgate similar phraseology is employed: 'Levansque David oculos suos, vidit angelum Domini stantem inter coelum et terram' (I Chronicles xxx. 16). The CAI author also uses two expressions for the verb 'to shout': 'hi qui tenebant vexilla, clamabant excelsa voce et dicebant' [154], and two different verbs, but in the same construction, in the context: 'omnes ... levaverunt manus suas ad celum et dixerunt' [154]. The Old Testament Vulgate contains identical expressions, e.g. 'Levabo ad coelum manum meam, et dicam' (Deut. xxxii. 40), while the same chapter includes an example of two verbs conveying the notion of 'to say': 'Locutusque est Dominus ad Moysen ... dicens' (xxxii. 48).
A similar construction recurs in a different context where it refers specifically to the sending of messengers. The verb 'to send' is used, together with the present participle of the verb 'to say' in the accusative case, thus: 'miserunt nuntios ad regem Legionis dicentes' [13]. Parallels are found in the Vulgate, e.g. 'Miseruntque nuncios ad habitatores ... dicentes' (I Kings vi. 21).

The vocabulary and syntax of the Vulgate penetrate the CAI's language to such an extent that the work has the appearance of a pastiche of a historical chapter of the Old Testament. More extensive borrowings are also introduced, some of which are derived from particular passages and occur just once, while others recur with such frequency that they can be termed narrative motifs. These latter fall into definable categories and it is best to consider them before the individual borrowings.22

Narrative motifs

(1) Laying waste

The degree of stylisation in the CAI's numerous accounts of devastation is great. The basic phraseology takes the form: 'Eratque in diebus messis unde et succendit omnia sata, et omnes vineas et oliveta et ficulnea fecit incidi' [35].23 Variations occur such as: 'destruxitque terram eius atque praedavit et cremavit; vineas et arbusta fecit incidi'[81].24

(2) Siege

Descriptions of sieges vary in form, but the majority have precedents in the Vulgate. One expression is conspicuous,
for it uses an inclusive binary phrase, conveying the idea of entry and exit: 'et circumdedit rex castellum in circuitu muro magno et vallo, ita ut nullus poterat ingredi vel egressi' [24]. Other motifs also occur, for example in [130]: 'et aedificaverunt castellum et per circuitum muros altos et turres firmas'.

(3) Battle scenes

The majority of battle narratives in the CAI are composed of standard motifs, some of which the writer must have taken from the Vulgate because they harmonised with his conception of his work and of his hero. These motifs include phrases conveying notions of joining battle: 'ingravatum est proelium' [118], 'inito ... certamine' [121] and retreat and flight: 'caeteri fugerunt huc et illuc' [118], 'terga verterunt (Moabitae)' [129]. Other motifs, such as proelium committere or those referring to the drawing up of lines of battle — acies instruere and acies parare — can obviously be found elsewhere than in the Vulgate. Yet wherever parallels to the CAI's phraseology may occur, the history's tendency toward an extreme stylisation and schematisation in battle scenes cannot be denied. This can be judged from the recurrence of the motifs in more extensive examples:

Mane autem facto, inito certamine, terga verterunt christiani, et omnes milites et pedites mortui sunt, et non remanerunt ex eis nisi pauci, qui fugerunt pedibus equorum. [123]

Munio Adefonsi et socii sui commiserunt cum eis proelium, et statim Sarraceni victi sunt, et terga verterunt, et multi ex eis mortui sunt; et caeteri fugerunt huc et illuc. [179]
Omnes milites qui cum eis erant, paratis aciebus, exierunt obviam Sarracenis et invenerunt acies paganorum paratas ... Inito autem certamine, multi ceciderunt gladio ex his et illis. [180]

Et protinus, paratis aciebus, commiserunt bellum et ingravatum est proelium nimis. [192]

A similar tendency toward stylisation was observed in the Historia Roderici and a full summary of battle motifs is included in the section of this thesis dealing with the common stylistic features of the heroic biographies. 28

(4) Riches, including booty

Descriptions of wealth, whether in the form of presents or spoils, abound in the CAI, as they do in most medieval works on a heroic subject. The narrative motifs of the Alfonso VII work are based on phrases from the Vulgate, although they are usually augmented by items constituting part of the medieval conception of wealth. Zafir al-Dawla's gift to Alfonso VII: 'Deditque regi magna munera et gemmas pretiosissimas' [29], recalls that of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon: 'dedit ergo regi centum viginti talenta auri ... et gemmas pretiosas' (III Kings x. 10). Accounts of plundering usually take the form: 'Acceperunt autem argentum multum et aurum ... et vestes pretiosas, et arma optima ... et equos optimos' [168]. Detail varies; the spoils brought to the King-Emperor from lands near Jaén include: 'munera auri et argenti et vestes pretiosissimas et omnes locupletationes eorum et total supellectilem et magnos greges' [131]. The various descriptions recall phraseology in the Vulgate, in particular a passage from one of the writer's favourite books, Maccabees: 'et acceperunt aurum multum, et argentum,'
et hyacinthum, et purpuram marinam, et opes magnas' (I Maccabees iv. 23).

(5) Joyful return, reception

The medieval concern for outward and visible signs of splendour and for elaborate ceremonial as an expression of power and authority is reflected in the CAI's descriptions of the return of the King-Emperor's victorious forces and of his own triumphant receptions in towns and cities. There are two narrative motifs, but they have clear similarities. The return to Talavera of the royal army is described: 'reversi sunt unusquisque in sua cum magno gaudio et triumpho, laudantes et benedicentes Deum'\[^{[42]}\]. Semi-synonymous pairs such as 'laudantes et benedicentes' occur also in scenes of welcome, as for example when Alfonso VII is received into Saragossa:

\[\text{Omnes principes civitatis et tota plebs exierunt obviam ei cum tympanis, citharis et psalteriis et cum omni genere musicorum cantantes et dicentes: 'Benedictus qui venit'.} \]\[^{[65]}\]

Sánchez Belda notes that the similar passage in 157 is based on Daniel iii. 7 and reflects also Matthew xxii. 9, while that in [168] is based on I Maccabees iv. 24. The conspicuous binary phrase also occurs frequently in the Vulgate, e.g. 'prophetabat ... confitentes et laudantes Dominum' (I Chronicles xxv. 3); 'ad confitendum, et canendum Dominum' (I Chronicles xxiii. 30).\[^{[33]}\]

There are other narrative motifs in the CAI, referring to repeated actions such as the sending of messengers, taking counsel and pitching camp.\[^{[34]}\] Some of them have precedents in the Vulgate, but they occur so widely in other texts in the twelfth century and before, both in Spain
and outside, that it is pointless to consider them in the context of the CAI's borrowings from the Vulgate. It could even be objected that some narrative motifs need not have been derived directly from the Vulgate, but the writer's reliance upon it as a suitable quarry for phraseology imposes that consideration. This assumption cannot be made in the case of a different work of the same period, the Historia Roderici, for example, where the language of the Vulgate weighs less heavily on the historian's form of expression and does not form part of the total conception of his work.

The narrative motifs of the CAI that have precedents in the Vulgate perform a clearly definable function. They constitute the basic units of the history's language, creating the atmosphere in which the events of the Reconquest are presented. They reflect the writer's conception of his subject, drawing an implicit parallel between the war against the Almoravids and the various struggles of the Israelites. Clearly, the borrowing of such basic phraseology does not involve an equation of context between the twelfth-century narrative and the Biblical one at any particular point. No specific overtones are lent to those passages containing narrative motifs and no patterns of association are therefore created in the CAI. Other passages contain a single borrowing whose precise source can be traced. Such passages vary in length from an isolated phrase to an entire paragraph and the borrowings that they contain function in the narrative in one of two distinct ways. The first group of these more extensive
borrowings, like the narrative motifs, do not convey specific associations and are introduced in the same manner as the classical phraseology of the Historia Silense to facilitate and ennoble the historical account, but they do recreate the spirit of the Old Testament histories. The second group of borrowings, however, recall well-known Biblical incidents, doubtless recognisable to contemporary readers who would have been able to place them in their original contexts.

The CAI's battle descriptions are generally based on those of the historical chapters of the Vulgate. The degree of stylisation is high; consequently the Biblical phraseology can only occasionally be traced to a specific source. The account of a skirmish between the forces of Count Rodrigo González and the Almoravids is such an exception, for it is composed of elements of a battle scene involving Bacchides and Judas Maccabeus. The CAI's account is however little more than an arrangement of narrative motifs:

Et movit exercitus de castris et steterunt Sarracenis obviam, et divisi sunt pedites christianorum in duas acies, et viri sagitarii et fundibularii cum eis; et princi certaminis omnes potentes et deinde acies militum Aviliae contra acies Arabum. [120] 36

An identical technique is used in the subsequent description of the siege of Aceca, which is based on the account in Maccabees of the siege of Mount Sion:

Et aedificaverunt castellum et per circuitum muros altos et turres firmas, ne quando venirent Moabitae e Agareni conculcarent illud, sicut ante fecerunt. [130]

The adaptation is skilfully managed, as Sánchez Belda points out, for just as Aceca is substituted for Sion, Bethsuram is replaced by Toledo, Idumea by Oreja:
A contemporary reader, if he recognised the source of either of the two passages cited, would not find his reading greatly enhanced as a result. No fixed pattern of association is created between the source passages in the Vulgate and those in the CAI. Only one reliable link can be established between the figures in the history and the Biblical characters suggested by the medieval writer's borrowings, i.e. a parallel between Alfonso VII and the various Israelite leaders. Passages in [8], [17] and [193] associate the King-Emperor with David, in [13] with Moses and in [29] with Solomon, while his forces in [135] are linked to the Israelite forces in conflict with Benjamin (I Judges xx). Passages from Maccabees recur throughout; some, but not all, link Alfonso VII's generals to that hero. These broad associations are in accord with the writer's providential view of history and with his conception of his hero as a chosen leader, both ideas that he had in common with the Hebrew writers. No more precise system of analogy can be determined, and indeed in some instances if direct association had been intended, it would have contradicted the basic pattern. The important episode of Fraga and the death of Alfonso I of Aragon contains features recalling the deaths of both Antiochus and Judas Maccabeus. The former association is logical, for Antiochus was the enemy of Judas, who elsewhere is linked to the Leonese leaders. El Batallador's death is thus described: 'iussit claudere portas et prae magna tristitia cecidit in lecto' [58], where the phraseology recalls the fate of Antiochus. Yet the lament
for the King's death: 'Heu rex! quomodo cecidisti qui salvos nos faciebas!' [61] suggests Israel's lament for Judas: 'Quomodo cecidisti potens, qui salvum faciebat populum Israel!' (I Maccabees ix. 21). The Aragonese would thus be linked to the Israelites, if the association were pursued. A similar inconsistency is possible in paragraph [10] of the CAI, when messengers of Alfonso of Aragon make a request of Alfonso VII:

Avunculus tuus rex Aragonensis dicit tibi: Dimite me pacifice ire in terram meam; non declinabo neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram, sed per rectam gradiar viam.

The phraseology recalls that of the request of the messengers of Moses on behalf of the Israelites who wished to proceed through the lands of the King of Edom. [39] The Aragonese would again be associated with the Israelites, rather than the Leonese, who in this instance would be linked to Israel's enemies.

The majority of the writer's borrowings are well suited and well adapted wherever necessary to their new context, but there are exceptions. The speech of the Leonese generals to a group of soldiers, cut off from their fellows by the swollen river Guadalquivir, is vastly inflated:

Vos videtis, quia magnum chaos firmatum est inter nos et vos: nec vos poteritis transire ad nos, nec nos possumus ire ad vos. [133]

The Biblical language does not suit the small-scale situation, while the associations of the speech - Abraham and the rich man Epulon dialoguing between Heaven and hell - would render it quite absurd, if these were intended. [40]
The CAI author's use of the language of the Vulgate is best applied to the recreation of celebrated Biblical incidents and speeches. The contemporary reader well versed in the scriptures can be assumed to have recognised the passage that served as the model and to have appreciated any additional meaning that this might have brought to the narrative. In certain scenes or speeches this may have been very little, for the lament for Alfonso I of Aragon, for example, risks contradicting the very general pattern of association linking Alfonso VII to the Israelite leaders. The reader's familiarity with the model passages and with their intrinsic significance would have served only to heighten a reading of the corresponding passage in the CAI. This second group of extended borrowings is better illustrated by the lament for the death of Muño Alfonso, which is based on the celebrated planctus of David for Saul and Jonathan. The manner of the Leonese general's death echoes throughout that of Saul, even including the description of the fate of his corpse [182-3] which recalls the atrocities of the Philistines. Muño Alfonso is lamented by his wife and by the other widows of Toledo:

O Munio Adefonsi, nos dolemus super te: sicut mulier unicum amat maritum, ita Toletana civitas te diligebat. Clipeus tuus nuncum declinavit in bello, et hasta tua nuncum redit retrorsum; ensis tuus non est reversus inanis. Nolite annuntiare mortem Munionis Adefonsi in Corduba et in Sibilia, neque annuntietis in domo regis Texufini, ne forte laetentur filiae Moabitarum et exultent filiae Agarenorum et contristentur filiae Toletanorum. [184]

The lament of David was one of the most famous models for the planctus in the Middle Ages and the CAI writer's skill lies in his adaptation of the Biblical text to the circumstances
of twelfth-century Toledo. He condenses a much longer passage into three basic units, telling of the love that Muño Alfonso inspired and his prowess in war, and contrasting the attitudes of Muslim and Christian women to his death. He also succeeds in preserving the dignified language and characteristic parallel phrasing of the original.42

The recreation of passages from the Old Testament Vulgate heightens the impact of the CAI's more dramatic scenes and raises its narrative level even further above that of a chronicle. It is noticeable that the majority of these set pieces occur in speeches, a feature that corresponds to the relation between narrative and dialogue in the Bible. Other passages that recreate a celebrated model include the scene between Muño Alfonso and the Moorish slave[178], which is based upon David's finding of the Egyptian slave;43 the Emperor's expression of his innocence of the murder of Zafir al-Dawla [193] in the words of David after the death of Abner;44 Zafir al-Dawla's greeting to Alfonso VII [29], which recalls that of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. This last scene demonstrates again the harmonisation of the Biblical and Hispanic contexts, for no inconsistency or contradiction results from the equation of the two passages:

Verus est sermo quem audivi de te in Rota, de sapientia et de misericordia, quae est in te, et de pace quae est in regno tuo, et de divitiis tuis: beati viri tui et beati principes tui, qui tecum habitant et qui sunt in regno tuo. [29]45

The portrait of Alfonso VII gains by this praise, which conveys the impression of awe surrounding the figure of the King-Emperor and attributes to him qualities - wisdom,
mercy and by implication a natural sense of justice - that are deemed characteristic of him and Solomon. No direct comparison is made, but the CAI's passage contains an implicit simile.

The CAI author uses the language of the Vulgate as a means of enhancing his account of Alfonso VII's career and also to suggest comparisons with Biblical situations. No pattern of association emerges that links one historical figure with a particular Biblical counterpart, but the form of expression chosen functions throughout as one half of a simile. The extent of the comparison depends upon the nature of the borrowing. A passage such as that discussed immediately above contains an indirect but quite specific comparison that allows the implications of the model passage in the third book of Kings to affect the history's narrative. The same applies to the women's lament for Muño Alfonso. The other classes of borrowing affect the significance of the narrative rather less. Some provide little more than a convenient means of expressing a given idea, while the comparisons latent in the passage cannot be taken very far. Yet even the narrative motifs offer some degree of comparison, which the Historia Silense's classical borrowings did not, for they recall a world of religious struggle in which God is considered to intervene on behalf of one side. The interruption of the fundamental chronological narrative by the extended borrowings recalling particular Biblical scenes and speeches is the most conspicuous feature that typifies the fictionalisation of history that takes place in the CAI.
This process can also be illustrated by defining the impact of the various types of borrowing on the CAT considered as a historical document. The narrative motifs in particular create a highly stylised form of expression that restricts the particularisation of many accounts of battles, sieges and other repeated incidents. This need not undermine the work's historical fidelity, but it limits it as a source of historical data. The author's desire to present his own view of the Reconquest and of the growth of the imperium predominates over his critical historical sense. The evidence of the CAT cannot therefore be relied upon, especially in episodes concerning the King-Emperor himself, where the recreation of the Biblical world is most effective. The frequent descriptions of triumphal processions and the singing of hymns of praise are obvious instances. The account of Alfonso VII's arrival in Toledo, for example, has been taken as evidence of the existence of a popular celebratory literature in three languages, since the hymns were sung by Christians, Moors and Jews. Salvador Martínez regrets that the historian did not record the actual words or even the precise content of the songs, but substituted for the 'cantos profanos', which both he and Amador believe were sung, hymns based on Biblical models: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, et benedictus tu et uxor tua etc.' [157]. This element of the description is clearly non-historical, for the words are deliberately chosen to extol two particular virtues of the Emperor: his mercy and tolerance, while the Jews and Moors would not have sung in Latin in any case. Yet to what extent is the rest of the
account reliable? Sánchez Belda records that the passage is based on Daniel iii. 7 which includes a reference to the sound of musical instruments and to a congregation of various races and tongues: 'ut audierunt omnes populi sonitum tubae ... omnes populi, tribus, et linguae adoraverunt statuam'. The crowd scenes of the CAI were intended to recall such descriptions and their various elements and narrative motifs coincide. It is therefore exceedingly difficult to determine the point where the historical account of the twelfth-century event ends and the pastiche of the Vulgate begins and consequently whether the vital detail of the songs sung in the three languages was an element of both, or was derived solely from the source. It seems over optimistic to claim as historically verified details such as the existence of a popular celebratory literature in three languages, which occur in the CAI's most stylised passages. What emerges from these doubts is a further justification for approaching the work as a history and not as a factual record of deeds and events. The extensive use of the language of the Vulgate allows every incident to be presented in accord with the writer's historico-theological interpretation of the Reconquest and it therefore reinforces the conception of history expressed by the two traditional themes sustained in the narrative.

Additional features of the portrayal of Alfonso VII

The Biblical language of the CAI is the most conspicuous feature of the history that establishes it as a celebratory work. The writer also employs various other means to carry
further his aim of recounting and praising the deeds of Alfonso VII. He attributes to him some of the qualities customary in the portrayal of the medieval monarch, while adding certain details that suggest his status as God's chosen leader and as ruler on earth. The impression created by his own virtue is further strengthened by a contrast with its absence in his enemies and in those opposing his will. The author also uses motifs and devices common to other celebratory works, including the vernacular epic, such as descriptions of crowds rejoicing in the hero's presence, references to the extent of his rule and influence and a historical perspectivism that permits unflattering incidents to be incorporated in the history without detriment to the portrait as a whole.

Many of the virtues and qualities traditionally ascribed to the ideal medieval monarch have emerged from consideration of the portrayal of Fernando I in the Historia Silense and of Alfonso VI in Pelayo's Crónica. Fernando was recognised for his devotion to the Christian religion, manifested in his rich gifts to churches, his foundation of San Isidoro de León, his protection of the clergy, pilgrims and the poor and needy. Pelayo highlighted Alfonso VI's safeguarding of the church and his upholding of the law of the land, which permitted traders and pilgrims to pass through his realm in safety. Some of the more specifically pious virtues are attributed in the CAI to the family of the King-Emperor, his wife and sister:

Et erant timentes Deum multum et aedificatores ecclesiarum Dei et monasteriorum monachorum et gubernatrices orphanorum et pauperum et amatores omnium timentium Deum. [12].
These more familiar topics of kingly praise are not mentioned elsewhere in the CAI and they are not attributed in this stylised form to Alfonso VII himself. He is however portrayed as the bringer and guarantor of peace in his kingdom and as the upholder of justice. The expulsion of the Aragonese from Castile allowed domestic life and the cultivation of the land to be resumed:

Et directa est salus et pax magna in universo regno suo et omnes habitatores coeperunt aedificare domos et plantare vineas et omnia arbusta et populare totam terram, quam rex Aragonensis destruxerat, et facta est magna laetitia in omni regno suo. [26]

Reference to the peaceful countryside parallels Pelayo's pictorial image of the woman journeying unmolested through the hills and dales of León-Castile in the reign of Alfonso VI. The role of the king as rey justiciero had become traditional in medieval Europe by the twelfth century. Sampiro, for example, had spoken a century and a half earlier of Vermudo II as a man who:

Leges a Vambano principe conditas firmuit; canones aperire iussit; dilexit misericordiam et iudicium; reprobare malum studuit et eligere bonum.48

Alfonso VII emerges from the CAI a rey justiciero, just as his grandfather was represented by Pelayo, for both were seen as rulers who ensured the enforcement of the law of the land and its application to all wrongdoers, rich and poor. The CAI writer gives a comprehensive account of Alfonso VII's actions as law maker, referring in the judicial context to his maintenance of the rights and privileges of churches, a duty that is otherwise omitted:

Deditque imperator mores et leges in universo regno suo; sicut fuerunt in diebus avi sui regis domni Adefonsi; iussitque restituere universis ecclesiis omnes habitatores et familias, quas perdiderant sine
iuditio et iustitia; praecepitque villas et terras, quae fuerant destructae in tempore bellorum, populare, et plantare vineas et omnia arbusta; iussitque omnibus iudicibus stricte vitia eradicare in illis hominibus qui contra iustitiam et decreta regum et principum et potestatum et iudicum invenirentur, at illi alios in lignis suspendentes, alios truncatis manibus aut pedibus relinquentes: non divitibus vel generosis plusquam pauperibus parcentes, sed totum secundum modum culpae discernentes, iuste iudicaverunt. [71]

A fuller picture of the twelfth-century monarch as the source and upholder of justice would be hard to envisage. The stern figure of Alfonso VI is explicitly recalled, as indeed are the harsh penalties which were a distinctive feature of his form of justice. The CAI writer includes more factual detail than Pelayo, for he tells how such executions actually took place: 'et in conspectu omnium, capti sunt aliqui operarii iniquitatis et suspensi sunt in patibulis' [71]. Pelayo was more impressionistic, representing Alfonso VI as a monarch who inspired such terror in the hearts of malefactors that they dared not appear before him. It is clear that a coherent image of the ideal twelfth-century monarch has emerged from the portraits in the three historical works particularly devoted to royal personages, in spite of their differences in technique and style. The monarch's virtues fell into two spheres: the religious, which included his own faithful observance and his protection of churches and monasteries, together with their dependents, and the secular, which consisted primarily of his maintenance of law and order and his protection of all lands within the borders of his kingdom. These characteristics were all thoroughly traditional and it is possible to trace their evolution at least as far back as Einhard's Vita Karoli Magni that exerted
so great an influence upon the representation of royal personages in historical writing. Book III of the *Vita* details the Emperor's care for the Church and his own good works and refers also to the improvements that he instituted in the Frankish legal system, including the recording of unwritten laws and the devising of new ones.

The CAI's portrayal of Alfonso VII departs in some respects from the semi-stylised figures projected by the author of the *Historia Silense* and by Pelayo. In spite of the principal subject matter of his work, the writer does not point to qualities that distinguished Alfonso VII as a warrior king, for he includes no assessment of his bravery and courage, nor of his skill as a tactician or general. He prefers to project those virtues proper to the King-Emperor as a chosen individual. From the time of Charlemagne, the concept of divinely ordained kingship had prevailed in Europe, until in the period of the Ottonian emperors in Germany the king was considered God's deputy, his *vicarius*, on earth. The concept assumes especial relevance in the CAI in as much as it had developed, as Colin Morris has indicated, by analogy with the Davidic concept of the Old Testament. It is logical that the medieval ruler, if his power was of divine origin, should have been recognised as the power of God on earth and have been expected to possess divine qualities and virtues himself.

The CAI author emphasises one of the attributes that Sampiero mentioned in his praise of Vermudo II, that of mercy or compassion. There is nothing remarkable about the
attribution of that virtue to a monarch, for it is a prerequisite of any good Christian, as was made clear in the explanation of Muño Alfonso's death: 'et non fuit misertus filiae suae sicut Dominus misericors erat' [185]. In the CAI, mercy becomes a criterion of real merit, its absence a reason for censure, and it thus serves to distinguish the behaviour of various protagonists. Its divine quality is again referred to when the Castilians thank God for sparing them from Aragonese domination: 'Et omnes ... glorificaverunt Deum dicentes "Quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius"' [17]. Alfonso VII succeeds in combining his role as rey justiciero with the Christian duty of showing compassion, thus tempering the strict justice of the temporal monarch with mercy. This trait of his personality is most frequently evidenced in his personal dealings with his rebellious vassals. Pedro Díaz recognises the guilt inherent in his opposition to the King and appeals for mercy, which is immediately granted him: "... sed tu accipe de me tuam vindictam secundum tuam misericordiam". Hoc audito, rex, sicut solitus erat, misericordia motus est' [20]. Alfonso VII's compassion is exemplified on another three occasions and his magnanimity further underlined by the favours that he bestowed on those who surrendered. Rodrigo Gómez was well received after he became a monk [37], Gonzalo Peláez was granted the fief of Luna [45], while Count Rodrigo de Lara was even appointed governor of Toledo, receiving in addition 'magnos honores in Extremo et in Castella' [23]. On several occasions and in various contexts, the King-Emperor's divine status appears to be confirmed by the use of specific words that have or can have a religious sense.
It is possible that a Biblical passage may lie behind the plea for mercy of Pedro Díaz, although Sánchez Belda does not suggest any borrowing. Certainly his words convey overtones of the sinner confessing to God:

At Petrus Didaci, cum videret se nimis oppressum, coepit clamare et dicere regi: "Domine mi rex, ego sum reus in te et culpabilis: deprecor te per Deum, Qui te in omnibus adivat". [20]

The mention of God himself in the immediate context could undermine this one case, but there are other passages where the phraseology suggests a religious meaning as well as the literal one. The use of the word 'kingdom' in Alfonso's offer to the rebels is one such example: 'Pacifice vos suscipiam et eritis magni in regno meo si turrem michi sine bello tradideritis'[3]. It is not unnatural that God's chosen agent, even if he is not explicitly portrayed as his vicarius, should be treated in a manner befitting God himself, especially when the agent shows divine qualities. Alfonso VII is the means by which the divine plan is realised and opposition to him entails opposition to God, while obedience automatically implies obedience to God also. This equation is logical in the portrayal of a hero of God and the use of words with a possible double sense is no less logical. In this way the King-Emperor's divine status is confirmed and the figure of the earthly ruler gains stature.

The verb timere may be used in this way, for fear of the Lord is one of the beatitudes: 'Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum' (Psalm cxii. 1) and it is also the beginning of wisdom: 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini' (Psalm cxii. 10).

Some of the Castilians who were threatened with Aragonese
domination took the first opportunity to follow. Alfonso VII: 'et omnes vicini ... coeperunt timere regem et obedire ei' [17]. A fear of the King is their first step as his vassals. An opposite to timere is the verb blasphemare which refers to the actions and attitudes of some of the rebellious Leonese nobility. They opposed not only Alfonso VII himself, but Count Rodrigo Martínez who was carrying out the King's orders to subjugate dissidents. The latter's irreverence is mentioned twice. They first refuse to obey the King's general: 'sed qui intus erant dicebant multas blasphemias comiti Roderico' [19], but eventually they surrendered and some were punished: 'sed illos, qui blasphemabant eum, fecit iungere cum bobus et arare et pascere herbas' [21].

One of the most conspicuous examples of this technique involves the use of the verb benedicere in contexts where it is applied to the King-Emperor rather than to God. The CAI writer frequently describes scenes of rejoicing, such as the return of troops, thus: 'et his peractis reversi sunt unusquisque in sua cum magni gaudio et triumpho, laudantes et benedicentes Deum' [42]. A clear parallel exists between such descriptions and similar scenes where the King-Emperor is the object of praise and devotion. After the dissolution of the council of Toledo, the members departed:

Abierunt unusquisque in sua cum gaudio cantantes et benedicentes imperatorem et dicentes: "Benedictus tu et benedictum regnum patrum tuorum et benedictus Deus excelsus" [72].

Such scenes are especially relevant in the CAI because they can be linked to another feature characteristic of the celebratory work: the description of crowds at a grand
occasion. The importance of the outward and visible in the confirmation of the order and hierarchy of medieval society cannot be underestimated. Morris points to the role of ceremony and ritual in the realisation of the notion of divine kingship: 'They [the Ottonians] saw themselves as God's deputies on earth, a concept vividly expressed in ceremonies such as solemn crown wearings and the Laudes Regiae. The monarch was seated in majesty, while the choir sang the praises of Christ and the king'.\textsuperscript{52} The crowd scenes of the CAI are celebratory in a double sense. They represent a social reality that confirmed and exalted the divine status of the monarch in times of victory and on special occasions such as royal marriages and coronations. In the work itself the celebratory function is typified by the extended form of the description. Enumerations are usually employed, consisting of binary or even tripartite phrases conveying the notion of the whole of society, aristocracy and proletariat, or of a particular section of it, in terms of its constituent elements.\textsuperscript{53} The description of Alfonso VII's reception in Saragossa uses just one binary phrase, but it is nonetheless elaborate, containing references to musical instruments and ending with praises sung to the King in the form of a Benedictus:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Caeterum ... omnis populus ... omnes principes civitatis et tota plebs exierunt obviam ei cum tympanis, citharis et psalteriis et cum omni genere musicorum cantantes et dicentes: "Benedictus qui venit, et benedictus ipse et regnum patrum suorum, et benedictum regnum Legionis, et benedicta misericordia regis et patientia sua".}[65]
\end{quote}

A very similar scene is depicted when the King-Emperor is received in triumph into Toledo, except that the elements of
the throng have increased:

Omnis populus ... omnes principes christianorum et Sarracenorum et Iudaeorum, et tota plebs civitatis, longe a cititate exierunt obviam ei ... unusquisque eorum secundum linguam suam laudantes et glorificantes Deum ... necnon et dicentes: "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini". [157]

The declaration of the Empire and the coronation of Alfonso VII as Emperor affords another opportunity for the writer to celebrate the ruler's power and authority, just as it is affirmed by the mass of society: 'archiepiscopi, episcopi et abbates et omnes nobiles et ignobiles et omnis plebs iuncti sunt' [70]. The ceremony ends with the singing of the praises in honour of both God and the Emperor by the assembled throng: 'cantantes "Te Deum laudamus" usque ad finem et dicentes "Vivat Adefonsus Imperator"' [70]. Such scenes of mass celebration, even though they were familiar social phenomenon in the Middle Ages, are evidence of that 'sentimiento de jactancia y vanagloria' of Alfonso VII's reign of which Menéndez Pidal spoke.

The portrait of the King-Emperor is enhanced by the implicit contrast that is drawn between him and his Christian opponents, particularly Alfonso I of Aragon. The two themes of the CAI, that of the chosen individual and that of temporal punishment for sin, serve as the main means of pointing the difference between the two monarchs. Two significant details highlight the distinction by alluding to the failings or vices of el Batallador that complement the qualities of Alfonso VII. The Aragonese monarch is portrayed as untrustworthy; indeed he is a liar and a perjurer, since he broke his word pledged at the peace of Tábara. This failing is
recognised by the Muslim Zafir al-Dawla, when he learns of the broken agreement:

\[
\text{Et personuerunt in auribus eius ... quomodo ipse rex Aragonensis iuraverat dare ei i.e. to Alfonso VII suum regnum et quomodo mentitus est et periurus factus est. [27]}
\]

The opinion of the Muslim gains relevance, for he also offers praise of Alfonso VII when he meets him, mentioning not only his mercy, but also his wisdom: 'Verus est sermo quem audivi ... de sapientia et de misericordia, quae est in te' [29]. Zafir al-Dawla refers in addition to the state of peace that reigns in the kingdom, confirming the view of the King-Emperor as the source of justice and a bringer of peace: 'Verus est sermo ... de pace quae est in regno tuo'. Alfonso VII's virtues are heightened by the speech, while the Aragonese monarch emerges all the more unfavourably, for implicitly he is considered beneath the Moor. In the same way the magnanimity of Avengalvón emphasises the baseness and treachery of the Infantes de Carrión in the Cantar de Mio Cid.

The King-Emperor's quality of misericordia can also on one occasion be set against an explicit reference to the hard-heartedness of el Batallador. Before the battle of Fraga, he receives a plea from the Almoravids and other imprisoned Muslims that they might surrender the town and go free. The King refuses 'quia Deus induraverat cor eius' [53]. It might be argued that it is irrelevant and even optimistic to posit such a contrast between the two monarchs at this point, especially as it is God who hardened the heart of Alfonso of Aragon. Another verbal echo, however,
confirms the original impression. The passage also tells of the King's projected treatment of the Muslims and refers specifically to his lack of compassion:

Sed volebat civitatem capere et omnes nobiles Sarracenorum subire capitalem sententiam et uxores et filios pariter esse captivos: divitiasque illorum rapi absque misericordia regio iureiurando asseruit. [53]

Alfonso I's cruelty and heartlessness must be seen in contrast to the justice tempered with mercy exercised by the King-Emperor in all his dealings.

The last passage suggests a further device used by the writer to enhance the portrait of Alfonso VII, that of historical perspectivism. This aspect of the celebratory work has rarely been mentioned in the context of this thesis and only obvious examples of glosses covering an unseemly incident have been included. It is clear that the CAI writer refuses to recognise the merit of Alfonso el Batallador's attack on the Almoravids at Fraga. He concentrates solely on interpreting the event according to his own historical outlook and to his fundamental aim of celebrating the deeds of the Leonese King-Emperor. The efforts of the King of Aragon are doomed to failure because the defeat at Fraga is God's punishment for the frustration that he caused to Alfonso VII's plans. The former's hard-heartedness toward the Almoravids would have been seen in the latter as a positive quality, as resolution in carrying out the divine intention. This very lack of feeling even emphasises the justice manifest in the defeat of the Aragonese and their monarch's death.
Incidents that might reflect poorly on Alfonso VII have to be harmonised with the writer's interpretation of the Reconquest and his conception of his hero. The King's entry into Saragossa is one such dubious incident. Ubieto Arteta has suggested that he took advantage of the chaos in Aragon that followed the death of Alfonso I, for the latter, heirless, had left his kingdom to the military orders. The throne was then disputed by García Ramírez of Navarre and Ramiro el Monje, one of whom seized lands including Pamplona and Nájera, while the other was elected monarch in Aragon conjointly by a council and popular assembly. Alfonso VII soon occupied Nájera and not long afterwards he entered Saragossa, justified, Ubieto suggests, by the rights of his ancestors that had lapsed during the reign of el Batallador. Ramiro II was not in a strong enough position to resist: 'El aragones se había sentido incapaz de defender Zaragoza, y se veía obligado a reconocer "de facto", aunque no "de iure", el señorío de leoneses y castellanos dentro de la ciudad'. The CAI's account of these events is rather different. Alfonso VII entered Nájera with the full consent of the inhabitants who, according to Joaquín Traggia, surrendered out of fear of the Moors who had advanced as far as Saragossa. This is no more than an insinuation, but the idea lies constantly behind the narrative. The writer justifies the King's action by stating that the lands were his in any case: 'quae debeat esse sub conditione regis Legionis' [63]. Fear of the Almoravids is given as the explicit explanation of the submission of Ramiro II, for the Aragonese were in a state of panic, 'in magno pavore...
et in tremore' [63]. The writer succeeds in representing Alfonso VII's policy of imperial expansion in Christian lands as an illustration of his protection of fellow Christians and of his determination to hold back the Muslims. The episode also serves to illustrate once more his compassion, which he sees as his own justification: 'Eamus in Aragonia et faciamus misericordiam cum fratre nostro rege Radimiro et prebeamus ei consilium et adiutorium' [63]. There also arises an opportunity of celebrating Alfonso VII's qualities and prowess outside León-Castile, and the inevitable triumphant reception is described as he enters Saragossa:

Sed rex Radimirus et omnes nobiles magnates palatii sui, et episcopi et abbates et omnis plebs, ut audierunt quod rex Legionis veniret in terram suam, exierunt obviam ei et susceperunt eum cum magno honore et servierunt ei.

He is welcomed by the throng who sing his praises in the form of the customary Benedictus: 'Benedictus qui venit ... et benedicta misericordia regis et patientia sua'[64].

Traggia perceived a flaw in this account, for it is evident that if the Muslims had forced the Aragonese into such a perilous position; Ramiro II and his court would have found it very difficult to make the journey from Jaca, where their King was elected, to Saragossa where they received their new lord. Nevertheless, the CAT writer glosses over the more dubious aspects of Alfonso VII's advance into Aragon and succeeds in turning the situation to his subject's advantage, exemplifying not his territorial aspirations, but his qualities as the hero of God. The extent of the departure from the historical situation cannot easily be determined, as the events are complex, but the presence
of the writer's point of view in the account is abundantly clear.

The final aspect of the author's celebratory technique has relatively little importance within the CAI itself, but it assumes a greater significance in the broader context of twelfth-century writing. The work contains several references to the extent of Alfonso VII's realm or of his influence, which emphasise its wide spread by listing all his various territories individually. Just before the declaration of the imperium, a passage is devoted to enumerating the French vassals of Alfonso VII, referring to their lands and by implication to the wide extent of the future Emperor's influence:

Omnes optimates, qui erant per totam Gasconiam et per totam illam terram usque ad flumen Rodanis, et Guillelmus de Montpesulano unanimous venerunt ad regem ... et omnes subditi sunt ei et obediebant in cunctis. Et multi filii comitum Franciae et ducum et potestatum et Pictavi multi venerunt ad eum ... et facti sunt termini regni Adefonsi regis Legonis a mare magno Occean, quod est a Patrono Sancti Iacobi, usque ad fluvium Rodani. [68]

His influence in a very different direction is implied, but not stated, much later when he declares his complete innocence in the murder of Zafir al-Dawla:

Et cognoverunt omnes christiani et Sarraceni ab Arabia, quae est iuxta flumen Iordanis, usque ad mare Oceanum quod imperator nunguam conscius extitit mortis regis Zafadolae. [193]

Reference to the extent of the King-Emperor's power and authority within his own territory occurs most frequently in the context of the issuing of a royal proclamation. This message travels to all parts of the realm, formerly separate kingdoms; that now make up the Empire. The practice of kings of dividing their kingdom among their sons
and the subsequent struggle for reunification make this motif not merely a hollow piece of laudatory amplification, but an expression of a historical fact. The new King's efforts to pacify dissidents results in a proclamation to rally support against the rebels:

Rex Legionis Adefonsus festinus iussit intónare voces et praecoria regia per Galletiam et Asturias et per totam terram Legionis et Castellae. [9]

Similar phraseology is used when Alfonso VII summons forces to go to war against Navarre:

Deinde venit in Castellam et iussit intonare regalia praecoria per totam terram Legionis et Castellae, ut mediato mense maio omnes milites et pedites iterum essent congregati in Naiara ad debellandum regem Garsiam [90].

The narrative motif of the royal proclamation is found in other celebratory works, notably in the vernacular epic, where it again serves to emphasise the extent of the ruler's sway. In the Cantar de Mio Cid, Alfonso VI issues a proclamation to summon the cortes that will give justice to the Cid:

Non lo detiene por nada Alfonso el Castellano, enbla sus cartas pora Leon e a Santi Yaguo a los portogaleses e a galizianos e a los de Carrion e a varones castellanos. (2976-9)

The epic also underlines the extent of Alfonso VI's kingdom when it refers to him in the following terms:

Rey es de Castiella e rey es de Leon e de las Asturias bien a San Calvador, fasta dentro en Santi Yaguo de todo es señor e llos condes gallizianos a el tienen por señor. (2923-6)

The device of enumerating individuals present at an event or lands ruled or enfeoffed is used to its greatest extent in the third part of the CAl, in the Poema de Almería.
The CAI is the most fully developed celebratory work among the Hispano-Latin histories of the twelfth century, even though it aims to narrate the events of only a single reign. It shows evidence of an underlying chronicle form, but this is transcended in the various ways that have been demonstrated so that the work becomes a prose panegyric of the Leonese King-Emperor. Its scope within the limited historical period is wider than that of the other histories and the earlier chronicles, for much space is devoted to historical protagonists other than the King-Emperor. This study has dwelt upon the portrayal of the monarch because it is that feature which links it to other contemporary Latin writings. Yet this does not do full justice to the CAI's account, for it ignores the group of warriors surrounding Alfonso VII. Various references are made to these heroes whose own prowess both contributes to and reflects the glory of the King-Emperor himself. Zafir al-Dawla refers to them, when greeting his new lord, as 'beati viri tui et beati principes tui, qui tecum habitant et qui sunt in regno tuo' [29]. The full importance attached to the secondary protagonists can be measured by the extensive treatment of the death of Muño Alfonso, which is lamented at length by the women of Toledo and which causes the King-Emperor such great sadness. He is consoled by his own men who recall to him that 'multi similes Munionis Adefonsi, et meliores, sunt in regno tuo' [186]. The inclusion of an array of excellent warriors is characteristic of epic poetry and it is a feature of both the Cantar de Mio Cid and the Chanson de Roland. The virtues and abilities of Rodrigo,
for example, are reflected in those of the prominent members of his mesnada: Álvar Fáñez, Martín Antolínez and Pedro Bermúdez. This aspect of the CAI, the portrayal of a whole generation of heroes, closes the gap created by the lack of epic poetry devoted to the deeds of the King-Emperor in the Reconquest.

The writer's laudatory technique includes numerous devices and motifs, of which the major ones are all evidenced in other writings in Christian Spain during the same period, but not within one text. Events are interpreted in the light of two basic historiographical themes which are directly linked to the main protagonist and his position in the work. These two themes are related to the disposition of material and to the final form of the history. The writer's conception of his hero's role is reinforced by the use of language recalling a different historical context, but one aptly paralleling events in twelfth-century Spain. Grammatical forms, turns of phrase and vocabulary characteristic of the Vulgate increase the writer's range of expression, while model passages that are adapted to the Reconquest context introduce high points of dramatic incident. This produces a dignified narrative and one not devoid of emotional overtones in passages such as that which tells of the death of Muño Alfonso. All incidents are interpreted so as to praise the King-Emperor as a hero of God, and even unfavourable ones are speciously presented so as not to harm the total effect. This single perspective ensures the unity of the whole work and illustrates the historico-theological conception of history as the revelation of the divine plan.
of which every incident is an integral part.

(b) The *Poema de Almería*

The three hundred and eighty-five hexameters of the *Poema de Almería* must be seen as an extensive section within the CAI, whose function is almost entirely celebratory. The poem contains little action or incident, although narrative elements do occur after 1.281. It remains unknown whether a decisive action was included which served as a climax, for the poem is interrupted after three words of 1.373, apparently because the last eight sheets were removed from a manuscript at an early stage in the transmission of the text. Except for the isolated incidents narrated after 1.281, the *Poema* is almost totally static. It consists of a review of the forces that assembled at the command of Alfonso VII to lay siege to the Moorish fortress of Almería, which was also the stronghold of pirates operating in the Mediterranean. Such an enumeration, often occurring prior to a battle description, is a motif common to both literary and heroic epic, although it is generally more elaborate in the former. Edmond Faral has termed the device 'dénombrement épique' and he cites several examples drawn from different poetic traditions. The poets of both the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Cantar de Mio Cid* employ the motif, but generally confine it within one *laisse*. The Spanish poet includes two enumerations before the *cortes* episode, one naming the judges appointed by Alfonso VI, the King himself and the Carrión faction (3000-10), the
other listing the Cid’s *mesnada*:

Vos, Minaya Albar Fañez el mio braço mejor
vos ireedes comngio y el obispo don Jheronimo
e Pero Vermuez e auesta Muñoz Gustioz
e Martin Antolinez el burgales de pro
e Albar Albarez e Albar Salvadorez
e Martin Muñoz que en buen punto nacio
e mio sobrino Felez Muñoz;
conmigo ira Malanda que es buen sabidor
e Galind Garçiez el bueno d’Aragon. (3063-71)

Similar passages occur in the Roland at significant moments:
before the vital council scene when Ganelon prepares his
treachery and before the rearguard’s entry into the defile
at Roncesvaux. More extensive enumerations are employed
before the battle between Baligant and Charlemagne, when
the various divisions of both armies are listed. One
laisse is devoted to each of eight divisions and one to
the remaining two divisions in the description of Charlemagne’s
army, while the Moorish force is detailed in some seventy-
five lines. Each laisse describing a single Frankish
division includes certain formulaic elements: a reference
to the great number of soldiers, an appreciation of their
weapons or of their fearlessness and a reference to their
leader. The German troops are thus described:

Naimes li dux puis establis a la quarte
De tels barons qu’asez unt vasselage:
Alemans sunt e si sunt d’Alemaigne;
Vint milie sunt, ço dient truit li altre
Ben sunt guarniz e de chevals e d’armes;
Ja pur murir ne guerpirunt bataille,
Sis guierat Hermans, li dux de Trace:
Einz i murat que cuardise i facet. (3036-43)

Although similar elements form the basis of the enumeration
of the Poema de Almería, the latter is distinctive because
of its length and because it comprises virtually the whole
of the extant poem.
Enumerations in vernacular epic have a different function from that of the Poema within the CAI. In the Roland and the CMC, the forces of Charlemagne and Rodrigo are enumerated as familiar elements in the epic tale which the audience might reasonably expect to be present and the motif thus figures as part of the ritual of epic recitation. The celebratory function of the Poema is overtly panegyrical, even propagandist, because the material of the CAI is not traditional. The telling of the tale is in itself important in the heroic epic, whereas in a literary epic, forming part of a history, the content assumes greater significance. The purpose of the enumeration, however, is basically the same in both genres: the expanded description of a hero's own army or of forces assembling at his direction contributes to his own greater glory. In this respect, the motif is comparable with the device employed in the CAI and in both Romance epics, which lists the regions and territories under the hero's rule or influence. An enumeration such as that forming the basis of the Poema develops the technique a stage further, for the qualities of courage and fearlessness of the individual leaders reflect the commander's own virtues. The greater length of the Poema allows the inclusion of quite detailed descriptions of these secondary protagonists. The supreme position of Alfonso VII is made clear by his prominent position in the enumeration, when the poet surveys the vast force that has assembled from far and wide:

Convenere duces Hispani Francigenaeque: per mare per terras Maurorum bella requirunt. Dux fuit Imperii cunctorum rex Toletani. Hic Adefonsus erat, nomen tenet imperatoris. (1-4)
The capture of Almería is seen as the King-Emperor's personal triumph, for the Poema's function is to give an account of his deeds:

Scribere nos nostri debemus et imperatoris proelia famosa, quoniam non sunt taediosa. (VI-VII)

The deeds of the other heroes will be described at the same time: 'inclyta istorum describam bella virorum' (IV).

After the statement of the theme and an account of the historical context of the expedition, the various armies are reviewed one by one. The stylisation inherent in the enumeration is evident from an outline of the Poema's structure:

I-XIII Praefatio: addressed to God/Alfonso VII; duty as historian, topos; statement of theme.

1-50 General introduction: Alfonso VII as leader; the impiety of the Muslims and their imminent destruction; the crusade preached by the Bishops of León and Toledo.

Review of the forces

51-65 The Galicians; their leader Fernando Pedro (61-5)
66-100 The Leonese; their leader Ramiro (87-100)
101-124 The Asturians; their leader Pedro Alfonso (113-24)
125-148 The Castilians
149-185 The Extremadurans; their leader Count Poncio
186-203 The Portuguese; their leader Fernando Juanes (186-99)
204-232 The Toledans; their leader Álvar Rodríguez (204-32), but praise of Álvar Fáñez (208-29)
233-242 Navia, Montenegro and Lugo
243-258 Hita; led by Martín Fernández (243-9)
259-265 Armengol de Urgel
266-272 Gutiérrez-Fernández
273-281 The Navarrese: their leader García of Pamplona (273-5)

282-324 Narrative: capture of Andújar, Baños, Bayona, Baeza; Alfonso VII appoints Manrique de Lara as governor; praise of the latter (305-19).

324-347 Narrative: arrival of messengers, announcement of arrival of Ramon Berenguer IV and forces from Genoa and Pisa.

348-360 Description of horrors of war.

361-373 Speech of encouragement of Bishop of Astorga.

The Poema's formal stylisation is not limited to its underlying structure, but extends to its constituent elements, the descriptions of the various armies. The form of these sections is more elaborate than that of a single laisse in the Roland's extensive dénombrement, for the majority have two parts, the first devoted to the army itself, the second to its general. Within each of these parts, various images and notions recur, just as each laisse of the Roland contained formulaic elements, although as a literary epic the Poema has greater variety. The particular function of the latter work as an enumeration within a history entails the interaction of this tendency toward stylisation with the need to highlight the characteristic features of an individual army. The first description - of the Galicians and their leader Fernando Pedro - can be broken down into the following elements:

**Galicians:**
- their great number, equal to the stars of heaven (53-4)
- reference to their excellent weapons (54)
- graphic description of advancing troops (55-60)

**Count Fernando:**
- his sense of justice (62)
- his status as tutor to the King's son (63-4)
- general description (65)
The second section, devoted to the Leonese, contains different elements, although the description of the troops expresses the same basic idea. 

Compare:

Surdescunt montes; exsiccat undique fontes.
Amittit tellus pascendo florida vellus. (57-8)

with

Occupat et terram virtus fortissima totam
Gramina pascuntur, paleae sine fine teruntur. (85-6)

The remaining elements of the description of the Leonese can be isolated thus:

Leonese: their historical position: supremacy of the regnum-imperium (66-74)
their invincibility, protected by the arms of the Emperor (75-7)
their effect on the Moors; notion of crusade (78-84)

Count Ramiro, their leader: general description; his wisdom (87-8)
his noble birth (89)
status, fidelity to Emperor (91-2)
fortitudo et sapientia topus (94-5)
upholder of justice and a warrior (96-7)

The section concerning the Castilians also includes a summary of their particular historical position: 'Castellae vires per saecula fuere rebelles' (133). The Leonese attitude to the rebellious Castilians is ambiguous, but the latter's intransigence is turned to the King-Emperor's advantage, for it was only he who succeeded in bending them to his will: 'Solus Castellam domitavit sicut assellam' (143). The separate regions are shown to be united in their hostility to the Muslims, for the reference to the effect of the Leonese on their Moorish foes is paralleled in the description of the Castilians: 'fortis Castella procedit ... pavor oritur Ismaelitis- /quos,- velut-eventit; rex- postea-mucrone-peremit' (146-8). This theme is taken up at the very beginning of the description of the army from Extremadura:
Extrematura praenoscens cuncta futura,
augurio docta quod erat mala gens peritura. (150-1)

It is interesting that the repeated notions of the Poema's enumeration echo the formulaic elements of the corresponding episode in the Roland, for both refer to the great number of the soldiers and to their intrepidity. The number of Germans making up the fourth division is estimated: 'Vint milie sunt, ço dient truit li altre' (3039). Similarly the French warriors who form the tenth line are described:

La disme eschele est des baruns de France,
Cent milie sunt de noz meillors cataignes. (3084-5)

The idea of the great numbers of the forces present at Almería is usually conveyed by a simile comparing the number of soldiers to the stars of heaven. The comparison is first suggested by the glinting of the Galicians' arms: 'Ut coeli stellae sic fulgent spicula mille, / mille micant scuta' (53-4) and it is taken up in the description of the Castilian camp: 'Illorum castra fulgent coeli velut astra ... Armorum tanta stellarum lumina quanta' (127, 134). The most elaborate description is that of the Extremadurans for it includes additional images and a rhetorical question expressing admiratio:

Si coeli stellas, turbati vel maris undas,
si pluviae guttas, camporum necnon et herbas,
ordine quis nosset, populum numerare valeret. (153-5)

In the Roland, the Germans are praised for their fearlessness in the face of death: 'Ja por murir ne guerpirunt bataille' (3048). This quality is included in the Poema's praise of the Asturians. The section is elaborate, as it combines the topic with other features that distinguish
the Asturians from the inhabitants of the other peninsular regions. It contains three references to the sea (103, 108, 111) and praises their ability as hunters: 'venando nec minus apta, / rimatur montes, agnoscit et ordine fontes' (106-7). This skill is matched by their valour and by their fearlessness: 'viribus est fortis, trepidans non pocula mortis, / ... spernit suprema sepulchra' (104-5). The same qualities are embodied in the people from Extremadura: 'gens fera, gens fortis, metuens non pocula mortis' (162) and from Hita: 'ii mortem spernunt, audaces sic quoque fiunt' (251). 68

The descriptions of the individual generals show a balance between distinguishing characteristics and stylised attributes similar to that in the descriptions of their forces. Each leader is individualised by his particular rank or status, by his noble birth or by his illustrious relatives. Count Fernando Pedro, the Galician general, is tutor to the King's son (58); the Leonese Ramiro is 'natus de semine regum' (89); Pedro Alfonso is worthy to be a count (114), while Count Poncio of Extremadura enjoys the King-Emperor's special favour (183). Pedro Alfonso's reputation is enhanced by his wife's noble birth: 'regalique pia fulgens uxore Maria: / nata fuit comitis' (122-3). The virtues of both ancestors and descendants serve as a mirror for a man's own qualities and increase his own fame. Álvar Rodríguez of Toledo gains esteem through his illustrious father and vice-versa: 'et pater in nato laudatur, natus et in ipso' (206). He gains greater esteem through his grandfather, Alvar Páñez, who, so the poet asserts, was second-only-to-the-'Cid' among the warriors of his age: 'Meo Cidi primus fuit, Alvarus atque secundus' (225). 69 The emphasis placed on Álvar Rodríguez's most famous
ancestor is such that 11.209-230 are a digression devoted to Alvar Fáñez, while only six lines are devoted to the present governor, who is all but forgotten. Manrique de Lara is also distinguished because he takes after his father Pedro: 'natus et in cunctis sequitur vestigia patris' (316). The same is true of García of Pamplona, son of Ramiro (278). Conversely, the fame of the Portuguese Fernando Juanes is enhanced by the successes of his sons who take after him in their feats against the Moors: 'securus tales pater est qui commovet enses' (199).

The virtues attributed to each general are highly stylised. Ramiro of León, Pedro Alfonso, Count Poncio and Manrique de Lara all share the traditional qualities of fortitudo and sapientia, of valour in battle and wisdom in giving counsel. 70 Count Fernando of Galicia and Ramiro of León are both noted for their sense of justice (62, 96), while Count Poncio is renowned for his single-mindedness in battle (168-74) and his resolute pursuit of Muslims (180-2). This latter quality unites most of the heroes: Alfonso VII himself (8-9), Ramiro of León (97), Fernando Juanes (193-5), Manrique de Lara (319) and both Alvar Fáñez and his grandson (210-9, 231-2). The two most extensive portraits, those of Pedro Alfonso and Count Poncio, include additional qualities, most of which are attributed to those heroes in the form of Biblical and classical comparisons. The qualities highlighted do not create individualised portraits, for they are again topics of medieval description.

The celebratory aspect of epic enumeration, whether in heroic or literary epic, is characterised by the review
of the forces in a static, stylised form and by the limitation that that imposes on the inclusion of incident that would advance the narrative. The greater length of the Poema relative to other enumerations demonstrates the importance of its celebratory function in the CAI, for it disrupts the history's underlying chronological structure, whilst providing a suitably grandiose prelude to the account of the actual siege. Its celebratory nature lies also in its blend of historical and non-historical elements. The portraits of the generals and the descriptions of their armies contain sufficient historical detail to distinguish them from one another, but the qualities that are attributed to them tend to recur in at least one other section. The non-historical aspect of the Poema is best judged by the fact that very few of the forces enumerated actually took part in the eventual siege. Martínez emphasises this departure from historical fact: 'ninguno de los personajes descritos, salvo Alfonso VII, Ramón Berenguer y Armengol de Urgel, parecen haber participado en el cerco de Almería. El Poema parece más bien describir lo que debería haber sido el cerco, con la participación de todos aquellos incontables ejércitos, que lo que realmente fue: mil peones y unos 400 caballeros.' The absence of so many men and warriors from the decisive action must have created untold difficulties for the historian, if and when he came to narrate the siege itself. This underlines the fact that their presence in the Poema is justified primarily by the glory that they lend to the figure of Alfonso VII, the celebration of whose exploit is the purpose of the work.
Language and the presentation of the historical event

The language of the Poema differs from that of the CAI, although it serves the same basic celebratory function. The history's language recalled throughout that of the Vulgate and it established a parallel between the context of the events of the mid-twelfth century and that of the wars of the Israelites. In the Poema, the writer abandons this manner of presenting and interpreting the Reconquest, drawing forms of expression from a wide range of sources, rather than relying solely on the Vulgate as a quarry for syntactical features, vocabulary and borrowings. The Poema contains phrases and imagery reminiscent of the Vulgate, but the similarity is more distant than in the prose sections and these resources are complemented by echoes of Roman poetry and definite instances of the use of classical vocabulary. The only recurrent classical elements in the history itself are references to the Leonese warriors appointed as consules, that is as counts, by Alfonso VII, e.g. 'Gundisalvus Pelagii ... ab eo factus est consul' [4]. This title is also employed in the Poema: Fernando Pedro is described as 'consul Fredinandus' (61), while the Asturian Pedro Alfonso 'nondum consul erat' (111). The introduction of other classical elements into the Poema is highlighted by the reference in the Praefatio to Jupiter: 'Dextra laborantis sperat pia dona Tonantis' (X). The use of classical vocabulary is not however restricted to external trappings, but extends to the descriptions of the various armies. The arrival of the Galicians is described in graphic terms that recall classical verse:
The appreciation of the qualities of the Asturians as hunters is also couched in classical phraseology:

Rimatur montes, agnoscit et ordine fontes, ut terrae glebas, sic ponti despicit undas. (107-8)

The presence of the classical features in the Poema is related to its celebratory function in the CAI and to the historian's desire to cultivate a form of expression worthy of Alfonso VII's greatest achievement. The use of additional resources parallels the use in the Historia Silense of classical phraseology taken from the Ilias Latina as ornamentation in accounts of particularly dramatic incidents. The CAI writer seeks to enhance his account by the change from prose to verse and by adopting as heightened a form of expression as possible. The Poema thus not only abounds with innumerable classical words: tellus, aestus, clangor, gramen, pontus etc., but retains Biblical images and echoes that would not have been inappropriate in the prose sections. Francisco Rico has amply demonstrated this intermingling of classical and Biblical language, showing how they are fused in a simile that describes how the Spanish nation rallied to fight the Moors. The poet compares the recruits to a stag disturbed by dogs:

A canibus cervus velut in sylvis agitatus desiderat, fontes dimittens, undique montes, plebs Hispanorum sic proelia Sarracenorum exoptans, aequo non dormit nocte dieque. (36-9)

The nearest echo of these lines is found in Psalm xlii. 1:
'Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum', although they may also recall the 'montes excelsi cervis' of Psalm civ. 18. References to the stag abound in Classical poetry, but the Poema's simile is reminiscent of one reference suggested by Rico in particular, of Virgil's phrase: 'hos (cervos) ... immissis canibus ... agitant'. 77

The poet's use of Biblical and classical features is further illustrated by the series of comparisons employed in one of the two extensive portraits, that of Count Poncio (160-83). The portrait of Pedro Alfonso is similar, but comparisons are drawn only with Biblical figures:

Pulcher ut Absalon, virtute potens quasi Sanson, instructisque bonis, documenta tenet Salomonis. (117-8)

Similar qualities are praised in the portrait of Count Poncio, but two classical archetypes are added, introducing five other virtues:

Pontius ista comes regit agmina nobilis hasta, virtus Sansonis erat hic, gladius Gedeonis; compar erat Ionathae, praeclass us uti Jesus nave. Gentis erat rector, sicut fortissimus Hector. Dapsilis et verax, velut insuperabilis Ayax. (163-7)

The epitaph of the murdered Infante Garcia at San Salvador de Oña contained a similar fusion of classical and Biblical comparisons:

Hic aetate puer Garsias, Absalon alter, fit cinis: illud est qui gaudia mundi quaerit, Mars alter, durus bellis, est ipse futurus. 78

Comparison is one of the poet's two favourite decorative devices, for it is also employed frequently in the descriptions of the armies, generally in the form of the hyperbolic references to their glinting arms and great numbers. 79. The arms of the Galicians and the Castilian camp are compared
to the stars of the sky (53-4; 127 and 134) and the simile recurs in the description of the army from Extremadura, where it is linked to two further images:

Si coeli stellas, turbati vel maris undas,
si pluviae guttas, camporum necnon et herbas,
ordine quis nosset, populum numerare valeret. (153-5)

The description of the Leonese is noteworthy for including four instances of animal imagery, one referring to the wolf, the other three - suitably - to the lion. Their arrival suggests the latter: 'Florida milites ... portans vexilla, prorumpit more leonis'(66-7), while the renum-imperium's status in the hierarchy of the peninsular kingdoms is paralleled by the superiority of the lion:

Ut leo devincit animalia vique decore,
sic cunctas urbes haec vincit prorsus honore. (73-4)

The wolf and the lion images both characterise the Leonese attitude to the Moors:

Ut lupus urget oves, maris ut premit unda leones
haec lux vitatos sic proterit Hismaelitas. (80-1)

Several of the comparisons in the Poema overlap with examples of the poet's other favourite stylistic device, the use of pairs of either synonymous or contrasted half lines. The description of the Galician army includes an obvious instance of two contrasted hemistichs in an ut ... sic construction (53), while the two animal images of 1.80, linked by ut ... ut, are an example of amplificatio, since the basic idea, which is one term of a comparison, is repeated with variation. Binary phrases are used to form synonymous or semi-synonymous half lines, as in the description of the Castilian camp, which contains the standard aurum et argentum cliché: 'auro fulgebant, argentea vasa
ferebant' (128). The internal rhyme of the Leonine hexameters offers scope for antithesis through the use of rhyming antonyms, one in each hemistich, as in the line: 'non est paupertas in eis, sed magna facultas' (129). Since the same notion is expressed in each half line, the figure is an example of oppositum, that is of emphasis by negation. An example of two rhyming antonyms forming directly antithetical hemistichs occurs at 1.18, when the Muslims are described: '[Numero] maiores, divino numine minores'.

The basic technique can be augmented in different ways to provide a greater measure of ornamentation. Anaphora is used in pairs of both synonymous and antithetical hemistichs. The prosperity of the Castilians, Pidal's 'senti-miento de jactancia', is expressed in two semi-synonymous half lines containing anaphora: 'Sunt nimis elati, sunt divitiis dilatati' (137). Fernando Juanes' prowess in battle is underlined by the same device involving the repetition of 'cunctos': 'cunctos terrebat, cunctos simul ense premebat' (191). Two antithetical hemistichs repeat the adjective fortis in the praise of Álvar Fáñez: 'Fortia frangebant, sic fortis ille premebat' (214). Parallelism is used on one occasion in the portrait of Manrique de Lara to link two lines that each consist of contrasted hemistichs based on the fortitudo et sapientia antithesis:

Armis pollebat, mentem sapientis habebat, bello gaudebat, belli documenta tenebat. (311–2)

A more elaborate, but rather looser, parallel underlines a passage relating the effect of the call to arms upon the Christian population, which is contrasted with its
ultimate result for the Muslims. The description takes up eight lines, the first consisting of semi-synonymous, the latter of antithetical, hemistichs. The rallying cry summons the combatant members of the societies of both Spain and France:

Haec iuvenum cibus est, vetulorum florida dos est.
Parvorum dux est, adolescentum pia lux est.
Pontificum lex est, Moabitarum ultima nex est.
Francorum sors est, Maurorum pessima mors est.
Lis Francis pax est, [Mauris] licet inclyta fax est.
Hispanis ros est, bellandum denique mos est.
Argenti pars est, auri promissio sors est.
Longaque est crux, est bellandi gloria lux. (43-50)

Pairs of synonymous and antithetical hemistichs similar to those in the Poema function as simple forms of amplification in the vernacular epic, especially in the Cantar de Mio Cid.81

The language of the CAI itself underlined the historian's interpretation of the Reconquest as a religious war and as an enterprise fulfilling part of God's grand design. In the Poema, this interpretation is strengthened, but its means of expression are radically different. Not only is the poem's language distinct from that of the prose sections, but the concept of the chosen individual which operated throughout them is virtually absent. The representation of Alfonso VII as a hero of God and as the direct means through which the divine intention was realised strengthened the interpretation of events. The concept of the chosen hero must be regarded as implicit in the Poema, for Alfonso's divine status is suggested on just-one occasion. The Praefatio could be addressed either to God or to the King-Emperor:
Rex pie, rex fortis, cui sors manet ultima mortis: 
da nobis pacem linguam praebes loquacem, 
ut tua facunde miranda canens abunde 
inclyta istorum describam bella virorum. (I-IV)

Ambiguity runs through the stanza. God and the King-Emperor both possess the ultimate power of life and death over their subjects and both can be seen as bringers of peace. Since Alfonso VII is God's instrument, the deeds that he accomplishes are both his achievements and God's, since they were inspired and conceived by the latter.82

The function of the poem requires that Alfonso should not appear in the foreground, but that his presence should be felt to predominate throughout. The interpretation of the Reconquest as a holy war is confirmed in the Poema by the introduction of a crusading spirit into the account of the preparations for the siege. This entails a corresponding intensification of feeling against the Muslims and a tendency toward that 'diabolización del enemigo' in their representation.83

In the prose narrative, very few passages revealed a deep emotional hatred and the work as a whole reflected the historical situation that observed a distinction between the various sects.84 This change in attitude cannot be explained by an alteration in the historical situation, but must be attributed to the demands of composition in verse. It is possible that the historian was influenced by the prevailing attitude to Muslims inherent in the Old French chansons de geste.

Two basic features distinguish the Poema's representation of the Muslims from that evident in the prose sections. The Moors at Almería are not differentiated according to
sect, but are grouped together indiscriminately as 'Mauri', 'barbara gens', 'Ismaelitae' or as 'Moabitae', although this last term signified only the fanatical Almoravids. They are all referred to in language that is emotionally charged; most frequently they are seen as a plague, 'Maurorum pessima pestis' (8, 180 and 319). Their customs are seen as unusual and as aberrations, for they worship the months of the year (16) and have their own gods. Their destruction, however, is imminent, for these gods are powerless beside the Christian God in spite of the Moors' numerical superiority: '[Numero] maiores, divino numine minores' (18). Their principal God is Baal, but his non-existence renders their prayers futile:

Cum colunt Baalim, Baalim non liberat illos (14)
Clamat et ad Baalim, Baalim surdescit ad ista. (288)

The Poema's representation of Muslims is further distinguished from that of the prose sections by the introduction of the notion of divine punishment as an explanation of their defeat. The concept did not function in this context in the history, as though non-Christians fell outside the scope of the writer's historico-theological interpretation. In the Poema, the weight of the sins that the Moors have committed as a result of their criminal way of life ensures their defeat: 'vita scelerata fuit, quia victa' (11). Their major offence is their neglect of the Christian God:

Non cognovere Dominum, merito periere.
Ista creatura merito fuerat peritura. (12-13)

God's wrath will be appeased when they are punished in defeat: 'Caelestis dira super hos dimittitur ira' (22).
The assault on Almería is represented as a crusade involving the entire Spanish nation, preached against the enemies of Christianity.86 Lines 25-50 narrate how, when the crusade was preached by the Bishops of León and Toledo, everyone rallied to the call and received absolution of their sins. This mass reaction is summed up in a bipartite line containing an inclusive pair: '(Pontifices) ... orant maiores [invitantque] minores, / ut veniant cuncti fortes ad proelia tuti' (27-8). The extended parallelism of lines 43-50 underlines this impression and contrasts the effect of the 'vox Almariae' on the joyful Christian population with the fate awaiting the Muslims. The gladness with which the youth of Spain assembled is expressed in the stag simile (36-9) and in a graphic reference to children leaving home: 'ut vix iam teneri possēnt a matre teneri' (35). The idea of the whole nation called to war is sustained in the rest of the poem by the frequent references to the attitude of the various generals to the Moors and to the effect that their armies have on their terrified foes. The latter are put to flight, for example, even at the sight of the Leonese: 'Coetus Maurorum visu prosternitur horum' (78). The following line renews the idea of their inevitable destruction: 'Nec valet in parvo consistere territus arvo'.

In spite of the representation of the siege as a crusade, the Spanish nation is not portrayed as the means of realising God's intentions. The references to the divine wrath and to the national call to arms suggest that this might have been in the poet's mind, but if it was,
the notion remains implicit. It is more likely that Alfonso VII's unique relationship with God: 'nullus nostrum est fortunatus a Deo sicut tu' [186], which is central to the view of history in the prose narrative, is carried over into the Poema. Nevertheless, the attitude to the Muslims and the particular interpretation of the siege is a rare, if not unique, feature among the Hispano-Latin texts of the twelfth century. The prose sections of the CAI and the concluding passages of the Historia Roderici both represent the conflict with the Almoravids as a war in which God intervened on the Christians' behalf, yet neither reveals the emotional antagonism toward the Moors manifest in the Poema nor its delight at the prospect of war. The most conspicuous crusading element elsewhere in Spain's heroic literature is the figure of Don Jerónimo in the Cantar de Mio Cid who recalls the probable author of the CAI, Bishop Arnaldo, as he appears in the Poema. This latter possesses a sword, 'cuius micat inclytus ensis' (362), which he may have used in battle, just as Don Jerónimo used his in the battle against the forces of King Búcar. To what extent both bishops are literary representations of a type that existed in historical reality it is hard to say. There is no evidence that the historical Bishop of Valencia ever fought in battle and the Poema is interrupted before Arnaldo is offered any opportunity to wield his sword in earnest.87 Moreover, Jerónimo's nearest relative is not a historical personage, but a literary one, the warrior-bishop Turpin of the Chanson de Roland. The interpenetration of history and literature in this context
is not a question that can be examined here, but it seems likely that the sword of the Bishop of Astorga and the crusading spirit of the Poema were both introduced into the CAI - whose tone is otherwise quite different - with the change from prose to verse.
Footnotes

1. An additional fragment of Latin verse is contained in Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo's Historia de rebus Hispaniae, which tells of Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo, but it is not certain when the poem was composed. See Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, Opera (Madrid, 1793; reprinted: Textos Medievales 22, Valencia, 1968), p. 136; Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica, II, pp. 211-2 and n.1. I have restricted my study of the Poema for two reasons. First, a detailed consideration would be difficult to incorporate in a study primarily devoted to the twelfth-century heroic biographies, for it would prompt questions on the poem's relation to Romance epic and to the whole genre of medieval Latin epic. These latter aspects are in fact the subject of a recent book by H. Salvador Martínez, El 'Poema de Almería' y la épica románica (Madrid, 1975). Unfortunately, this work arrived too late for me to take it fully into account and my references to it are selective. In particular, I have not taken up any of the points that Martínez makes concerning the poem's relation to vernacular epic. It does, however, seem to me that he overlooks at times the fact that the Poema is an integral part of a Latin history and not a poem in its own right. He classifies it as a 'poema culto ... a la manera cidiana o rolandiana' (p. 266). I do not deny that its inspiration is akin to that of the Old French chanson de geste, but the fact that it was written in Latin limits its public to a learned one. The Poema also contains Biblical and classical ornamentation which
indicates that it was intended to appeal to the literary
tastes of that particular audience, which neither the CMC
nor the Roland expressly was.
2. See CAI, introd., pp. xii-xiv.
4. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Sugerencias sobre la CAI',
CHE, XXV-XXVI (1957), 317-26, at p. 325.
5. Ángel Ferrari, 'El cluniacense Pedro de Poitiers y
la CAI y Poema de Almería', BRAH, CLIII (1963), 153-204.
Manuel Laza Palacio has advanced the extravagant theory
that the author of the CAI was also responsible for the
composition of the Cantar de Mio Cid. He attributes author-
ship of both works to Domingo Gundisalvo, "un polígrafo
del siglo XII". His arguments, however, are based on the
vaguest coincidences of thought and language and are quite
unconvincing. See La España del poeta de "Mio Cid" (Málaga,
6. Jack Gibbs, 'Quelques observations sur le Poema de
Almería', Société Rencesvals. Actes et Memoires, IVe
Congrès International (Heidelberg, 1969), 76-81, at p. 77.
Objections to Ferrari's thesis based on the references
to 'nostra lingua' have been raised by Rico, 'Las letras
latinas', p. 74 and by C. C. Smith, 'Latin Histories and
Vernacular Epic in Twelfth-Century Spain: Similarities
of Spirit and Style', BHS, XLVIII (1971), 1-19, at p. 17.
Rico also points to discrepancies between Peter of Poitiers'
career and the likely activities of the CAI author: (p. 74-
n. 127). These conjectures have been amply proven by
Martínez (Poema de Almería, pp. 94-102). He adds further evidence highlighting stylistic differences between the CAI and Peter's work and questioning whether the latter would have had sufficient motive to compose a prose panegyric about Alfonso VII (pp. 102-6). While not wholly invalidating Ubieto's suggestion about Arnaldo's Catalan origin, the link that Martínez establishes between the CAI author and the monastery of Sahagún is the more convincing (pp. 121-2).

7. See above pp.17-18 and 20-1.

8. See Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 133-46.


10. A third such reference occurs in [77].


14. See also the words of Pedro Díaz, when he surrenders to Alfonso VII: 'deprecor te per Deum, Qui te in omnibus adiuvat' [20].

15. cf. John viii. 7.

16. See José María Gárate Córdoba, Espíritu y milicia en la España medieval, (Madrid, 1967), pp. 201-18, esp. pp. 211-2. I have based my own remarks at this point on his study.
17. **Espíritu y milicia**, p. 211.

18. See above pp. 198-225.


20. See also Daniel x. 5: 'Et levavi oculos meos, et vidi: et ecce vir unus vestitus lineis'.

21. The importance of gestures in celebratory works is discussed in ch. VI (b) vi.

22. These narrative motifs overlap with those characteristic of the celebratory work in general. See ch. VI (b).

23. See also [88], [131] and [177]. Sánchez Belda points to the source in Judith ii. 17: 'Et post haec descendit in campos Damasci in diebus messis, et succedid omnia sata, omnesque arbores et vineas fecit incidit'.

24. See also [119].

25. See also [136] and [159]. C. C. Smith finds a source in II Chronicles xvi. 1: 'muro circumdabat Rama, ut nullus tute posset egredi et ingredi de regno Asa'. See 'Latin Histories', p. 16.

26. Sánchez Belda points to a source in I Maccabees iv. 60: 'Et aedificaverunt ... montem Sion, et per circuitum muros altos et turres firmas'.

27. See also [123], [129], [167], [179], [192], [193]. Parallels of these expressions are numerous, e.g. I Maccabees ix. 17-18; I Kings iv. 2 and vii. 10 and II Kings x. 13.

28. See ch. VI (b) iii.
29. See also [119], [126], and [187].

30. This source is suggested by Sánchez Belda in his edition, p. 100.

31. See also [72] and [90]. Sánchez Belda proposes as sources II Kings vi. 19 and II Kings xx. 22. Another source could have been Luke ii. 20: 'Et reversi sunt pastores glorificantes, et laudantes Deum in omnibus'.

32. See also [157], [168], and [170].

33. See also I Chronicles xvi. 14, I Chronicles xxix. 13 and II Chronicles xxiii. 12.


35. These have all been detailed by Sánchez Belda in the footnotes to his edition. My investigations suggest that his list is virtually complete, and I therefore cite his findings in this section.

36. cf. I Maccabees ix. 11: 'Et movit exercitus de castris, et steterunt illis obviam, et divisi sunt equites in duas partes; et fundibularii et sagitarii praeibant exercitum, et primi certaminis omnes potentes'.

37. cf. I Maccabees iv. 60-1: 'Et aedificaverunt in tempore illo montem Sion, et per circuitum muros altos et turres firmas, ne quando venirent gentes, et conculcarent eum, sicut antea fecerunt. (61) Et collocavit illic exercitum ut servarent eum, et munivit eum ad custodiendum Bethsuram, ut haberet populus munitionem contra faciem Idumaeae'.

38. cf. I Maccabees vi. 8: '... rex...expavit, et commotus est valde; et decidit in lectum, et incidit in
languorem prae tristitia'.

39. cf. Numbers xx. 17, 19: 'Obsecramus ut nobis transire liceat per terram tuam. Non ibimus per agros, nec per vineas, non bibemus aquas de puteis tuis, sed gradiemur via publica, nec ad dextram, nec ad sinistram declinantes donec transeamus terminos tuos ... (19) Dixeruntque filii Israel: Per tritam gradiemur viam'.

40. See Luke xvi. 26: 'Et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est: ut hi, qui volunt hinc transire ad vos, non possint, neque inde huc transmeare'.

41. See CAT ed. Sánchez Belda, p. 143 n. 89, where he draws attention to the relevant passage in I Kings xxii. 8-10.

42. The text of the lament is contained in II Kings i. 17-27. The passages relevant to the CAT are:

(20) Nolite annunciare in Geth, neque annuncietis in compitis Ascalonis ne forte laetentur filiae Philisthiim, ne exultent filiae incircumcisorum.

(22) A sanguine interfectorum, ab adipe fortium, sagitta Jonathae nunquam redidit retrorsum, et gladius Saul non est reversus inanis.


44. cf. II Kings iii. 28, 37.

45. cf. III Kings x. 6-8: 'Dixitque ad regem. Verus est sermo, quem audivi in terra mea. (7) Super sermonibus tuis, et super sapientia tua ... major est sapientia et opera tua, quam rumor, quem audivi. (8) Beati viri tui, et beati servitui, qui stant coram te semper, et audiant sapientiam tuam'.


47. See above pp. 214-15 and 282-3.

48. Sampiro in the Silense version, S30, or in Pérez de Urbel's *Sampiro*, p. 344.

49. See above pp. 283-4.


51. See also [66] and [168].


53. Crowd scenes are a characteristic narrative element of the celebratory work: see ch. VI (b)iv.

54. See above pp. 32-4, 133-5, 211-14 and 233-40.

55. For the historical background to these events, see Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'Navarra-Aragón y la idea imperial de Alfonso VII de Castilla', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, VI (Saragossa, 1956), 41-82. esp. pp. 41-5. See also Joaquín Traggia, 'Reflexiones críticas sobre los monumentos históricos de los hechos de Don Ramiro II', *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, III (1799), 525-6; Federico Balaguer, 'La CAI y la elevación de Ramiro II al trono aragonés', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, VI (Saragossa, 1956), 8-33.

56. Balaguer, 'La CAI y la elevación de Ramiro II', pp. 11-12.
57. 'Navarra-Aragón y la idea imperial de Alfonso VII', p. 44.

58. Paragraph [60] of the CAI states that: 'christiani qui erant in Caesaraugustam, in castellis munitis et in urbibus ... prae timore Sarracenorum fugerunt et clauiserunt se in Caesaraugustam, veneruntque Sarraceni et praeoccupaverunt oppida a christianis derelicta'.

59. See also [136] where there is a similar expression referring to the sending of messengers.

60. See Smith, 'Latin Histories', p. 15.

61. Passages similar to those in the CMC are found in the Roland. See, for example, 11.3793-6 and 3960-1.

62. The copyist of MS A noted that 'Aquí faltaban las ocho oxas últimas desta historia, cuya falta vi con gran dolor y no menos sentimiento del malbado que las cortó' (see CAI ed. Sánchez Belda, p. 186 n.112). Martínez considers it more likely that the manuscript was mutilated deliberately than that the work was left unfinished (Poema de Almería, pp. 121-2 and n.90 and pp. 126-9).

63. Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen Age (Paris, 1924), p. 83. Faral assumes that the vernacular poets' use of dénombrement épique was an imitation of that of the Latin poets such as Virgil and Statius. In the case of Roland and the CMC - which is not in fact mentioned - this is at least questionable and it seems best to consider the device as an epic motif that arose without imitation or influence. It must also be emphasised that
the poet of the Poema could not have gained knowledge of the device from the medieval artes poetriae, since these were not known in Spain before the fourteenth century. See Charles Paulhaber, Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile (UCPMPH 103, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1972).

64. See 11.168-78, 792-8 and 2186-9.

65. Laissez CCXVII-CCXV and 11.3214-90.

66. Many of these points are made by Martínez (Poema de Almería, pp. 188-96). He draws a parallel between the Poema and the enumeration in the Poema de Fernán González (stanzas 447-64), which is also shorter than the Latin poem, but approximately equal in length to the enumerations in the Roland.

67. See above pp. 350-1.

68. See also st. 461ab of the Poema de Fernán González:

Dio les tres mill peones, todos de buena gente,
que por miedo de muerte non faryan fallimiente.


69. Historically Alvar Fáñez was Alvar Rodríguez's great-grandfather; see Martínez, Poema de Almería, p. 153.

70. See 11.94-5; 117-8; 164, 166, 176; 311-2.

71. If the CAI was indeed completed, the account of the siege may have been in verse or in prose. The Praefatio of the poem indicates that it was in verse: 'scribere nostri debemus et imperatoris / proelia famosa' (VI-VII),
but paragraph [206] of the history itself suggests that the verse section described only the arrival of the forces: 'versibus, ad removendum carminis variatione taedium, qui duces vel Francorum vel Hispanorum, ad praedestinatam obsidionem venere, dicere hoc modo disposuimus'. Martínez points out that the Poema contains only two temporal references, an additional fact which highlights the disruption of the CAI's chronological narrative (Poema de Almería, p. 180).


73. See Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica, II, p. 223 n.1. Other examples occur in paragraphs [4], [5], [6] and passim.

74. See also 11.100, 119, 181 and 306.

75. See above pp. 220-5.

76. 'Las letras latinas', pp. 69-70.

77. Virgil, Georgics, III, 11.371-2, in Opera, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), p. 76. Rico suggests other parallels in Aeneid, VII, 1.481; Horace, Odes, III, xii, 11.10-11; Ovid, Ars amatoria, III, 1.428, but these are considerably more distant ('Las letras latinas', p. 69 n.122). He also points out (n.124) how 1.10 of the Poema: 'Nec possunt visum mergi vel ad aethera sursum' combines classical phraseology with an echo of Proverbs viii. 28: 'Quando aethera firmabat sursum, et librat fontes aquarum'.

On the Poema's use of comparison, see Martínez, Poema de Almería, pp. 210-22.

See also Martínez, Poema de Almería, pp. 222-33.

Sée appendix below pp. 493-5.

The possible double meaning of certain words in the prose sections has been discussed below on pp. 341-5.

The ambiguity of the invocation of the Praefatio is admitted by Gárate Córdoba, Espíritu y milicia, p. 214. He seems to rely, however, on Sánchez Belda's translation which implies that the opening stanza is addressed to Alfonso VII, whereas that of Martínez suggests that it is addressed to God (Poema de Almería, p. 23). This is confirmed later on p. 202.

This is the term of Gárate Córdoba. See Espíritu y milicia, pp. 211-12.

See above pp. 317-20.

Martínez suggests that 1.288 alludes to the episode in III Kings xviii, where the prophet Elijah demonstrates to the priests of Baal the power of the Christian God. Baal is silent when invoked by his priests: 'et invocabant nomen Baal de mane usque ad meridiem, dicentes: "Baal exaudi nos". Et non erat vox, nec qui responderet' (v. 26). See Poema de Almería, pp. 134-5.

The crusading element of the Poema is discussed by Gárate Córdoba, Espíritu y milicia, pp. 201-18; Gibbs, 'Quelques observations'; Martínez, Poema de Almería, pp. 136-40, 168-74.

88. This study of the CAI has omitted all reference to the article of Ángel Ferrari, 'Artificios septenario en la Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris y Poema de Almería', BRAH, CLIII (1963), 19-67. He considers the representation of Alfonso VII as a hero of God, but does not rely on a close examination of the literal text. He posits instead an occult arithmetical structure, based on units of seven, that confirms the King-Emperor's status. He claims that this structure operates in all three parts of the whole, that is in Books I and II of the history and in the Poema, thereby corresponding to and at the same time exemplifying the truth of the Trinitarian concept. The hypothesis would seem to remain essentially unprovable, because of the occult nature of the arithmetical structure. There are in addition various objections that could be raised. These include:

1. Ferrari works not from one manuscript, but from Sánchez Belda's text, while at the same time making up multiples of seven from the variants that the editor detailed.

2. He proposes that each structural element illustrates a facet of one of the Persons, as these had been interpreted from the text of St John's Gospel. Yet the divisions between the elements are at times arbitrary and interrupt accounts of particular events that should exemplify the attribute on the literal plane. Moreover there are occasions
when he has to rearrange the order of the divine attributes to make them correspond to the text of the CAI and the Poema.

3 The third part of the work, the Poema, must correspond to the third Person of the Trinity and, according to Ferrari, it should be composed in a manner befitting the spiritual nature of God, the Holy Ghost. The awkward Leonine hexameters do not seem likely to reflect so lofty a conception.

4 The hypothesis rests heavily on the supposed authorship of the CAI and the Poema by Peter of Poitiers, secretary of Peter the Venerable. The French origin and residence in Poitiers would ensure that the author possessed the learning necessary to master the intricacies of the Trinitarian doctrine and the Biblical commentaries and glosses and to exemplify them in a hermetic text. Yet the authorship of Peter of Poitiers is highly doubtful and it is not likely that he was present as an eye-witness of events at Almería.
CHAPTER V: THE CRONICA NAJERENSE

The Crónica Najerense was, as far as is known, the last major historical work composed in Spain in the twelfth century. It is difficult to date because material could have been added at any time after the greater part of the chronicle had been put together. Menéndez Pidal proposed the approximate date of 1160, since reference is made to the death in 1159 of Sancha, the sister of Alfonso VII, while an account of the King-Emperor's reign would have been added if more time had elapsed since his own death in 1157.1 Ubieto Arteta, however, has suggested that the reference to Sancha's death, together with other references equally erroneous in the same paragraph, is an interpolation. He dates the chronicle's composition between 1143 and 1157, but although this is plausible, Ubieto's arguments are not wholly sound. He proposes that the Najerense was composed before 1157, because a reference to Alfonso VII does not mention his death. Yet this reference could be another interpolation, since it occurs in the same paragraph (III: 56) as the reference to Sancha's death, and it is not, therefore, a reliable indication. Nonetheless, the chronicle must have been completed before 1157, because the reign of Alfonso VII is not included and not even his accession to the throne is mentioned, features which coincide with the Leonese historiographical practice of not recording events in the reign of the ruling monarch. The conclusion that the Najerense was
composed after 1143 is based on the evidence of its sources. The extensive use of Pelayo's *Crónica* indicates that it was not completed before 1142, the date given by Ubieto for the completion of the *Liber chronicorum*. This date, however, must be revised to 1143, in accordance with the findings of Pérez de Urbel to which Ubieto does not refer. A *terminus a quo* of 1143 agrees with Ubieto's conclusion that the Najerense dates after the last event recorded in the *Anales castellanos segundos*, which in fact was in the same year.² It is at this point that the argument becomes inconsistent and again sheds no light on the genesis of the greater part of the chronicle. The *Anales* are the probable source, according to Ubieto (p. 22, n. 3 and n. 4), of some of the erroneous interpolations in paragraph 56 of Book III and it is contradictory to use them as a means of dating the Najerense, if they provided only interpolated material. On the evidence at present available, it is possible to conclude with certainty only that the Najerense was completed after 1143 and before 1157. The remaining indications prove merely that additional material was interpolated after its completion. There is no reason why the Najerense did not exist in virtually its surviving form by 1150.

The Najerense was originally thought to have been Leonese in origin, since the majority of its sources are Leonese.³ Menéndez Pidal later demonstrated that certain elements of the work could have been derived only from Castilian sources and that details of monastic history and the knowledge of certain monastic legends indicated
that it was compiled at the monastery of Santa María de Nájera. During the period 1135-1162, La Rioja was included within the boundaries of Castile, a factor which, if it does not corroborate, at least does not contradict, the probable date of the Najerense's composition.

The chronicle's Castilian material is its most distinctive feature and underlines its importance in the context not just of twelfth-century Hispano-Latin historiography, but of the national historiography, both Latin and vernacular, of Spain. The Najerense is a watershed, for its compiler relied on Visigothic and Astur-Leonese works, together with more recent Leonese writings, as sources for the greater part of the chronicle. They provided ample information about events in Asturias and León, but what little they included about Castile during the period of her autonomy was unfavourable. Castile appears not to have had any extensive historical records at the time of the Najerense's composition and the chronicler took additional material from a source whose inspiration was not learned or scholarly, but more overtly popular. Menéndez Pidal not unnaturally drew the conclusion that these sources were vernacular epics. The exact nature of these poems, if such they were, must remain unknown, although Pidal estimated that they were fairly short—some five hundred lines in length—and that they contained a basic element of historical fact. In this chapter, no attempt is made to prove that the passages in the Najerense relating to the condado of Castile were derived from epic poems, but the distinct nature of the material which contrasts
markedly with the chronicle narrative in which it is set is emphasised. The subsequent Castilian material concerning the reign of Sancho II is easier to describe, because at this point the chronicler preferred to transcribe his source, rather than to summarise it.

(a) Form and content, including sources

The Najerense is divided into three parts, whose scope tends to narrow as the chronicler focuses his attention on the Christian kingdoms of Spain. It narrates the Creation and selected items of Biblical and classical history, these being copied from the works of Isidore, before concentrating solely on the history of the Iberian Peninsula. After the Muslim invasion, only events in the kingdom of León-Asturias are narrated, but interest is devoted to the emergent kingdoms of Navarre and Castile, as their power increased. The divisions in the chronicle occur between the defeat of Roderic and the election of Pelayo and between the death of Alfonso V and the reign of Sancho el Mayor. This schema corresponds to the distinct phases of peninsular history: the Visigothic period, the Astur-Leonese Reconquest and the interaction and struggle between the Christian kingdoms after the accession of Sancho el Mayor. The narrative within each part is arranged in the manner of the Leonese chronicles, for it follows the course of events both before and after the invasion of 711 reign by reign, allotting space to each monarch according to the copiousness of the sources. The Najerense is thus cast in the same mould as the Crónica Albeldense: universal in
conception, but ultimately national in scope.

Chronicles of this nature were frequent in the Middle Ages and their ambivalence results from the interaction of the Christian concept of history and each chronicler's awareness of the separate existence of his own nation or region, of his *patria*. The aim of many historical writers was the recording of events in their own time, but the accepted view of history as a passage from the Creation to Doomsday demanded that they at least returned to First Things before beginning the narrative proper. Rico describes these works as 'reelaboraciones que ofrecen una última parte más o menos original, pero sienten la necesidad de partir "ab exordio mundi" y de un panorama de toda la humanidad'.

The inclusion of the history of mankind, or of selected elements of it, stems from the all-embracing nature of Christianity and from the fundamental belief that each separate incident was an integral part of the divine plan. Every available item of knowledge was thus included by chroniclers who conceived their purpose as the recording of the realisation of God's grand design. Few universal chronicles sustained their universality, either because the task proved overwhelming or sources were lacking, or because the history of all mankind was not the ultimate purpose.

The *Najerense*'s narrowing scope illustrates this particularisation, for the greatest amount of space is devoted to the most recent kings. Indeed, Book II includes the reigns of twenty-two monarchs, while Book III, although a third shorter in length, is limited to only five, one of whom was of minor importance.
The Najerense's principal sources, in addition to the chronicles of Isidore, are the Crónica de Alfonso III up to and including the reign of Ordoño I, the chronicle of Sampiro in both Pelayo's and the Silense versions until the death of Ramiro III and the Crónica of Pelayo and the Historia Silense for the remaining period. Additional material was taken from the División de Wamba, the Crónica Albeldense and from relatively minor sources such as the Anales Compostelanos and the Genealogías de Roda. In spite of his reliance on Leonese historical writings, the chronicler utilised the existing material in a manner distinct from that of the earlier chroniclers. They had simply copied out what their predecessors had written, and added their own contribution at the end. The Najerense, however, is more than a simple chronicle, for the chronicler endeavoured to use as many sources as possible and to add further details to supplement them. Thus, although he used both versions of the Alfonso III chronicle and the Silense consistently throughout his narrative, he filled in gaps with passages from his secondary sources. He tended to move from one chronicle to another, according to the quantity of information that they contained, in an effort to produce a comprehensive account. This technique is especially noticeable in the middle sections of Book II, where the narrative comprises passages from the Silense, Pelayo's Crónica, and both versions of Sampiro, together with material from the Chronicon Iriense, the Genealogías de Roda and the Anales Compostelanos. No one work provides the basic material, but
all are used to supplement one another. The technique is prone to overuse, however, and slavish copying causes an alarming repetition at the end of the second part, where the same material is used in paragraphs 69, 71 and 73; 71 and 76; 75 and 78. The patchwork effect appears on the surface at these points, for the patterns recur. Various passages from Pelayo are included twice in the account of Vermudo II's reign and an episode concerning Alfonso V is interpolated into the reign of that king, causing the chronicler to anticipate his own narrative (II: 75). He narrates twice the legend of the miraculous intervention of the angel who rescued Alfonso V's sister from the lascivious clutches of the Muslim King of Toledo. She had been given to him as a peace offering, but as soon as he attempted to touch her, he was struck by the angel of death. The duplication occurred partly because Pelayo included the episode in his account of Vermudo II's reign, so that the shameful incident would reflect on him. The Najerense chronicler copied the text of the Crónica verbatim and then repeated the passage in its correct chronological position.

Minor additions were made to the material derived from the chronicles, usually in the form of factual details such as dates and items of genealogical information. These were taken from the Genealogías de Roda and similar sources, but some additions, particularly those relating to the church and monastery of Nájera, resulted from the chronicler's own investigations. Relevant data could have been obtained from legal and monastic documents: wills, donations and records of obits. The composition of the chronicle at
Nájera accounts for the reference to the monastery's donation to Cluny by Alfonso VI in 1079 (III: 50) and also for the legendary account of its foundation by García, son of Sancho el Mayor (III: 12-16). It explains the inclusion of the unique variant of the legend of the foundation of the lower monastery of San Millán, when García proposed to have the Saint's body translated to Nájera. The Cluniac background to the chronicle's compilation is manifest in another legendary episode: the account of Alfonso VI's request to Abbot Hugh that he pray for his release from captivity and of the nocturnal appearance of St Peter to his captor, Sancho II (III: 38).

The use of the non-Leonese sources to provide material relating to Castile constitutes the major innovation which distinguishes the Nájerase from previous Hispano-Latin historical works. The Castilian material is detected first in the reign of Sancho I, when it is mentioned that Count Fernán González was held prisoner by García of Navarre, but escaped with the aid of his captor's daughter (II: 58). The attitude toward the Count in the Nájerase is ambivalent, for the chronicler's Leonese sources were distinctly hostile. Sampiero considered him as a rebel vassal in revolt against the crown, stating that: 'Fredenandus Gundissalui et Didacus Munionis contra regem domnum Raynimirum tyrannidem gesserunt, necnon et bellum parauerunt' (II: 52). Ramiro II's victory over the rebels is highlighted: 'Ille uero rex, ut erat prudens et fortis, comprehendit eos, et ... ferro uinctos carcere truisit' (II: 52).

Apart from the reference to the escape from Tobía, Castilian material relating to Fernán González-
is scarce, but it is sufficient to make clear its particular perspective. At the beginning of Book III, amid a mass of genealogical material, he is referred to as 'comitem Ferdinandum Gonzaluez, qui castellanos de sub iugo Legionensis dominationis dicitur extrasisse' (III: 3). The phraseology 'dicitur extrasisse' indicates the possibly non-written, or at least non-historical, nature of the source and the very inclusion of the phrase in a prosaic context is evidence of his status as a Castilian hero.

The subsequent Castilian material covers the period of the condado up to the marriage of the last count's daughter, Urraca, to Sancho of Navarre, and the reign of Sancho II (1065-1072). In addition to the latter, three figures stand out: Counts Garci Fernández and Sancho García, and the murdered Infante, Garca Sánchez, whose assassination cut short Fernán González's lineage. The inclusion of material relating to these rulers constitutes another break with traditional Hispanic historiography, since the Leonese chronicles were concerned with royal personages, and they dealt with non-royal personages only if they were defeated rebels. This innovation is not perhaps as far-reaching as some critics, notably Menéndez Pidal, have claimed, for the counts were rulers and the Najerense as a Castilian chronicle was obliged to refer to them, if it was to chronicle Castilian history at all. This broadening of scope did not take in personages who were not rulers, for there is no trace of the legend surrounding the Infantes of Lara, which is set in the time of Garci Fernández and which in subsequent chronicles forms an integral part of
the material relating to the condado. It did allow, however, the inclusion of the figure of Rodrigo Díaz in the Sancho II narrative. The most striking feature of this Castilian material is its non-historical treatment of events which is in marked contrast with the factual and comprehensive narrative of the Leonese chronicles. The events themselves are mostly non-historical and semi-legendary, and each summary does not cover the entire period of each count's rule, but concentrates on a series of closely related incidents. These same incidents recur in the accounts of later chronicles, both Latin and vernacular, and they form a linear narrative in each case, having a beginning, middle and end. By the time of the _Estoria de España_, the chroniclers were prosifying the heroic epics generally known as the _Cantar de Fernán González_, the _Condesa traidora_ and the _Romanz del Infant García_. The question immediately arises of what form this legendary material had assumed at the time of its inclusion in the _Najerense_. Menéndez Pidal maintained the quite reasonable hypothesis that the tales of the counts were circulating as epic poems during the twelfth century. His views on the historical veracity of Spanish epic, however, entailed the further supposition that these poems were closely related to earlier ones that contained a greater amount of historical fact and whose composition was roughly contemporary with events. He considered also that the Castilian poems were similar to others telling of the Muslim invasion and the early years of the Reconquest, whose content had been incorporated into the _Crónica de Alfonso III_, and
via that work into the Najerense. The theory at this point was based upon little more than the fictional, 'novelesco', treatment of the original historical material that had been elaborated by popular legend and upon the recurrence of the same narrative elements in successive chronicles. There is plainly an error here, for the legendary and semi-legendary material in the Najerense is not all of one type, but consists of three groups relating to the Covadonga period, the condado of Castile and the reign of Sancho II. Considerable doubt must, therefore, be cast on Pidal's basic tenet that Spain's heroic age stretched in an unbroken line from the Moorish invasion to the twelfth century and beyond. If the heroic literature of the twelfth century is to be set in its proper context, some tentative conclusions must be reached about the nature of these various non-historical sources.

There is no doubt that the treatment of the battle of Covadonga in the Crónica de Alfonso III differs from the narrative method adopted by the chronicler in the rest of his work. The incidents of the episode are not summarised, but are described in detail with an emphasis on their more sensational aspects. The length of the account is such that the election of Pelayo and the battle occupy as much space as the reigns of Ordoño I and Alfonso II, the chronicle's longest sections. The original events had been much elaborated and magnified, assuming a significance beyond that of their immediate political and military importance. The scene between Pelayo and Bishop Oppa is enlivened by the use of dialogue, a feature indicative to Pidal of a possible poetic source. The dominant character
of the episode, however, is ecclesiastical: one of the protagonists is a treacherous bishop, while the other, Pelayo, fights for the preservation of the Church: 'salutacion ecclesie' (II: 4). Their dialogue contains Biblical echoes and quotations: Oppa's address to Pelayo and the latter's reply, for example, recalls the Lord's summoning of Samuel: "Peliagi, Peliagi, ubi es?" Qui ex fenestra respondens ait: "Adsum" (II: 7). Pelayo quotes Matthew xiii. 31 in his reply, comparing the surviving Visigoths to the Church, which Matthew had likened to a grain of mustard. He adds a further quotation in his defence (Psalm lxxxix. 32-3). The account of the battle is centred on the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary, in whose honour a shrine had been erected in the cave on the mountain side. As the missiles hurled by the Moors reached the shrine they were directed back upon the assailants. The final destruction of the Moors is no less miraculous, for they were the victims of a landslide and a flood which explicitly recall the fate of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. The episode closes with a final Biblical quotation: 'Sit nomen Domini Benedictum' (Job i. 21), as the grateful Christians give thanks for their Church's preservation.

The description of the assault on the cave consists of a series of paratactic verbs: 'Arma adsumant. Eriguntur fundibali. Aptantur funde. Micant enses. Crispantur haste, ac incessanter emittuntur sagite' (II: 7). A likely model for the passage is a sequence of the type found in the Carmina Cantabrigiensia: 'His incensi bella fremunt, arma
poscunt, hostes vocant, signa secuntur, clamor passim oritur'.

Recent criticism has shown Menéndez Pidal's theories about the nature of Spanish epic to have been in error for various reasons, not least because of his inclination to consider every lively piece of narrative or non-historical treatment of a historical event as an indication of a poetic source. Use of dialogue was a recurrent feature of historical writing since classical times and also of the accounts of medieval hagiographers. The Covadonga episode in the Latin chronicles is not dissimilar in its narrative method, its emphasis on picturesque detail, from the account of the translation of the body of St Isidore, incorporated into the Historia Silense and included in the Naje rense (III: 24). The obviously hagiographic nature of this material and the existence of a known source render nonsensical the supposed derivation of the episode from any poetic text. There is no reason why the Covadonga material cannot be considered an ecclesiastical legend, for the Biblical quotations are superficial evidence of such an origin, while the focal points of the narrative, the two miracles of the Virgin, indicate that the pious elements are fundamental to the entire episode. Pidal neglects also the importance of the legend as the fons et origo of the Leonese monarchy, which can be considered to have been born in the cave of Covadonga. Mention of the granum sinapis, Pelayo's prediction of the Visigothic rebirth and the divine intervention in the decisive battle are recurrent elements in Leonese historical writing up to the twelfth
century. León had no tradition of heroic poetry, except for thirteenth-century poems about Bernardo del Carpio, and it is not unreasonable to conclude that this material, with its emphasis on divine punishment as an explanation of a historical event, was cultivated by chroniclers and clerics. Writers such as the Silense historian felt obliged to commence at the birth of the regnum-imperium whose continued progress was explained as the result of a continuation of the divine protection first manifest in the miracles of Covadonga.

The semi-legendary Castilian material is very different from the legends surrounding the origin of the Leonese monarchy. The Najerense's references to two of the Castilian legends, those of Fernán González and the Infante García, are slight and betray little indication of the nature of their sources. Both are restricted to summaries of events, but the same episodes are expounded in full in later chronicles and in the case of the Fernán González legend in the Poema de Fernán González. One of the brief passages concerning the Count taken from a Castilian source refers to a central incident in the poem: his escape from the prison of the King of Navarre with the aid of his captor's daughter whom he has promised to marry (II: 58). The episode is folkloric and contains two folk-motifs: those of the treacherous daughter and of the princess who falls in love with her father's enemy. In the Poema de Fernán González, the method of the Count's escape on a subsequent occasion introduces additional folk-motifs. The presence of this material in the Najerense's summaries is one clue to the nature of the sources and the relevance of the motifs to
the legends' narratives is illustrated by their indispensable function in the chronicle's extensive summary of the legend of the Condesa traidora.

The Condesa traidora in the Najerense's version is only the second part of the legend as it is preserved in the Estoria de España. The first part tells of Count Garci Fernández's marriage to the daughter of a French count, her infidelity and the Castilian's vengeance on his wife and her lover. He is aided by Sancha, the daughter of the French count, in return for his promise to marry her. This part of the story ends with Sancha's dissatisfaction with her marriage and her designs against her husband's life. A plot-summary reveals that the epic motif of revenge is supplemented by some eighteen folk-motifs which are all links in the narrative chain. The second part, which corresponds to the Najerense's version, but which in the Estoria de España is separated from the first by thirty-one chapters, contains further motifs. The Count's wife - who is not named - is seduced by an offer of marriage from al-Mansur and she plots the murder of her husband (K230, Faithlessness in marriage). She feeds his horse husks to make it fail him in battle and suggests that his knights be sent back to their homes for the approaching Christmas festivities (analogous to K818, Victim persuaded to disarm). The Moors are summoned and in the ensuing battle Garci Fernández receives wounds from which he dies five days later (K2213.3, Faithless wife plots with paramour against husband's life; K2213.3.1 beginning, Faithless wife has husband and children killed so that she can be with paramour).
Countess now resolves to remove her son Sancho, the remaining obstacle to her marriage with al-Mansur, by giving him poisoned wine (K2213.3.1 completed). Her plot is discovered by a Moorish servant girl, probably one of the Countess' maids (N857, Enemy's servant as helper; analogous to G530.6, Ogre's maid as helper). Sancho forces his mother to drink the wine and she dies immediately (K1613.0.1, Would-be poisoner forced to drink poisoned cup; also Q582.8, Person drinks poison he prepared for another). This version of the Condesa traidora contains seven motifs, the same number as that of the Estoria de España which lacks the analogue to K818 but includes the motif of beheading as a punishment for murder (Q421.0.4), as Sancho threatens his mother with his sword when she refuses to drink.

The distinction between the Covadonga material and the early Castilian material is not absolutely clear-cut, for the occurrence of folk-motifs is not excluded from learned and semi-learned material. The story of Pelayo includes a conspicuous motif, that of the false quest, when the Moorish governor of Gijón sends him on a mission to Córdoba so that he can seduce his sister. (H1211, Quests assigned to get rid of hero; cf. also K1388, Trickster sends letter ordering bearer detained and meanwhile steals bearer's wife). This may conceal another motif: the letter of death (K1612), since Pelayo carries a message to Tariq, the Muslim leader (II: 4). The central incident of the Covadonga legend, the diversion of the Moors' weapons, is both Marian miracle and a variety of the death-by-own-weapon motif.34 It might be argued that the basis of the Leonese legend is a sequence of motifs similar to that in the
Condesa traidora and that the ecclesiastical features are later additions. This is not impossible, but it is unlikely, for, as has been shown, the Covadonga episode hinges upon the Marian miracles, while the actual place-name derives from the Latin *cava dominica* (II: 7). The ecclesiastical character of the legend is inseparable from the basic narrative elements, for it colours those elements and specifies their general function as folk-motifs. The Condesa traidora legend contains no ecclesiastical features and, except for its connection with tomb-cults, it is entirely secular in orientation. The function of the legend seems to be an attempt to explain the death of the historical Count Garci Fernández without reference to the full historical facts. The *Estoria de España*'s account reveals that at the time the condado was split by a rebellion led by the Count's son Sancho, who was prepared to make peace with the Moors. His action divided the Castilian forces and left his father exposed to attack. The explanation offered by the Condesa traidora gains strength from its plausibility, for al-Mansur's offer to Garci Fernández's wife is paralleled by actual incidents such as Alfonso V's gift of his sister to the Muslim general as a peace-offering. The non-Castilian origin of the historical Countess Ava, daughter of the Count of Ribagorza, made possible the floating of the legend without detriment to Castile's Reconquest image.

The presence of the folk-motifs in the Najerense's Castilian material is not proof of its epic origin, although their number and their vital narrative function make this a
possibility. It is also difficult to envisage another literary form in which the legends could have circulated, while it is known from the later chronicles that epics were composed on those same subjects. All that can be definitely concluded from the Najerense's versions is the antiquity of the legends and their relevance to the Castilian political consciousness. Their traditional nature is demonstrated by the reality of the historical background against which the sensational events, particularly those of the Condesa traidora, are set, which was not, as Menéndez Pidal rightly emphasised, the result of investigation by a twelfth-century writer. It is more likely that the legend had circulated in the same basic form since the early eleventh century, when it was fostered by the need to explain the disastrous consequences of the disagreement between Count Garci Fernández and his son. The original elements of the legends were preserved in the later chronicles, but usually in an elaborated form.

The sections of the Najerense devoted to the reign of Sancho II differ from the other passages concerning Castile in that they are not summaries, but full-length accounts based on seemingly non-historical material. The nature of this material has been much debated and there is very little that can be added. The existence of a Latin poem, the so-called Carmen de morte Sanctii Regis, as a source for various sections has been amply proven, but the existence of a vernacular poem that served as the basis of the Latin work remains highly dubious. William J. Entwistle concluded that the chronicler drew on a Latin
poem whose metre resembled that of the Poema de Almería in its irregularity, after he isolated whole and partial hexameters in the chronicle's text. Even if some of Entwistle's reconstruction is over-enthusiastic, the existence of the Carmen cannot be doubted, since the Najerense chronicler merely copied what material lay before him; he did not presume to ornament his texts. The metrical traces cannot therefore be considered instances of the cursus rhythmicus or of similar embellishments, but must be vestiges of a Latin poem.

The situation is complicated by the irregular occurrence of the metrical traces, for they are concentrated in particular passages and are not found scattered throughout the account of Sancho's reign. Entwistle pointed to their frequency in certain episodes: the rescue of Sancho at Golpejera by Rodrigo Díaz, Urraca's lament and plea at Zamora and the subsequent assassination of Sancho. In spite of the almost total lack of metrical traces elsewhere, he remained convinced that the Carmen was utilised throughout by the chronicler. He accepted the possibility of the existence of a vernacular poem at the time of the Najerense's compilation, but considered that the Latin poem was an independent creation intended to publicise the cult of Sancho's tomb at the monastery of San Salvador de Oña. The poem ended at the point where reference is made in the chronicle to Sancho's burial: '(perpauci) ... corpus rapiunt et ad monasterium Sancti Saluatoris Onnie deferunt tumulandum!' (III: 44). Salvador Martínez, however, has proposed that the chronicler utilised more than one source:
the Latin poem for the sections preserving traces of hexameters and a vernacular poem or poems for those lacking such traces. These latter would comprise the summaries of Sancho's relations with his brothers (III: 30-1) and the short account of the rape of Sancho's fiancée by the bastard son of García of Pamplona and the King's vengeance at Graus (III: 32). They would also include the extensive episode prior to the battle of Golpejera, when Sancho's bravado is contrasted with the modesty of Rodrigo Díaz, who will not admit that he is worth more in battle than just one of the enemy's number (III: 34). An initial objection must be raised, however, for this last scene appears to be a prelude to the episode in the battle when the Cid defeats the fourteen Leonese knights who have captured Sancho (III: 36). Were it not for the absence of metrical traces from the first passage, the simple conclusion could be drawn that the two scenes were not juxtaposed by the chronicler, but conceived as one by a poet who wished to belie the Cid's verbal modesty by celebrating his prowess in action. No immediate solution to this paradox emerges. No problem arises with the passages concerning Sancho's imprisonement of García (III: 30), his defeat of Alfonso at Llantada (31) and his victory at Graus (32), since these are self-contained episodes. However, they are summaries and contain no dialogue and a minimal amount of detail, features which make their derivation from poetic sources harder to prove.

Three additional pieces of evidence argue for the chronicler's use of vernacular poems in his account of Sancho II's reign. Entwistle underlines the prominence
accorded to the figure of the Cid in various episodes, a fact which is surprising if the only source was the *Carmen* composed as propaganda for the tomb-cult at Oña.\(^42\) In such a context, the deeds of the Cid would not have been of great relevance to the monastic poet, as Entwistle points out: 'To the monastery of Oña, the reputation of the Cid was probably of no special concern; their spokesman desired only to point to the tomb and epitaph of don Sancho'. The existence of a celebratory work, or works, concerning the two protagonists is not to be denied, but it was one in which the Cid was portrayed in as favourable light as his king and revealed the same qualities of fortitudo and sapientia that are attributed to him in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*. The chronicler's sources could all have been in Latin, but the prosification shows no metrical traces in the vital scene between Rodrigo and Sancho (III: 34). "This account is quite different from the summaries of episodes from the history of the condado and of events earlier in Sancho's reign, for it is detailed and makes extensive use of dialogue to reveal character. Yet even if there were a vernacular source poem containing the Cid-Sancho dialogue, this would not be proof of the existence of the *Cantar de Sancho II*, since the *Estoria de España* 's prosification does not contain the scene."

A poetic account of a complex series of historical events can be expected to show a tendency toward compression and simplification. The process can be illustrated by the treatment of the Valencia campaign and of the relationship between Alfonso VI and the Cid in the *Cantar*
The Najerense's account of Sancho II's reign records that García of Galicia was defeated by Sancho and kept imprisoned for the remaining twenty-four years of his life. In fact, García was dethroned by both brothers acting in agreement, although it was Sancho who marched into Galicia. The omission of reference to Alfonso VI was not an attempt to exculpate the Leonese monarch, but a simplification made to focus attention on the figure of Sancho. The duration of the imprisonment is lengthened and simplified: he was detained at Burgos for a time, but was released on swearing an oath of allegiance and allowed to seek refuge at the court of the King of Seville. After Sancho's death, García was captured in 1073 by the triumphant Alfonso VI and it was he who kept him imprisoned until his death in 1090.

The account of Sancho's advance into Galicia centres on a folk-motif, for he was allowed entry into the kingdom on the grounds that he was making the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (K2357.2, Disguise as pilgrim to enter enemy's camp). The basic motif occurs in the 'lost' epics in various forms. According to the Estoria de España, the wife of Fernán González disguised herself as a pilgrim in order to free her husband a second time (K1817.2, Disguise as pilgrim; possibly K2357.2 also). García Fernández proceeded along the camino francés to seek vengeance on his adulterous wife and her lover (K1817.2; also H1228, Quest undertaken by hero for vengeance).

The tendency to concentrate events within a single period might be further illustrated by the placing of the
battle of Graus in the reign of Sancho II. The historical battle was fought in the reign of Fernando I in 1063, but it was Sancho as Infante who led the royal army. This displacement could have resulted from the practice of referring to the Infante as rex, for the Historia Roderici states that 'Sanctius rex ad Caesaraugustam perrexit et cum rege Ranimiro aragonensi in Grados pugnuit' (920. 14-15). The Najerense version, however, includes seemingly fictitious incidents and hinges upon Sancho's desire for revenge on Ramiro of Aragon who was protecting the man who had raped his future wife (III: 32).

Menéndez Pidal perceived a verbal similarity between a phrase in the Najerense's account of the plot to murder Sancho and one in the vernacular Crónica de 1344. He suggested that the Latin chronicler was drawing directly on a vernacular poem that he was endeavouring to turn into Latin. Urraca's rhetorical question: 'Quid mihi faceret extraneus in planis, cum hec mihi frater uterinus faciat in arduis et munitis?' is pivoted about the binary phrase 'in planis' / 'in arduis et munitis'. Pidal spotted a vernacular equivalent in the fourteenth-century chronicle: 'que quien vos cerca en la peña sacar vos ha de lo llano'. This argument alone does not prove the chronicler's use of a vernacular poem, for there is no reason why the Latin binary phrase must be a translation of the vernacular one. Similar pairs such as 'castella et oppida' occur in the twelfth-century Latin texts not based on vernacular originals or sources, while some of the pairs have classical-Latin precedents. It is also possible that the rhetorical
question became a traditional part of the legend and could have existed in poems in both Latin and Castilian without there having been any influence or contact. However, the absence of traces of metre in the relevant section of the Najerense makes Pidal's hypothesis possible. It does not corroborate his further assumption that the Cantar de Sancho II already existed in 1160 and persisted in the same basic form for all of three centuries.

Any conclusions that can be drawn about the nature of the Najerense chronicler's sources for the reign of Sancho II must remain tentative and strictly provisional. The existence of the Latin poem, the Carmen de morte Sancti Regis, is indisputable and it is likely that it was composed at or on behalf of the monastery of San Salvador de Oña. This poem accounts definitively for only paragraphs III: 36 and III: 42-4, for the remainder lack metrical traces. The logical solution would be to suppose that for the remaining sections the chronicler had at his disposal a vernacular poetic source or sources. The reordering of events, the portrayal of contrasted characters through their words and deeds and the extent of one of the episodes indicate that he drew on non-historical material. This hypothetical source cannot be equated with the Cantar de Sancho II, since the latter lacks the central episode containing the Cid-Sancho dialogue. This solution coincides with the provisional conclusion of Martínez to which objection has already been raised. The summary sections devoted to the first years of Sancho's reign (III: 30-2) are similar to the summaries of Castilian material from the condado period. They could
therefore be based upon legends that were circulating orally or on epic poems that the chronicler did not possess in written form. The problem arises with the scene between the Cid and Sancho and with its relation to the following episode of the Cid's rescue of his king, for to attribute these to different sources, one to a vernacular poem, the other to the Carmen, cuts across the pattern created by vestiges of hexameters throughout the Sancho II narrative. The dilemma could be solved only if the juxtaposition of the two scenes were the result of coincidence, not of one individual's inspiration. This might be possible on one occasion, but a similar problem arises with the various passages concerning the plot against Sancho at Zamora. Metrical traces occur regularly only after paragraph III: 42, although the two preceding paragraphs seem to be essential parts of the same narrative. It is not therefore possible to claim that the chronicler actually translated and prosified vernacular poems in producing his account of Sancho II's reign.

One additional objection must be raised to Martínez's conclusions, for if the Sancho-Cid dialogue and the other unaccounted scenes were taken from vernacular poems, these were not cantos noticieros. The hypothetical short epics may have been based on historical events, but they would have been considerably fictionalised, as is illustrated by the account of the battle of Graus and the cause of Sancho's revenge.

If it is assumed that Castilian epic poems were circulating at the time of the Najerense's compilation (1142-1157),
it is not unreasonable to conclude that the chronicler summarised the outline of their plots. The poems must have been orally diffused and were probably orally composed, since some of the Sancho II material and all the material relating to the counts does not appear to have been available in writing. This accounts for the brevity of the summaries and their lack of minute detail and of direct speech, while admitting their link with the poems prosified in later chronicles. If the chronicler did use vernacular poems as sources for the extended episodes in the Sancho II narrative, these poems must have been written, for otherwise he would have been unable to preserve their dialogue and incidental detail. Their existence, however, cannot be established on the evidence contained in the Najerense.

(b) Conclusion of twelfth-century Latin historiography

The Crónica Najerense looks forward to the large-scale chronicles that were to follow in the thirteenth century: the Chronicon mundi of Lucas el Tudense, the De rebus Hispaniae of Archbishop Rodrigo and the vernacular Estoria de España of Alfonso X. The anonymous compiler introduced two major innovations into historical writing, one concerning the nature of the material included, the other the method that he adopted of utilising his sources. He broke away from the Leonese chronicle tradition by recording the history of the county of Castile and the deeds of its rulers who were non-royal, non-ecclesiastical personages. The only Castilian sources of this material were non-historical and the chronicler was obliged to summarise legends that at the time were
circulating orally, probably in the form of vernacular epics. For the reign of Sancho II, he utilised a variety of sources: a Latin poem, possibly vernacular poems and certainly heroic legends akin to those surrounding the counts of Castile. He did not reject the information contained in the Leonese chronicles, indeed they were his major source, but he utilised them in a new way. Previous chroniclers had been content to copy out one chronicle after another, without seeking to augment each major source. The Najerense chronicler copied slavishly, but he collected as much material as he could from several sources in order to produce a composite account that was as comprehensive as possible. This technique induced duplication, but it was to become an integral part of the method of later historical writers. The compilers of the Estoria de España, for example, took information from an endless variety of sources which they synthesised in order to produce a consistent account. At a later stage in the compilation, this technique was abandoned and sometimes different versions of an event were included, when the sources did not coincide. Dilemmas arose particularly when they prosified vernacular epics and sometimes their more fanciful details were placed outside the main narrative. Thus, in spite of the mechanical nature of much of his work, the technique of the Najerense chronicler prefigures that used in the compilation of those chronicles that are among the most accomplished of Spain's historical writings. It must be stressed, however, that there is no evidence to suppose that the Alfonsine chroniclers or the thirteenth-century Latin chroniclers learnt the technique from the
The unoriginal nature of most of its material meant that later historians had no need of it as a source and thus no trace of it appears in their compilations. It is likely that the wealth of material at their disposal obliged them to adopt the same technique as the twelfth-century compiler. Nevertheless, the change in historical method that he initiated is fundamental to the history of Spanish historiography and it heralds a radical development.

The emergence of this new kind of chronicle writing seems also to signal the end of that phase of Hispano-Latin historiography that is the subject of this thesis. The first years of the twelfth century had witnessed a rebirth of Latin letters, when the writing of histories replaced the tradition of chronicle composition that had already lapsed for about one hundred years. Until now it may have appeared that the question of the definition of chronicles and histories has been begged in this discussion of twelfth-century historiography and indeed it has, but with justification. Historical writing in Spain never attained the peaks of achievement reached by writers in other European countries, notably in France and England. To have established rigid criteria for distinguishing different types of historical writing: biography, history of a people, secular and ecclesiastical history, would have entailed the affixing of well-gummed labels to works which defy definition. Even the distinction between chronicle and history in Hispano-Latin historiography is blurred, as is illustrated by the case of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, that here has been treated as a history. An implicit dividing line has, however,
been drawn between the two genres and certain generalisations, set out in the introduction, have been observed. The medieval historian has been distinguished from the chronicler by his efforts to make his form of expression a suitable medium for the exposition of his theme or for the account of the deeds of his chosen historical protagonist. The medieval chronicler remained content to record events, refraining from elaborating upon them and from embellishing his narrative with superfluous adornments. The historian, however, made use of rhetorical devices, a varied vocabulary that might at times have echoed classical poetry, and borrowings from other works, all of which enhanced his narrative and increased the range of his expression. A concern for style has been considered a distinctive feature of the celebratory work, whether in prose or in verse. A history has been further distinguished from a chronicle by the arrangement of its material. In the latter, events are arranged in chronological order so that the record of events is clear and concise. As much information as possible is included, although details particularly humiliating for the chronicler's own cause may be omitted. The historian felt at liberty to rearrange the order of events to underline the purpose of his history. Such rearrangements take various forms. Events may be displaced to emphasise the role of a particular individual or to contrast two historical passages. Events are readily omitted when they are considered irrelevant to the main subject of the history or unflattering to the principal protagonist. Rearrangement was necessary to make events conform to the view that the historian had of
them and wished to present to his public. These two basic distinctions between chronicles - and annals - on the one hand and histories on the other have been neatly drawn by Beryl Smalley: 'Chronicles and annals recorded events in their time sequence, and their compilers did not aim at elegant presentation. The historian by contrast paid attention to style and did not feel bound to a strict chronological order. He could use digression and flashbacks'. An additional characteristic of histories, linked to the reordering of events, is the introduction of basic historiographical themes that are sustained throughout the work. These concepts are mostly commonplaces: the notions of divine punishment of sin and of the working of divine providence. Alternatively, they may be ideas fundamental to a particular people's view of its origin, such as the belief that the Leonese regnum-imperium was the heir to the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo. Even the most banal or endlessly reiterated concept can serve as an interpretation of history and it may therefore account for the reordering of events. Chroniclers rarely felt obliged to interpret, they aimed only to set down facts in writing.

The historical writings of twelfth-century Spain are linked by their tendency to focus upon a single historical figure: a non-royal hero, a reigning monarch or the preceding monarch whose passing was to be lamented. Thus the 'histories' share features of a separate genre of historical writing: the biography. Writers of these works also felt no obligation to observe a strict chronology and they tampered 'with' the time sequence when to do so was to their
subject's advantage. Their own conception of the latter's qualities and achievements demanded that they develop skilful devices that avoided the presentation of unflattering material, but without omitting it altogether. It was thus possible to turn a defeat into a victory snatched away at the last moment or a hasty act into a defiant or heroic gesture. Successful biographers were essentially successful propagandists, for they did not allow any incident or detail to detract from the overall view that they desired to convey. The subtle rearrangement of the elements of a historical situation to cast a bright light on attractive features and shadow on the unpleasant was the most effective means of achieving this. Beryl Smalley emphasises how motives of propaganda underlay the composition of many medieval historical works and of biographies in particular: 'The propaganda motive dominated medieval historiography, as it had Roman. Biographies show it in its crudest form: a royal biography was a propaganda piece by definition'.

In the three Hispano-Latin works that have been treated in this thesis as biographies: the Historia Roderici, the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris and the Historia Silense, the nature of the writer's own perspective has been made clear whenever it is the obvious clue to his presentation of events and to the celebratory treatment of his chosen protagonist's actions.

The writing of histories, as distinct from the composition of chronicles, was not a literary endeavour that persisted in Spain; indeed it appears to have been undertaken only during the first half of the twelfth century. That short
period of time did not allow the evolution of methods of composition comparable with those developed in other countries, and it is for that reason that peninsular historical writings are hard to classify. The Historia Roderici, for example, is a biography in scope and subject-matter, but it remains a chronicle in form. Its writer admired Rodrigo Díaz as a warrior, but he did not reflect on the nature of his success or on the particular form of his tactical skills. He neglected completely any ideas of historical causality, omitting to explain the reasons for some actions and to emphasise the full impact of others. His narrative even contains loose ends, references to incidents that are not taken up again and are left unexplained. Yet the work is remarkable in that it is devoted to a single non-royal, secular protagonist, a man who became the subject of heroic legend, not of official histories. The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris is similar to the Historia Roderici in maintaining a chronological narrative for most of its length, although this is disrupted at several points when the writer wished to draw attention to particular facets of his material. He arranged his narrative to highlight the role of his hero, Alfonso VII, as God’s chosen instrument, who counteracted the Aragonese opposition to the grand design and who fought God’s battles in al-Andalus against the enemies of Christianity. The history can be considered also as a record of the revelation of the grand design, as the twin themes of divine providence and divine punishment underscore the narrative and are introduced as explanations of historical events.
The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is thus a history, rather than a chronicle, in that it offers an interpretation, not a mere record, of a period of peninsular history.

The *Historia Silense* is possibly the hardest of the three works to define precisely, because of its unusual form and incomplete state. Conceived as a biography of Alfonso VI, it is as much the history of the Leonese monarchy, for the historian completed only a prologue tracing Alfonso's ancestry from its Visigothic origins until the death of Fernando I. Events assume a heightened significance when they are seen in the context of León's aim to reunite the Peninsula under Christian rule, centred on the Visigothic capital of Toledo. Like the Alfonso VII biographer, the *Silense* historian relied upon verbal borrowings to extol the deeds of his principal protagonists, in particular of Alfonso's father Fernando. His concern for style and the development of the theme of divine providence which is linked to the concept of the Visigothic rebirth ensure that he be ranked as a historian, not as a chronicler. Yet even the *Historia Silense* did not succeed in detaching itself completely from techniques of chronicle composition, for much of its narrative consists of a manipulation of existing chronicle sources.

These three works have been studied in the context of Spain's heroic age: the period of the *condado* of Castile and the reigns of Sancho II and Alfonso VI which witnessed the deeds of Rodrigo Díaz. They have been termed heroic biographies, because they were conceived in celebration of the deeds of individuals: the Cid, Alfonso VII, Alfonso VI
and Fernando I, at a time when heroic poetry is known to have been composed in Spain. For this reason, they have been placed side by side with undeniably celebratory works: the Carmen Campidoloris, the Poema de Almería and the Cantar de Mío Cid. The compilation of Pelayo, which hitherto critics have likened to the Historia Silense, has also been included, because it is in fact in marked contrast to the celebratory works, revealing virtually none of their distinctive features. Yet even Pelayo's so-called Crónica includes an extensive section extolling the qualities of Alfonso VI. If León had had a tradition of heroic poetry, the Leonese king-emperors would themselves have been the subjects of heroic poems. Profound cultural differences linked to the disparate nature of the historical evolutions of León and Castile explain this absence, but in the context of the war of Reconquest, the histories recording the captures of Toledo and Almería can be treated as heroic biographies, as ecclesiastical, specifically learned alternatives to vernacular epic. The polarity between León and Castile found outward expression in the contrasting forms of their heroic literatures, in spite of the common sources of their inspiration: the conflict between them and the war against the Muslims. After the death of the Cid, no deeds were performed that gave new inspiration to the Castilian epic poets, but the heroic tradition did not die, as evidence in the Estoria de España and later chronicles testifies. The appearance of the Crónica Najerense in c.1150, however, signified the emergence of Castilian written literature and symbolically, the end of León's cultivation of its own genre of heroic literature: the heroic biography.
Footnotes


2. Najerense, introd., pp. 21-5. The dating of the Liber chronicorum has been discussed in ch. III (b)i.

3. The chronicle was first edited as La Chronique léonaise by Georges Cirot, 'Une Chronique léonaise inédite', BH, XI (1909), 259-82 and 'La Chronique léonaise', BH, XIII (1911), 133-56, 381, 439. Both Cirot and Ubieto Arteta omit all of the first part of the chronicle, i.e. the material taken from Isidore. These sections are given in ES, VI, pp. 453-82, 506-10, 510-14, 504-6, 482-504, according to the order in which they were inserted into the manuscripts of the Najerense.

4. 'Relatos poéticos', pp. 329-52.


7. Alfonso el Sabio y la 'General estoria': tres lecciones (Barcelona, 1942), p. 32.

8. The chronicler's sources are all detailed by Ubieto, Najerense, introd., pp. 14-20.

9. Ubieto is mistaken (introd., p. 30) when he claims that the chronicler blames two different kings for the gift of the Infanta.

10. Dozy demonstrated that the legend was based on historical fact: on the marriage of Teresa, sister of Alfonso V, to al-Mansur; see Recherches (1881), I, pp. 184-7. Emilio Cotarelo, however, rejected Dozy's findings, 'El supuesto casamiento de Almanzor con una hija de Bermudo II', La España Moderna, CLXIX (1903), 42-55.

11. See, for example, III: 50 and 51 and Ubieto's introduction, p. 20. On the translation of the Saint's body to the lower monastery, see Brian Dutton La "Vida de San Millán de la Cogolla" de Gonzalo de Berceo. Estudio y edición crítica (London: Tamesis, 1967), pp. 51-61.


14. Ubieto appears to be in error when he attributes the episode to a Navarrese legend (Najerense, introd., p. 16).

15. The relevant passages from Sampiro occur in S21-7 of the Silense and on pp. 320-9 of Pérez de Urbel's Sampiro.
16. Menéndez Pidal, 'Relatos poéticos!', pp. 335-6, contrasted the Castilian material with the Leonese: 'los reyes languidecían confinados en los relatos cronísticos de adulación cortesana, los personajes castellanos respiraban el aire libre de los cantos populares'.

17. See above p. 22. In the Estoria de España, the prosified Siete Infantes de Lara is placed between the two halves of the Condesa traidora, chapters 736-743 and 751.


19. Menéndez Pidal's neo-traditionalist theories and objections to them are outlined above, pp. 21-3 and n. 35 and n. 40. At one time Pidal rejected the idea that there was a Condesa traidora epic, because of the sensational and non-historical nature of the legend. See 'Realismo de la epopeya española: leyenda de la Condesa Traidora', in Historia y epopeya, pp. 1-27, at p. 6.


21. The suggestion that the whole episode is an ecclesiastical legend is made by A. D. Deyermond, Literary History, pp. 34-5. John K. Walsh ('Religious Motifs in the Early Spanish Epic', RHM, XXXVI [1970-71], 165-72, at pp. 166-7) points to the coincidence between the central incident of the Covadonga episode and the miracle of the turning arrows in the legend of Sts Cosmas and Damian. A crowd assailed the Saints as they were about to be hanged, but the weapons were redirected upon the attackers. The legend figured prominently in the Mozarabic liturgical cycle...
22. cf. 1 Kings iii. 4, 10: 'Et vocavit Dominus Samuel... Qui respondens, ait: "Ecce ego". (10) Et venit Dominus ... et vocavit ... "Samuel, Samuel"'. The account of the second miracle contains verbal echoes of the destruction of Job's sons: 'Repente ventus vehemens irruit ... et concussit quattuor angulos domus, quae corruens oppressit liberos tuos' (Job i. 19). Compare: 'sic iudicio Domini actum est, ut Mons ipsa a fundamento se revoluens, LXIII milia uirorum in flumine proiecit, et ibi omnes eos Mons ipsa oppressit' (II: 7) and also the version of the same incident in the Traslación del cuerpo de san Isidoro: 'et rupes quedam dei nutu precisa corruit; et ex sarracenis non minimam multitudo opprimendo extinxit' (Traslación, in Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco Madrid, 1921, p. 94, 11.15-17).

23. Ubieto's reference to Matthew xiii. 13 is erroneous.


25. See, for example, Poema de mio Cid, ed. Smith, introd., pp. xv-xviii.

26. The whole Covadonga episode and the destruction of the Moors exemplifies the concept of divine punishment expounded in Job i. The Silense historian at the same point actually cites the example of Job:

Sed in hoc turbine lapidum iaculatorumque qualiter divina virtus pro Christianis dimicauerit subtiliter perpende debes, nec enim humana fragilitas, divinam vltionem representando beati Job exemplo, sustinere posset. (23)

27. Menéndez Pidal discusses the versions of the legend of the Infante García and its historical background in 'El
Romanz del Infant García y Sancho de Navarra Antiemperador', in Historia y epopeya, pp. 31-98. The Najerense's summary is contained in II: 90. Passages from the chronicles relating to Fernán González are given by Menéndez Pidal in Reliquias, pp. 34-180.


30. The relevant chapters of the Estoria de España are 729-32 and 763-4 in vol. II of Pidal's edition of the Primera crónica general, pp. 426-9 and 453-4. The Najerense's summary is in II: 80, and 83. Menéndez Pidal discusses the different versions of the legend and its relation to history in 'Realismo de la epopeya española'. See also Salvador Martínez, 'Tres leyendas heroicas de la Najerense y sus relaciones con la épica castellana', Anuario de Letras, IX (1971), 115-77, at pp. 118-30.


32. My analysis of the folk-motifs in the Najerense's
version is an adaptation of that of Deyermond and Chaplin of the *Estoria de España*’s version (‘Folk-motifs’, pp. 50-1). In the *Estoria de España*, a Moorish king is mentioned, but not al-Mansur specifically. This is to avoid contradicting the fanciful account of the latter’s death at Calatañazor, near Santiago, in the reign of Garci Fernández. This latter variant first appears in Lucas el Tudense’s *Chronicon mundi*; see Pidal, ‘Realismo de la epopeya española’, pp. 21-2.

33. The relation of the legends to tomb-cults is outlined briefly below, see p. 406 n.39.

34. See Deyermond and Chaplin, ‘Folk-motifs’, p. 45 n.22.


38. These traces had already been pointed out by Cirot, ‘Une Chronique léonaise’, pp. 272, 275, 276, 277.

of monastic influence on epic is raised in the "earlier" Castilian episodes in the chronicle. The Najerense records that Sancho García had his father's body transferred from Córdoba to San Pedro de Cardeña (II: 80, III: 4). It records also that Sancho's body was buried at San Salvador de Oña 'apud Onie monasterium, quod fecerat' (III: 5). The version of the Condesa traidora in the Estoria de España adds that the Countess was buried at Oña and that Sancho founded the monastery as expiation of his matricide. It claims also that the monastery took its name from the fact of Sancha's burial there (Primera crónica general, II, ch. 764, p. 453b).


41. The episode is an elaboration of the incident narrated by the HR, when the Cid defeated fifteen knights during the siege of Zamora. There is no mention of Sancho, and Rodrigo kills only one man and wounds two, while the rest escaped (HR: 5). In the Najerense episode, they were all killed except one who was gravely wounded.

42. 'On the Carmen', pp. 218-9.

43. See above pp. 141-6 and n. 24.

44. See Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, I, pp. 169-71, 203-4, and also the account in the Silense, paragraph 13. Fraker emphasises the importance of Sancho's invasion of Galicia and then of his defeat of Alfonso in the hypothetical 'early' version of the Cantar de Sancho II ('Sancho II: Epic and Chronicle', pp. 475-6).

45. See Deyermond and Chaplin, 'Folk-motifs', pp. 47-8, 49.
46. See Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, pp. 131-4; also the account in *HR*: 4.

47. 'Relatos poéticos', pp. 349-50 and *Reliquias*, pp. xli-xlii.

48. See ch. VI(a)i.


50. The *Estoria de España*'s account of the death of Garci Fernández is a conspicuous example. The historical reason for the weakening of the Count's position is given: the split in the *condado* as a result of his son's rebellion. The chroniclers introduce the epic's version: his wife's feeding his horse on husks, as an addendum: 'Et deues a saber que una de las cosas por que aquel dia los moros mas prision et mataron al conde Garci Ferrandez si fue por que ...' (*Primera crónica general*, II, 763, p. 453b).

Sometimes the compilers were forced to reject details from epic accounts, but they mentioned them nevertheless. Their critical sense spotted the error of the epic version of the siege of Zamora when it claimed that it lasted seven years: 'et dizen en los cantares de las gestas que la touo cercada vii annos: mas esto non pudo ser, ca non regno el mas de vi annos segund que lo fallamos escripto en las cronicas' (*Primera crónica general*, II, 834, p. 509a). Both these passages fall within the section compiled by the later collaborators, after the initial process of synthesis had been forsaken. This, however, does not alter the position of the *Majerense* as a precursor of the *Alfonsine* chronicles.
The genesis of the *Estoria de España* is fully examined in the first two studies of Diego Catalán's *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*. *Cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal* (Madrid, 1962).

51. *Historians in the Middle Ages*, p. 15.

52. *Historians in the Middle Ages*, p. 185.
CHAPTER VI: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE CELEBRATORY WORKS

This thesis grew out of an initial attempt to investigate certain stylistic similarities existing between the Latin historical writings of the vernacular heroic poetry of twelfth-century Spain. The amount of material that I have assembled on this subject is considerable, but for various reasons it has proved necessary to confine this aspect within a single chapter. First, the Historic Silense and the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris both display the heightened form of expression typical of the celebratory work, but each possesses a stylistic individuality that is related to the writer's conception of his subject matter. If this individuality were not clarified and stressed before considering points of coincidence, the vital function of language in the heroic biographies could not be fully appreciated. Secondly, most of my findings are based on an article by C. C. Smith and I have not been able to make many additions to the number of stylistic features on which he has already commented. This chapter is therefore limited to a summary of various stylistic features common to the histories and to the vernacular epic, although I have tried to present as wide a variety of examples as possible. Most of the examples from the Spanish epic are of necessity taken from the Cantar de Mio Cid, but these have been supplemented by parallel instances from the Chanson de Roland, where some of the features are also observed.
The summary is divided into two parts: the first comprises particular features that are common not just to historical writings and epic poetry, but to most forms of written communication, including non-literary material such as legal diplomas and monastic charters and donations. These phrases must have formed part of the habitual mode of written expression of the twelfth century rather than of any one writer's personal style. In themselves they do not perform any celebratory function; indeed, they can perform a variety of functions depending upon their context and upon the nature of the writing in which they occur. The phrases tend to be less frequent in the more learned works, that is in the CAI and Silense, because the writers preferred to imitate the forms of expression of particular models. In the less erudite Latin writings, in the Historia Roderici in particular, the phrases occur in abundance, for their style is basically denotative, approximating to that of non-literary material. The second group of features comprises narrative motifs common to the Latin and vernacular celebratory works. Since the nature of the subject-matter of histories and epics is the same, consisting of descriptions of warfare—preparations for campaigns, battle scenes and accounts of sieges—similar incidents are narrated in both genres in not dissimilar form. Their celebratory nature ensures also that histories and epics contain other motifs relating to the aspects of the medieval conception of wealth and power: descriptions of riches, gifts and peace-offerings, the spoils of war and of triumphant processions—and welcoming crowds. Similar forms of expression again tend to
recur from one work to another, but any coincidence of phraseology results from a limited choice of words to express a given idea or from the use of a phrase ultimately deriving from the same source, probably the Vulgate.

A further problem arises because Smith has already collaborated in the publication of a detailed study of one particular stylistic feature and has another in preparation. This has obliged me to seek an approach to the phenomenal ubiquity of certain of the phrases that does not involve studying their historical development. I have chosen instead to investigate their occurrence within a single genre: the Romance epic. Since the particular linguistic function of each feature is dependent to some extent upon the nature of the writing in which it appears, the method has necessitated an attempt to describe the language proper to heroic epic. I have tried to equate the ritual nature of epic to the particular features of its discourse, including those discussed in the first part of this chapter. It would be possible to show that these features perform a different function in another context: in the language of the law, for example, or in the unusually concrete language of the HR. Because of the rather tentative nature of this approach, I have developed these ideas in an appendix.

(a) Common stylistic features

1 Binary phrases

These consist of pairs of words: nouns, verbs or adjectives and occasionally adverbs, that together express
a single notion. They occur in many languages at distinct phases in linguistic development and in different forms of communication, literary and non-literary, written and possibly oral. They are found, for example, in Classical, Biblical and medieval Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Old French and medieval Spanish, and in the latter they are most frequent in particular genres: the epic, *clerencia* verse and the prose romances. In the Latin texts, they function basically as a means of amplification, while in the epic, in addition to performing that function, many pairs serve as line-fillers. There are three categories of binary phrase: inclusive, synonymous and semi-synonymous.

Inclusive pairs express a single idea, but in terms of two direct opposites. Certain set expressions existed in classical Latin, such as *nocte dieque* and *huc et illuc*, where the terms fuse to form the single notions of 'all the time' and 'everywhere'. They persisted in medieval Latin and acquired vernacular equivalents: *de noch e de dia*, *della e della part*. A greater variety of inclusive pairs existed in medieval writing and they tended to fall into definite categories. They cover such broad notions as 'everybody' and 'no one' or all the members of a particular group of people - the church, the army, even of a crowd - in terms of their constituent elements. The main idea is broken down by basic divisions of sex, age and rank, while the *CMC* contains the interesting phrase *moros e christianos* meaning 'everyone'. The phrase was evidently a product of the age of Reconquest, although the rare equivalents that are found in the Latin histories are
generally used in a literal sense. Certain inclusive pairs that occur in the histories were derived from legal writing, for they are frequent in monastic documents and legal diplomas, but they are also found regularly in vernacular epic, especially in the CMC.

Examples

Archetypal pairs: huc et illuc (CAI: 118, 129; Silense: 4, 9), nocte dieque (CAI: 53; Silense: 10, 22), longe latque (CAI: 96), aurum et argentum (CAI: 52, 94; HR: 61, 62; Silense: 26)
CMC: della e della part (771, 1965), de noch e de dia (222, 564), oro e plata (81, 310)
Roland: li vespres e li jurz (1807), or e argent (32, 75)

People (and animals) in terms of sex: viros et mulieres (CAI: 36, 119; HR: 10, 23), filios et filias (HR: 6, 26; Silense: 81, 101), equorum e equarum (CAI: 39, 88), regum et reginarum (CAI: 39)
CMC: mugieres e varones (16b, 2709), moros e moras (541, 852), nin cativos nin cativas (517), burgueses e burguesas (17)
Roland: ne mulier ne mule (480, 757)

People in terms of age, status and rank: nobiles et ignobiles (CAI: 61, 62), maiores et minores (CAI: 70), milites et pedites (CAI: 13, 34); HR: 18, 33), equitum peditumque (Silense: 17), episcopes et abbates (CAI: 69; Silense: 101, 106)
CMC: grandes e chicos (591, 1990), cavalleros e peones (844), peones e encavalgados (807)
Roland: ne mulier ne dame (1960), pulcele e oixurs (821), evesques e abez (2955)

People in terms of religion: (tam) christiani (quam) sarracenii (HR: 39 twice), christianos et barbaros (Silense: 30)
CMC: moros e christianos (1242, 2498), moros nin christianos (107, 145)

Legal terminology: egressum et ingressum (HR: 68), (tam) habitabilem (quam) inhabitabilem) (Crónica, p. 83, 11. 13-14)
CMC: las exidas e las entradas (1163, 1572), yermo o poblado (390), la media poblada e la media por poblar (94), los averes e las casas (45)

Religious terminology: anime et corporis (Silense: 28)
CMC: los cuerpos e las almas (28), cielo e tierra (217, 331), justos e peccadores (3728)...
Topography: montibus uel in campis (Crónica, p. 83 l.14), montibus et vallibus (Cartulario cidiano, p. 842)
Roland: les destreiz e les tertres (805), les vals e les munz (856), li pui e li val (814)

An additional group of inclusive pairs comprises terms that each refer to a separate notion, not to binary opposites, but the distinctions between them are not observed and they fuse to form single concepts. These pairs tend to fall into categories and they refer particularly to the nobility, feudal benefices and fortified places. Phrases such as comites et duces, villas et terras and castellae et civitates, for example, combine to express single ideas: 'the nobility' or 'all the nobles', 'estates' or 'all one's property', 'all the fortifications' or 'all the towns and cities'.

Examples:

Comitum et ducum (CAI: 38), principes et ducès (CAT: 120, HR: 50), duces et principum (CAT: 172), potestates et duces (CAT: 68, HR: 57)
CMC: cuendes e ifançones (2072, 2964), (de) conde nin (de) ifançon (3479)
Roland: ses dux e ses cuntes (14), reis ne cataignes (1850)

Castella et honores (CAI: 23, 74), villas et terras (CAI: 71)
CMC: casas e palaçios (115), casas y heredades (301), honores e tierras (887)
Roland: teres e fiez (76), honurs e fieus (315), honors e teres (3399)

Castella et civitates (CAI: 13, 16; Silense 32, 37), civitates et oppida (CAI: 47, 96), oppida et villas (CAI: 7), oppida vel turges (Poema de Almería: 213)
Roland: mur ne citet (5)

Synonymous pairs express a single notion, just as inclusive pairs do, but one term reinforces the other, sometimes merely by repetition, sometimes by an additional alliterative effect. They first appear in any number in the Latin of Sallust, who was a favourite model in the Middle
Ages. In Cicero and Livy, they are much rarer, being used only for special rhetorical effect. In twelfth-century Spain and France, synonymous pairs occur widely in both Latin and vernacular texts, but strangely the CMC has a relatively low number of absolutely synonymous pairs. The Roland, by contrast, possesses a greater variety. Some social and legal formulae have direct equivalents in Latin and in the Romance languages, as is evident from the examples.

Bono et sincero (animo) (HR: 64), bono animo et bona uoluntate (HR: 32), gaudentes et exultantes (HR: 23), laudantes et glorificantes (CAI: 157), strages et interfectio (HR: 8), depredans et deuastans (HR: 10), dampna et detrimenta (HR: 21), confregasti et uiolasti (HR: 38), confusi turbatique (Silense: 24), pauper et miser (CAI: 20), vindicatam et utionem (CAI: 42)

CMC: de voluntad e de grado (149), de cuer e de voluntad (226), penso e comidio (1889, 1932), grand prez e grand valor (3197), ayude e acorra (222), sanas e sin mal (1402), linpia e clara (3649), (sin) pielles e (sin) mantos (4)

Roland: (para) honur e (par) ben (39), (par) amur e (par) ben (121), les mals ne les suffraites (60), balz e liez (96), peines e ahans (267), bele e clere (445), (a) hunte e (a) viltet (437), tempeste e ored (689), desculuret e pale (1979)

Semi-synonymous pairs are hard to define, because the dividing line between them and synonymous pairs is impossible to fix. Their occurrence is similar, except that they are rather more frequent in the CMC than absolute synonyms. Their function also is similar, although there is a tendency for vernacular poets to use one general term together with another more specific meaning. This is especially noticeable in adjectival constructions, e.g. grandes ... e sobejanos; ffera ... e grand; bons ... trenched. Semi-synonymous pairs tend to fall into particular categories
in the epics, covering clothing, arms and weapons, birds and animals. There is a distinct similarity between the categories found in the Roland and those in the CMC, as is evident from the examples.

Deuicti ac confusi (HR: 16), uinctum atque captum (HR: 42), ululantes et uociferantes (HR: 62), signis et prodigis (Silense: 2), ullulatus et planctus (CAT: 138)

CMC: maravillosa e grant (427), palafres e mulas (2254), falcones e adtores (5), escudos e armas (795), lâncas e espadas (834), lumbres e candelas (244), vistas ó cortes (2734), pelliciones e mantos (1065)

Roland: bons ... trenchanz (554), merveillose e grant (1663), palafred ne destrer (756), de lance e d'espiet (1675), palies e ciclatuns (846)

The origin of binary phrases is mysterious; indeed, it may be wrong-headed to seek an origin, even to plot their development. Consideration of their occurrence in written form prior to the twelfth century suggests that they could have been taken over by vernacular poets, consciously or unconsciously, and adapted to their new context. This solution raises one serious objection: the unknown quantity of a tradition of oral poetry. It is most probable that Romance epic, as it has survived, is founded upon an oral tradition whose origin, nature and development are unknowable. Some of the pairs must have been an integral part of the oral poet's resources, for they exist in the surviving poems in such great numbers, while some are evidently formulae and all are formulaic and useful line-fillers. Moreover not all of the pairs have precedents in Classical or Biblical writing. Some phrases, however, in Roland and especially in the CMC, quite clearly derive from the language of the law, that is from written Latin.
A solution to the dilemma lies in positing an independent origin for the phenomenon itself in its various contexts. The occurrence of pairs in any one genre is occasioned by a particular linguistic need, and word pairs can serve different purposes in different forms of writing. In oral epic, they could have been cultivated for their alliterative and mnemonic values, whereas in Latin writing they served as a variety of amplificatio. Their function in legal language was to avoid loopholes, for it was wise to detail all the applications of a law to prevent claims of exemption on the grounds of omission.\textsuperscript{13} Pairs were also employed by translators and indeed by all those working in a language with which they were less familiar than with their own. Translators used two words in order to convey the full meaning of a single foreign word; especially if they were working from some sort of glossary, while a medieval writer such as the historian of the HR used synonymous pairs to express in his semi-scholarly Latin the precise effect that he desired.\textsuperscript{14} Because of this possible variety of linguistic functions, I have appended to this chapter an outline study of the function of binary phrases and related forms of expression in Romance epic.

ii Physical phrases

The Latin histories and the Castilian epic contain large numbers of examples of 'physical' phraseology, of phrases referring to parts of the body in the performance of an action or gesture, or in the designation of a particular state or condition.\textsuperscript{15} The physical reference and the action
that it signifies are generally symbolic, while in Latin writing the physical phrase may be rendered semi-redundant by being coupled to an abstract expression denoting the concept symbolised. This unusually concrete phraseology derives in many cases from the performance of the actual gesture in reality, while in the remaining cases, the gap between the abstraction and a physical movement is very small.

The hand has obviously acquired a variety of symbolic overtones, generally in a legal context, some of which it possessed before the medieval period. In Roman law, for example, manus signified the power that a man had over his wife. The majority of physical phrases in the twelfth-century Hispano-Latin texts not unnaturally involve the hand. Some phrases denote a specific gesture that was part of the ritual of medieval law and custom, while others are purely symbolic. Generally, the hand has connotations of power, either benevolent or inimical. In the Latin histories, phrases with manus signify domination, as in the context: 'sed veni et libera nos de manibus eius [of the King of Aragon]' (CAI: 13), or captivity in the context: 'ne dimittas me nec uxorem meam ... in manibus comitis Roderici' (CAI: 20). Parallels for these symbolic usages can be found in the Vulgate, e.g. '(Dominus) ... scindet regnum tuum de manu tua' (I Kings xxviii. 17) and 'Jura mihi per Deum ... non tradas me in manus domini mei' (I Kings xxx. 15). The HR writer favoured the use of a synonymous pair, of which one term was physical, the other abstract: 'ut ille tradat te in manus nostras et in potestate nostra' (38, also 41).
Manus could also have the more favourable connotations of guidance and direction, as in the CAI: 'per manus illius omnia bella regalia et consilio eius fiebant' [106]. In the HR, it is used in the sense of protection, as is indicated by the Latin abstract: 'comes ... partem quendam su, imperio subditam in protectione et in manu Roderici tunc posuit' (42).

The CMC poet uses the word in a phrase signifying release from captivity, when the Cid offers the Count of Barcelona his freedom: 'a vos e dos fijos dalgo / ... darvos e de mano' (1035-1035b, also 1040). The notion of protection appears in the Cid's consent to entrust to King Alfonso the three knights who are to be his champions: 'estos mis tres cavalleros en vuestra mano son' (3487).

Phrases involving the hand are employed with special significance in the context of the wedding ceremonial, where they may have symbolised actual gestures. Mano assumes connotations of power, protection and possession and it figures, as Smith and Morris have shown, in four senses. Casar/dar con la(s) mano(s) indicates the hand of the one who gives away the bride: not the Cid, but the King theoretically and Alvar Fáñez in reality (282b, 2134, 2225). Prender por/con las manos involves the transfer of authority over the daughters, from the King, via Alvar Fáñez, to the Infantes, when the girls are engaged (2097, 2136). Por mano symbolises Alvar Fáñez's role as the King's deputy at the wedding ceremony and it conveys the idea of 'on his (the King's) authority': 'Por mano del Rey Alfonso - que a mi lo ovo mandado - / dovos estas duenas' (2231-2; possibly
Meter en las manos reintroduces the symbolised representation of power and protection, when the Cid entrusts his daughters to the King (2087-8, 2203).  

Akin to the mano phrases used in wedding ceremonial is one referring to the arm. (Tener) en braços is an unusually concrete and evocative expression signifying 'to be married to', but it has obvious physical associations and additional overtones of possession and protection. It occurs on three occasions in the CNC and is hinted at on a fourth (2333, 2761, 3449; 2703). Its connotations of the status of marriage emerge when the Infantes de Carrión contrast their wives with concubines, saying that the Cid's daughters are unworthy even to be the latter: 'non las deviemos tomar por varraganas ... pues nuestras parejas non eran pora en braços' (2759, 2761). The phrase does not appear in legal texts, according to Smith and Morris, and it seems to be particularly archaic, a survival from an earlier period of the language which was given fresh life by the epic poet. No equivalent phrase exists in the Latin histories.

Other physical phrases involving the hand occur in Latin and vernacular texts where manus denotes an actual gesture. Reference is made in the CAT to the vassal's kissing the hand of his feudal lord in affirmation of the bond of vassalage before setting out on a campaign: 'comes vero Rodericus Gundisalvi, postquam osculatus est manum regis' [48]. The HR writer includes a superfluous reference to hand-kissing when he tells of requests made of Alfonso VI: 'Rodericus ... me misit ad te, rogans, tuas osculando manus, ut ...' (34; see also the analogous phrase
in 76 using pedes). The relationship between 'osculando manus' and 'rogans' is the same as that between 'manu' and 'protectione' in the example from section 42 quoted above. The CMC poet uses such phrases in similar contexts, but omits the abstract expression: 'besa vos los pies e las manos amas / quel ay[a]des merged' (879-80, also 1338). References also occur to the handshake which is symbolic of a pledge of faith, 'equivalente a la promesa jurada'.

21 Martín Antolínex demands an undertaking from Raquel and Vidas that they will not disclose the Cid's 'secret': 'amos me dat las manos / que non me descubrades' (106k-107o4).

The HR contains various expressions involving the eyes as in the phrase coram oculis, 'before the eyes of'. This is a combination of two frequent constructions in the Vulgate: coram, 'in the presence of', and in oculis + genitive, 'in the eyes (sight) of, which frequently has a figurative sense. The Latin historian describes tents pitched in the sight of the enemy: 'Rodericus ... coram oculis inimicorum suorum ... sua tentoria fixit' (13). Smith and Morris note that the CMC poet uses an analogous expression, aver a ojo, signifying 'to have one's sight': 'Quando lego Avengalvon dont a ojo [lo] ha' (1517; also 1614, 1838).

22 The text of the fourfold oath in the HR contains, in addition to the references to the hand, four to the body in the context of the charge of menosvaler or 'dishonour' (Smith) against Rodrigo. The document includes his denial of any offence. 'pro qua corpus meum minus valeat aut minus
debeat' (35, four instances). The phrase has an obviously judicial origin and it is paralleled in the trial scene of the CMC, where Pedro Bermúdez, after issuing the denunciation of menosvaler (3334), challenges the Infante Fernando: 'riebtot el cuerpo  por malo e por traidor' (3343). Smith and Morris gloss the word cuerpo as 'fighting power', but it has a more specifically physical significance, because Pedro Bermúdez challenges the Infante to appear in person in the duel. Rodrigo's use of the word in his oath suggests the same meaning, since he offers that either he or a champion representing him should fight in judicial combat against a champion of the King in order to prove his innocence. In the HR, the phrase assumes the additional meaning of 'that aspect of a man over which the king has power, to be arrested, tortured or killed' (Smith and Morris, p. 164).

A further parallel of physical phraseology exists between the HR and the CMC in a judicial context. In one of the documents included in the history, the Cid replies to Ramon Berenguer saying that his charges against him are lies: 'quod sane propio ore plane mentitus es' (39). A similar phrase in Martín Antolínez's challenge to the Infante, Diego, indicates that a lie must be retracted verbally, even if the offender has been defeated:

¡Al partir de la lid ¿ por tu boca lo diras que eres traidor e mentist de quanto dicho has! (3370-1)

Rodrigo's words to the Count echo the formula of the challenge and indeed a challenge is implied, for the Cid concludes, saying: 'inter nos diuidatur huiusmodi litigium uiribus armorum nobilibus' (HR: 39).
Parallels of this nature are to be expected, as both phrases express an identical notion in similar contexts and draw on the customary terminology of the day, known to any man who had dealings with the law. It is not surprising that the HR writer was well acquainted with legal parlance—this occurs throughout his work, not just in the transcribed documents—but such familiarity is more worthy of note in the case of the epic poet. The adroit use of such phrases in a fictitious context is a powerful argument for the learned authorship of the poem, for it is one of several indications that the poet was familiar with written material.  

This brief survey cannot do full justice to the variety and evocative power of the physical phraseology used in the CMC, for I have concentrated on the coincidences between the expressions in the epic and those in the Latin histories. Unlike the Roland, the Spanish epic seems to have retained a great number of expressions that derived from an early stage in linguistic development, whereas in Old French they were lost, perhaps when the transition occurred from an oral to a written tradition. I have, however, chosen to omit at this point a group of literal phrases denoting gestures that are included by Smith and Morris in their study. These served in both Latin and vernacular works to evoke the protagonists' movements in the mind of the reader or audience and in epic they were probably matched by a real gesture on the part of the minstrel. I have preferred to place these expressions among the narrative motifs characteristic of the celebratory works because they generally lack the symbolic significance of the other physical phrases. I would also disagree with Smith and Morris when they assume
that the physical phraseology in the HR and CAI was the result of the influence of vernacular speech-habits. The Alfonso VII biographer drew many of his phrases from the Vulgate, which he used as a model throughout his work, and some of these occur in the HR in similar contexts. The HR as a less erudite work reveals a less literary form of expression which is closer to the Latin of legal diplomas where an undisputed vernacular influence can be found. Many of the other physical phrases may have been born in the twilight age when Vulgar Latin gave way to the vernacular and it seems wrong to define their origins too rigidly. Some expressions existed before that period, as the acceptations of manus in Roman Law and the Vulgate demonstrate. It is an oversimplification to claim that the physical phraseology in the Hispano-Latin histories 'could have derived from no other source' but 'vernacular speech-habits'.

iii A Biblical phrase in the CMC and the Latin histories

The Vulgate is the ultimate or the direct source of a phrase occurring frequently in the twelfth-century histories, which refers to groups of people as a whole, to a warrior's men or to a throng of bystanders. It has the form (omnes) qui ... erant and this finds an equivalent in the CMC's quantos ... son (estan). The CAI refers to the soldiers of Alfonso VII as 'illi, qui cum rege erant' [19], while those of the Moorish governor of the castle of Aurelia are referred to as 'omnes qui cum eo erant' [155]. It is likely that the historian took this feature directly
from the Vulgate, since it was his major source of borrowings, but it appears also in the HR. Rodrigo's enemies accuse him of plotting to have the King and his army ambushed by the Moors: 'ut rex et omnes qui cum illo erant a sarracenis interficerentur' (34; also 76). Among the examples that could be cited from the Vulgate are: 'David et populus qui erat cum eo' (I Kings xxx. 4) and 'omnesque viri, qui erant cum eo' (II Kings i. 11; also ii. 32). The analogous phrase in the CMC occurs in such contexts as: 'aquis ondro mio Cid e quantos con el son' (2428) and in all-embracing enumerations:

Que plega a doña Ximena e primero a vos e a Minaya Albar Fañez e a quantos aqui son.

(2560-1)

The phrase persisted in the ballad tradition, for in the Bernardo del Carpio ballad Con cartas y mensajeros, it occurs twice:

Que no lo estimo yo a él ni aun a cuantos con él son

and

Manténgavos Dios, buen rey, y a cuantos con vos están.

No equivalent phrase occurs in the Roland.

iv Reference to place

Smith has commented on the unexpected occurrence in the CMC of the expression que dizien in connection with place-names, which is unusual because of the poet's tendency to omit elsewhere verba dicendi. The phrase has direct Latin equivalents: qui dicitur ( vocatur) and que dicunt ( vocant), which are found in historical texts and legal writings of the
twelfth century and of earlier periods. In the Cartulario cidiano examples abound such as 'villa que dicunt Valiziello' and 'villam que dicitur Frenales', while in the Becerro gótico de Cardeña, vocare is used: 'flumen quem vocitant Kavia'. In the twelfth-century histories, the CAI has: 'terram quam dicunt Asturias de Santa Iuliana' [6] and 'fluvium qui dicitur Goadalquivir' [35]; the HR: 'castrum qui dicitur Obernia' (3) and 'Murelam, qui uocatur Alolala' (21). The more erudite Silense writer latinised the majority of the place-names he included, but he referred to Los Lodos as 'loco qui dicitur Lutos' (28). In all these contexts, the expression introduces, almost apologetically, vernacular place-names into the Latin text. Justification for this explanation can be found in the parallel use of the phrase in the CAI to excuse the presence of medievalisms for which no Latin equivalent existed, e.g. 'insidias, quas lingua nostra dicunt celatas' [110]; 'turrem quae lingua nostra dicitur alcazar' [150]. Precedents for the use of the phrase with place-names exist in the Vulgate where they may also have had this apologetic function: e.g. 'loco, qui dicitur Baalthamar' (Judges xx. 33); 'civitate, quae vocatur Nazareth' (Matthew ii. 23).

Many place-names, however, appear in the Vulgate without being introduced in this way and it is possible that the phrase served another function which was to add significance to the place by the use of an expanded form of reference. In the medieval works, this purpose is not incompatible with the apologetic function, indeed it could be considered to augment it. It need not apply just to insignificant places, for the
name of Nazareth would have been familiar to every reader of the Bible. Smith denies the possibility of this function in the case of the *que dizen* expressions in the CNC, for the very fact that it refers to places as well-known and as large as Medinaceli. He prefers to explain its presence as a lapse on the poet's part (*dormitat jocularis*), when he was transcribing from a Latin document. The number of instances seems however to be too large to attribute them all to thoughtless adaptation and the effect produced by the phrase is not incongruous. It might be argued that it served mainly as a line-filler, which it did in some cases, but there are instances when it occurs in the first hemistich: 'o dizen el Anssarera ellos posados son' (2657; also 2876, 2879). Sometimes the poet expands the basic expression still further to take up a whole line: 'o dizen Castejon el que es sobre Fenares' (435). Yet even when it forms the second hemistich - where a line-filler is most likely to occur - the expanded form does not jar. Indeed, it adds weight and emphasis to the line: 'ixieron de Celfa la que dizen de Canal' (649). The language of Romance epic could be characterised by its use of seemingly tautological or unnecessary phraseology, of physical and binary phrases in particular, and this contributes to the dignity of the epic recitation by slowing down the act of narration. Thus, the extended references to place-names, in spite of their Latin origin and their occurrence in non-literary material, enhance rather than detract from the power of the poet's language.
Reference to fief

A similar phenomenon is observed in the CMC when the poet refers to feudal lords in terms of their fiefs, utilising a stylistic device that seems more appropriate to the Latin histories. In the HR, for example, Nuño Alvarez is referred to as 'Nunni Albari, qui tenuit castrum Amaye' (2), while the Muslim governor of Rueda, Abu '1-Falak is distinguished in the same way: 'Albolfalac, qui tunc tenebat castrum Rote' (18). The CAT contains identical expressions: 'Garsea Ennequici, qui tenebat Ceiam' [5] and 'Rodericus Petri Villosus, qui tenebat castella in Limia' [74]. The CMC poet uses the device almost as a kind of epic epithet, for the additional reference increases the stature of the person to whom it is applied. Álvar Fáñez is qualified as 'Minaya Albar Fanez que Corita mando' (735) and Martín Muñoz as 'el que mando a Mont Mayor' (738). These are small-scale celebratory references comparable to the poet's triumphant use of Rodrigo's titles: 'Yo so Ruy Diaz el Çid Campeador de Bivar!' (721) or to his enumeration of the lands ruled by Alfonso VI:

Rey es de Castiella e rey es de Leon
e de las Asturias bien a San Çalvador,

ea fasta dentro de Santi Yaguo de todo es señor;

(2923-5)

As with the que dizien expression, there is nothing incongruous in the poet's use of this form of reference to fiefs as a means of distinguishing, and enhancing the status of, feudal lords.
The coincidence of these various forms of phraseology and even of individual phrases in the Latin histories and the vernacular epic does not suggest that one genre exerted an especially powerful influence upon the other. All the stylistic features detailed above formed part of the basic linguistic resources of twelfth-century Spain and they appeared in a variety of contexts. The question of whether certain pairs and certain physical expressions arose in the vernacular or were of Latin origin is a separate issue, and one extremely difficult to resolve. However, it can be said with certainty that vernacular speech-habits, with the exception of isolated binary phrases and possibly one or two physical phrases, did not exert an appreciable influence on the language of the CAI and the Silense. The HR and the Crónica of Pelayo are rather different, since the language of each is conspicuously less literary and more representative of the customary form of Latin expression of the day, as found in the majority of non-literary documents. The CIM betrays some Latin influence in its references to place-names and to fiefs and in other constructions, notably ablative absolutes, mentioned by Smith. It is impossible now to deny the poem's learned authorship, to claim that the poet was not a man familiar with written material, probably legal writings, who used phraseology intrinsic to the language of that material. Nevertheless, to suggest that the CIM can be 'explained' by learned influence would be as absurd as to attempt to discover a pervasive vernacular influence in the Latin writings. Both were part of separate
traditions and both demonstrate fully evolved features and individual characteristics of those traditions. The listing of stylistic features that they share demonstrates that there is common ground between them, that medieval writers, Latin historians and vernacular poets, expressed themselves in similar ways, because they drew on linguistic resources that were the products of shared thought processes and of a shared view of the world.
Footnotes


2. cf., however, pp. 112-13, 117 and 287-8.

Colin Smith is preparing a monograph on binary phrases.

4. cf. 'Et partitus est universae multitudini Israel, tam viros quam mulieres' (II Kings vi. 19). The filios et filiases pair is found in legal writing, e.g. 'filiiis atque filiabus' in the Cartulario cidiano, La España del Cid, II, p. 870 (three times); document dated 21 May 1101.

5. cf. 'Miseruntque et ipsi sortes ... tam maiores, quam minores' (I Chronicles xxiv. 31) and 'missae sunt ergo sortes ... et parvis, et magnis' (I Chronicles xxvi. 13).

6. Menéndez Pidal's reconstruction of the Siete Infantes de Lara (Reliquias, pp. 199-239) contains two examples of moros e christianos at 11.275 and 325.

7. cf. 'cum uillis et terris et uineis cultis uel incultis' and 'solas et excelsa, et despoblados ... cum ingressu et egressu' (Cartulario cidiano, pp. 867 and 875 respectively; documents dated July-December 1098 and 4 October 1213); la media poblada e la media por poblar (Siete Infantes de Lara, l. 94).

8. There are no equivalent phrases in the CMC. Curtius details various classical precedents for the Roland's bathy-orographic phraseology ('Rolandslied und epischer Stil', pp. 222-5).

9. Sallust repeatedly uses the pair castella et oppida (e.g. De bello Iugurthino, lxxxvii: 1, lxxxix: 1) and it occurs also in Einhard (Vita, 9). Smith notes that castellis et civitatibus is found in II Maccabees viii. 6 ('Latin Histories', p. 13). No equivalent phrase appears in Spanish epic.

10. Sallust employs expressions such as laetitia atque

11. Smith points out that the HR's 'cum ingenti leticia gaudentes et exultantes' (23) corresponds to the phrase *ledo e pagado* occurring in the Poema de Fernán González and the Mocedades de Rodrigo ('Latin Histories', p. 10). Ledo e pagado is, however, more closely matched by the Old French *balz e liez*.

12. Unknowable, that is, unless the findings of Parry and Lord are applied retrospectively to medieval epic. A thorough study of this topic with reference to Spanish epic is being undertaken by Margaret Chaplin (Westfield College). Her preliminary conclusions will be published in Medieval-Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton (London: Tamesis, in press). See also: A. D. Deyermond, 'The Singer of Tales and Mediaeval Spanish Epic', BHS, XLII (1965), 1-8; R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Los cantores épicos yugoeslavos y los occidentales. El Mío Cid y dos refundidores primitivos', Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, xxxi (1965-6), 195-225. See also Appendix n.17.

13. I believe that this aspect is of particular importance in Professor Smith's forthcoming monograph.


15. I take the term 'physical' from the comprehensive study of the phenomenon in medieval Spanish by C. C. Smith and


17. It must be emphasised that my examples are strictly selective. Smith and Morris devote separate sections to each concept and draw on a wide variety of texts.


23. cf. "Physical Phrases', p. 165. Smith and Morris detail many additional examples of the use of corpus (pp. 164-8).


26. See section (b)vi below.


27. Similar examples occur in paragraphs [15, 19, 20 etc.].

29. 'Latin Histories', pp. 7-8.


32. See above pp.350-1.

(b) Common narrative motifs

The similarity of the subject-matter of the Latin histories and the CMC leads to their use of narrative motifs expressing the same notions in similar form. The histories' accounts of the campaigns waged by the Leonese king-emperors and by Rodrigo Díaz abound in descriptions of assaults on towns and cities, sieges and the devastation of lands and, in battle scenes, of the charges, retreat and flight of conflicting forces. Many of the expressions used by the Latin writers coincide with those of the Vulgate. Outside the battle scenes, vernacular heroic works, especially the CMC, tend to employ similar phraseology in these contexts, but it would be rash to talk of influence or to specify points of contact. Smith gives a similar warning, even though some of the individual parallels that he has found are not easy to explain otherwise. In this section, no explanation will be offered of these particular cases, and the other similarities are attributed to the need to describe the same action taking place in an identical context. I wish simply to show that the Latin and vernacular celebratory works contain narrative motifs that are not unalike, just as they have in common certain basic stylistic features. The heroic biographies and the epic share additional motifs relating to the presentation and glorification of the central figure. Crowd scenes, a reflection of a social reality, are very frequent; some depict the return of a triumphant army to a joyful reception, others, magnificent processions and
gatherings on state occasions. The possession and display of material wealth also typify the outlook of a society that saw such outward manifestations as a measure of power and worth. Accounts of military campaigns generally include lengthy enumerations of the spoil and plunder seized from the enemy or carried off from his territory. A final group of motifs relates to the physical description of the hero himself. The nature of the portrait varies, depending upon each writer's conception of his central protagonist, but similarities emerge from a consideration of how gestures and movements are described. I intend that all these categories of shared motifs, like the common stylistic features, should illustrate the overlapping outlook and attitudes of the Latin historians and the poet of the CMC.

I have omitted a detailed consideration of some of the motifs included by Smith, because they refer to actions which, although they recur repeatedly in the twelfth-century texts, are commonplaces of most historical writings. The forms of expression employed are not distinctive; the historians use phraseology proper to both Classical and Biblical Latin, while the epic poet uses an equivalent phrase, but the nature of the concept limits the choice of words in each case. These motifs include the sending of messengers, taking counsel and pitching camp. Nuntios mittere is found in all the Hispano-Latin texts, as well as in the Vulgate and in Classical histories. Smith does however point to a parallel between the HR's legatos cum suis litteris and nuntium et litteras (15, 22 and 35) and the vernacular carta y mensajero which occurs in the
reconstructed Siete Infantes de Lara and the Estoria de España's prosification of the Cantar de Sancho II, but not in the CMC. The histories use the phrase habere consilium, which has a vernacular equivalent in the CMC's prender conséjo (2988). Both the CAI and the HR use the expression tentoria figere, which is common to both Classical and Biblical Latin, although the CAI tends to employ more frequently the Biblical castrametari. The CMC poet has the corresponding expression fincar la tienda (572, 556 etc.). The limited choice of words that can be used to express a given idea might also explain some of the more individual cases of parallel phraseology set out below. Nevertheless, it is important to observe how the epic poet and the Latin historians viewed similar actions in a way that characterises the habit of mind of the age.

1 Siege

Two related inclusive pairs occur in the heroic works in this context, involving the ideas of going out and coming in, entry and exit. The CAI historian describes a siege thus: 'circumdedit rex castellum in circuitu muro magno et vallo, ita ut nullus poterat ingredi vel egredi' [24; also 13b]. The HR expresses the same notion in terms of the nów-pair: 'egressum e castello et ingressum ad castellum omnino prohibuit' (68).4 There are precedents in the Vulgate for the CAI's expression, e.g. 'muro circumdabat Rama, ut nullus tute posset egredi et ingredi de regno Asa' (II Chronicles xvi. 1; also I Maccabees xiii. 49).5 The CMC contains a similar description, also involving a binary phrase:
Bien la cerca mio Cid que non i avia hart, viedales exir e viedales entrar. (1204-5)

Examples involving las exidas e las entradas occur at 11.1163 and 1572.

II Laying waste

Smith points to a parallel between the HR's use of synonymous pairs: deuastuit atque destruxit (50 twice), depredans et deuastans (10), and the phrase robar e correr which is frequent in the Poema de Fernán González. Very probably, the phrase occurs in the HR as a result of the Latin historian's predilection for binary phrases as a means of emphasis when describing dramatic actions involving his central protagonist, and it must be seen as part of his usual manner of expression.

The CAI writer uses different binary phrases in descriptions of devastation, while his basic phraseology is taken from the Vulgate:

Destruxitque terram eius atque praedavit et cremavit; vineas et arbusta fecit incidi[81]

Et destruxit totam illam regionem, et fecit multas strages et incendia, et omnia arbusta fructifera fecit incidi [119]

Et succendit omnia sata, omnesque arbores fructiferas et vineas et oliveta et ficulneas fecit incidi [177]

Sánchez Belda notes that the latter description - and indeed all the others - is a reminiscence of Judith 11.17: 'in diebus messis, et succendit omnia sata, omnesque arbores et vineas fecit incidi'. As in the HR, the binary phrases function in the CAI as a variety of amplificatio.
iii Battle scenes

A broad distinction can be drawn between the battle scenes in the CAI and the HR and those in the CMC. In the histories they are stylistically very similar, as their narrative motifs derive ultimately from the Vulgate, while in the CMC they are related to the descriptions in Old French epic. The Silense's battle scenes are quite different from both, since the historian took verbal borrowings from Sallust and Einhard and additional decorations from the Ilias Latina. In the other two histories, there is an everpresent tendency toward stylisation, for the same phrases recur from one battle narrative to another. Individual details are minimal, for the reliance upon Biblical phraseology results, especially in the CAI, in succinct accounts devoid of particularising details. In the HR, the writer's knowledge of each incident appears rather greater and he succeeds in manipulating the narrative motifs to give more varied accounts. The battle narratives of the CMC, like those of the Roland, are not summaries, for they were intended to convey to the audience an impression of immediacy, as if the listeners were themselves witnessing the unfolding of the action. This is achieved by the use of the present tense, direct address to the audience and exclamation, while the Roland also contains successive laisses similaires which present simultaneous actions in parataxis. I have divided the battle scenes into their constituent motifs and have added selected narratives from the Vulgate in an extensive note to show the possible derivation of many of the phrases.
Attack

obuiam exire (HR: 8, 65), ~ foras ad (CAT: 56), ~ in praelio (CAT: 82) ~ adversus (CAT: 78); obviare (CAT: 78); impetum facere (HR: 16); irruere in aciem (HR: 40), ~ in (HR: 40, 62), ~ super (HR: 66)

Drawing up lines

acies dirigere (HR: 16), acies contra (HR: 23); acies parare (CAT: 192)

Joining battle

bellum committere (HR: 8, 62); bellum inire (HR: 16), certamen ~ (HR: 15, 23; CAT: 121, 123); certamen inserere (HR: 23); proelium ingravari (CAT: 56, 118)

Defeat

deuicti ac confusi (HR: 8, 16)

Flight and retreat

a facie + gen. fugere (HR: 8, 16); huc et illuc ~ (CAT: 118, 129); terga uertere/uertri (HR: 16, 23; CAT: 123, 129); in fugam (re)uertri (HR: 34, 62); terga dare (HR: 62)

The battle scenes of the CMC fall into two categories, one consisting of the individualised accounts of the capture of the towns and cities early in the Cid's exile, the other substantially formulaic, narrating pitched battles like that of El Cuarto and the battle against Fáriz and Galve. The accounts of the first victories illustrate the Cid's cunning and tactical skill and are more akin to episodes from the Latin histories than to epic battle scenes. Recently, Colin Smith has indeed proposed that the episodes of Castejón and Alcocer do derive from Classical literary sources. This is possible, although the treatment of the action is rather different, for the poet concentrates on presenting a vivid account that will come to life in his audience's mind. He uses devices similar to those in descriptions of full-scale encounters which recall the Old
French battle narratives. The distinction between the two kinds of battle scene in the CMC lies basically in their subject-matter, that is, in the kind of incident described. Significantly, exploits similar to Castejón and Alcocer do not occur in the Roland. Conspicuous among the devices that are used by the Spanish poet to animate his battle scenes is the expression veriedes, which is paralleled by the French là veisiez. Both expressions frequently involve the use of admiratio phraseology in an indirect statement. The following examples are intended to show the parallel usage of this device and of other features such as exclamation and direct speech which narrow the gap between the poet and his audience. Compare:

**CMC:**

Veriedes tantas lanças premar e alçar,
tanta adagara forádar e passar,
tanta loriga falsa[r e] desmancjar,
tantos pendones blancos salir vermejos en sangre,
tantos buenos cavallos sin sos dueños andar. (726-30; also 2400-6)

**Girard de Vienne:**

La veisiez tante lance brendie ...
Le jor i ot meinte sele vuidie,
Et meinte targe et percie et croisie,
Et meinte broine ronpue et desarcie,
Cil destrier fuient parmi la praire.
(4464, 4466-70)

**Roland:**

Deus! tantes hanstes i ad par mi brisees,
Escuz fruissez e bronies desmaillees!
La veisez la tere si junchee! (3386-8)

**CMC:**

Enbracan los escudos delant los coracones,
abaxan las lanças abue[l]tas de los pendones,
enclinaron las caras de suso de los arzones,
ivan los ferir de fuertes coracones
A grandes vozes lama el que en buen ora na[cil];
'Ferid los, cavalleros, por amor de caridad! (715-20)
iv Scenes of welcome and of mass rejoicing

Descriptions of rejoicing crowds or of lavish and courteous receptions are characteristic narrative motifs of heroic works, since they offer an opportunity to celebrate the hero's prowess on a large scale. Among the twelfth-century Latin texts, the CAI contains the most extensive crowd scenes, which are generally based on Biblical models, but the HR also has isolated passages which use very similar phraseology. The scenes are typified by the use of binary phrases, often within enumerations, which produce an extended narrative and a static, celebratory, description. The binary phrases are of two sorts, one denoting the constituent elements of the crowd, the other consisting of semi-synonymous pairs referring to their actions. The CAI writer's reliance on these expressions is evident from the following descriptions:

Omnes principes civitatis et tota plebs exierunt obviam ei cum tympanis, citharis, psalteriis et cum omni genere musicorum cantantes et dicentes.
These two passages both describe the triumphant entry of a hero into a city: Alfonso VII into Saragossa and Muño Alfonso into Toledo. Binary phrases referring to persons in terms of rank and status also occur in other scenes of collective celebration and mass movement. The account of the declaration of the imperium contains various enumerations which together form a complete social picture of the Leonese kingdom. The King-Emperor's council was attended by 'archiepiscopis, episcopis et abbatibus, comitibus et principibus, ducibus et iudicibus', while others waited outside: 'maxima turba monachorum et clericorum, necnon et plebs innumerabilis' [69]. On the second day of the council, a mass of the population gathered at the church of Santa María: 'archiepiscopi, episcopi et abbates et omnes nobiles et ignobiles et omnis plebs iuncti sunt iterum in ecclesia' [70]. This scene also includes an enumeration of the King-Emperor's leading vassals; only one binary expression is used, but the extended form again conveys a measure of the royal power: 'rex Garsia[ of Navarre] et rex Zafadola Sarracenorum et comes Raymundus Barchinonensium et comes Adefonsus Tolosanus et multi comites et duces Gasconiae et Franciae'.

Enumerations sometimes occur in scenes which are not joyous; indeed, they may be times of impending national disaster. The CAI describes the congregation in Toledo cathedral when the city was threatened by the Almoravid forces of Ibn Yusuf. Prayers were said by the weaker,
non-combatant members of the community, all of whom are included: 'archiepiscopus domnus Bernardus ... cum clericis et monachis et senibus et mulieribus et pauperibus ... unanimiter rogabant Dominum Deum' [101].

The HR contains one conspicuous scene of joyful reception when Rodrigo Díaz is welcomed to Saragossa, and this description also uses binary phrases, one inclusive and possibly two synonymous, in the celebratory context:

Multitudo magna ciuitatis Caesarauguste tam uirorum quam mulierum, cum ingenti leticia gaudentes et exultantes in eius victoria, processerunt ei obuiam et occurrerunt ei obuiam. (23)

The CMC contains only one scene of arrival, but it has two inclusive pairs referring to the members of the crowd. It describes the Cid's arrival in Burgos and is a further instance of the depiction of a crowd at a time of crisis: 'exien lo ver mugieres e varones / burgeses e burgesas' (16b-17). Later in the poem, arrivals and departures are described and some of the descriptions contain celebratory elements, although none of them is on the same scale as those in the CAT or the single example in the HR. Alfonso VI took with him a large force when he went to meet the Cid on the banks of the Tagus:

El rey don Alfonso a priessa cavalgava, cuendes e podestades e muy grandes mesnadas.
(1979-80)

Like the CAT historian, however, the poet refers to the King's vassals:

Con el rey van leoneses e mesnadas galizianas; non son en cuenta sabet, las castellanas. (1982-3)

This episode also includes descriptions of the splendid array of horses, weapons and armour that both King Alfonso
and the Cid brought with them to the vistas, the two passages echoing one another at 11.1966-71 and 1987-90. These displays of wealth are discussed in section v below. Another arrival scene involves the Moor Avengalvón who entertained the Infantes and their wives on their way to the estates at Carrión. He sets out to meet them: 'saliolos recebebir con grandes avorozes' (2649) and on the next day he bids them farewell in similar fashion, taking with him two hundred men.

The irony of this scene must be emphasised, for the poet introduces the motif into a situation where a joyful reception is not warranted by the visitors' moral worth: their subsequent actions are an insult to their host's hospitality.

v Displays of wealth, including plunder and spoils

A show of wealth was an important part of medieval ceremonial, since riches were an external manifestation of an individual's power or of his prowess in war, while the giving of lavish presents enhanced his reputation by adding the virtue of generosity. Both the Latin histories and heroic epics dwell at length on descriptions of wealth, which occur in three particular contexts. Lists of possessions and goods plundered from an enemy underline the importance of a victory and the consequent increase in the victor's status and authority. Rich gifts and presents redounded both to the magnanimity of the donor and to the greater glory of the recipient who was the object of esteem. Quite extensive descriptions occur in the CMC of the equipment and dress of Alfonso and the Cid before their various meetings, a device which enables the poet to parallel his
hero's prestige with that of a king. In all three contexts, the items of wealth are similar: horses, weapons, armour, rich clothes, precious metals and stones.  

Two stylistic features characterise the descriptions: binary phrases which form enumerations and an 'innumerability' topos, expressing the writer's inability to assess the wealth displayed. These features are present in the Latin and in the vernacular works. The examples are set out in the three contexts described above.

Plunder

**CAI:** Et captivationis quam fecerunt virorum et mulierum non erat numerus, et praedationis equorum et equarum, camellorum et asinorum, boum quoque et ovium et caprarum non erat numerus [36]

   Et accepit magna spolia eorum, et captivationem hominum et mulierum et parvulorum quorum non erat numerus; aurum et argentum, vestes pretiosissimas abundanter, greges equorum et equarum et asinorum, boum et vaccarum et omnia pecora campi sine numero [119]

**HR:** Ibi enim erat cibari e multa copia et habundantia, pecora quoque innumerabilia et copiosa (37)

\[ \text{Adquisuit utique in ea multa et innumerabiles peccunias copian, uidelicet aurium et argentii inmensam et numero penitus carentem, monilia pretiosissima, gemas multo aurea decoratas, mittia et diversa ornamenta, vestes sirsicas preciose aure deauratas (61)} \]

**Silense:** Omnes eorum mulieres et paruulos, cum inmenso aurie et argentii sericorumque ornamentorum pondere, in patriam rapuit (44)

**CMC:** Tanto traen las grandes ganancias muchos gañados de ovejas e de vacas e de ropas e de otras riquizas largas (480-81b)

   Trae oro e plata que non saben recabdo (799)

   Entre tiendas e armas e vestidos preçiados tanto fallan desto que cosa es sobejana (1773-5)
Gifts

**CAI:** Acceperunt ab eo argentum et aurum, multa varia et pretiosa munera et equos multos [68]

**Silense:** (usually gifts to religious foundations):

Ecclesiam ... plurime pulchritudinis auro et argento lapidibusque preciosis et sericis cortinis dedorauit (103; also 41)

**CMC:** Mio Cid don Rodrigo el que en buen ora nasco entre palafres e mulas e corredores cavallos en bestias sines al .c. son mandados, mantos e pelliçones e otros vestidos largos; non fueron en cuenta los averes monedados (2253-7)

**Roland:** Or e argent lur met tant en present, 38-9 Muls e destrers e palies e guarnemenz (400-1)

**Arrival and departure**

**CMC:** Della part e della pora la[s] vistas se adobayant

¿quien vio por Castiella tanta mula preçiada e tanto palafre que bien anda, tanto buen pendon meter en buenas astas, escudos boclados con oro e con plata, mantos e pielles e buenos çendales d'Andria? (1965-71)

¡Tanta gruessa mula e tanto palafre de sazon, tanta buena arma e tanto buen cavallo coredor, tanta buena capa e mantos e pelliçones! Chicos e grandes vestidos son de colores. (1986-90)

**vi Representation of the hero: expressions, poses and gestures**

Certain features typify the depiction of the central figure in the Spanish heroic works and in the Old French epic. Only two specific features are shared, but there is an underlying similarity in the representation of the majority of gestures. The HR and the CMC both tell of Rodrigo's smiling countenance in his dealings with his vassals and with people in general. The poet describes him greeting. Álvar Fáñez: 'El Campeador fermoso sonrisava' (923; also
1918), and greeting his vassals: 'sonrisos el caboso que non lo pudo endurar' (946). In the epic, the expression generally precedes a passage of direct or indirect speech which follows without an introductory *verbum dicendi*. 19

It can describe the expression of characters other than the Cid, in particular Alfonso VI (873, 1368), but also Avengalvón (1518). The equivalent Latin phrase, *ylari vultu*, occurs in the HR in a variety of social contexts: when issuing a reply to a challenge (37 and 50), in greeting an ally (48) and when receiving a vassal (25). It has Classical and Biblical precedents and was widely used until the thirteenth century as a measure of benevolence in a medieval ruler, feudal lord or anyone in a position to bestow a favour upon another. The smile was also seen as a sign of agreement or approbation in a judicial context. 20

Another essential quality of the medieval ruler was deliberateness. This was reflected in his grave expression and by his keeping silent on receiving bad news or before making a decision. The CMC describes how the Cid and Alfonso VI both fell silent for a considerable time on two occasions: first when each learned of the Infantes' wish to marry the Cid's daughters and then of their assault on them at Corpes. The reactions of lord and vassal are evidently intended to parallel one another at 11.1889 and 1932 and at 11.2828 and 2953. The poet uses a similar binary phrase to underline the point:

Una grant ora el rey pensso e comidio (1889)

Quand lo oyo mio Cid el buen Campesador
una grant ora pensso e comidio (1931-2)
The CAI writer describes a similar reaction in Alfonso VII, when he learns of the death of Muño Alfonso: 'Imperator, hoc audiens, considerabat dicta eorum et fere dimidia ora tacitus, respondit eis' [186]. Silence in the face of a grave situation or a dilemma is clearly a heroic motif and examples are found in other traditions, some quite unconnected with medieval Europe. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, for example, the hero is described: 'The Lord Gilgamesh turned his thoughts to the Land of the Living ... the Lord Gilgamesh reflected'. Far away in time and place, the heroes of the Serbo-Croatian Song of Bagdad of Salih Ugljanin receive serious news in silence: 'the pashas and the viziers ... each was silent and said not a word'. It is interesting that both the Babylonian and the Serbo-Croatian poet use a double expression. In the Roland, Charlemagne's thoughtfulness is an integral part of his personality and bearing and the poet's depiction of this attitude typifies his treatment of most of his gestures and movements. The poet describes the Emperor's reaction to the fact that Roland must lead the rearguard:

Li empereres en tint sun chef embrunc
Si duist sa barbe e detoerst sun gernun. (771-2)

He uses a whole line, adding two related actions expressing Charlemagne's anxiety in the following line, whereas in a similar context, the CNC poet used a single binary phrase. The impression of deliberateness is achieved by the mention in parataxis of successive actions and gestures, all contributing to the depiction of a single state of mind. The same technique is used in the representation of dramatic
or symbolic gestures; Blancandrin describes Charlemagne's reaction to the Moorish King's message:

\begin{quote}
Ambes ses mains en levat cuntrement, Loat sun Dieu, ne fist altre respuns. (419-20)
\end{quote}

Successive movements are also presented paratactically in the CMC at moments of solemnity or of deep emotion. In the first lines of the poem, the Cid gazes at length over the domain that he is forced to abandon, and his last long look is evoked by the three verbs spaced out over three lines:

\begin{quote}
De los sos ojos tan fuerte mientras lorando tornava la cabeza y estava los catando. Vio puertas abiertas e uços sin cañados. (1-3)
\end{quote}

In both major Romance epics, this extended form of narration allows the inclusion of semi-redundant physical references, the most conspicuous involving the eyes in conjunction with the verb to cry: \textit{llorar de los ojos, pleurer des oïlz}. The medieval hero was expected to externalise his grief and was frequently depicted weeping or tearing at his hair and beard, as is illustrated by the Cid's tears and by Charlemagne's grief at the death of Roland: 'ploret des oïlz, sa blanche barbe tiret' (2943). The tautological reference to the eyes prompted Smith and Morris to include the expression among their other physical phrases, but it is evidently a very different kind of expression from the majority of those that they have studied.\textsuperscript{25} It has literary rather than legal parallels, and is a narrative embellishment, not a symbolic reference. Classical Latin contains similar expressions: in Virgil's description of Venus, for example: 'tristior atque oculos lacrimis suffusa nitentis'.\textsuperscript{26}
Smith and Morris include elsewhere in their study references to parts of the body which are entirely literal, such as the raising of the hands or of the eyes to heaven. Like the references to the eyes discussed above, these need not denote symbolic gestures, but can convey normal human actions and movements, which in an epic recitation would probably have been acted by the minstrel. Smith later attributed the occurrence of equivalent phraseology in the CAI to the influence of heroic epic: 'the presence of such phrases commonly in Latin works meant for private reading is hard to explain unless some influence of epic recitation is postulated, or unless in religious contexts the author was drawing upon the Bible or the liturgy'.

In the CAI, the writer was most certainly adopting a technique familiar in the language of the Vulgate, which consisted of using two main verbs, or a main verb and a present participle, to convey one basic action or two closely related actions. Suffice it is to cite again the parallel quoted earlier between: 'reges et principes et duces et omnis exercitus, levaverunt oculos suos et viderunt' [150] and 'levansque David oculos suos, vidit ...' (I Chronicles xxi. 16). This construction is analogous to that used in the opening lines of the CMC and is evidently a feature of heroic works, whether in prose or in verse, to dwell on movements and gestures at significant or dramatic moments. The slight slowing of the narration and the reference to parts of the body heighten the effect of the description of a single action, evoking an impression of
physical movement in the reader's or listeners' mind's eye. Whether an unconscious influence of the Vulgate can explain the particular quality of the opening lines of the CMC is another matter. However, I think it more likely that the need to describe movement in a lively way prompted similar solutions in both cases and it is for that reason that I have declined to study diachronically many of the stylistic features typical of heroic works. An alternative approach to the phrases denoting gestures and to similar expressions that are extended or expanded in form is outlined in the following appendix.
Footnotes

1. Smith lists eleven such motifs, which he terms 'topics', in 'Latin Histories', pp. 14-17. I have included several of these in this section.

2. I refer in particular to two parallels between passages in the CAT and lines of the CMC ('Latin Histories', pp. 8-9). Smith points to the similarity between the history's representation of the relative strength of forces: 'domus autem regis Aragonensis semper erat decrescens: domus regis Legionis, gratias Deo, de die in diem semper augebatur' [17] and that of the epic in the line: 'la compaña del Cid crece e la del rey mengo' (2165). He also draws a parallel between their descriptions of flight on horseback: 'non remenserunt ex eis nisi pauci, qui fugerunt pedibus equorum' [123] and 'de pies de cavallo los que pudieron escapar' (1151). The use of pes in this context in a Latin work is quite unusual.


4. cf. the use of egressum et ingressum in legal writing; see above p. 435 n. 7.

5. See Smith's note to l.1205 of his edition of the CMC.


7. The historical books of the Vulgate Old Testament provide abundant examples of battle scenes, many of which offer parallels with the phraseology of the CAT and HR, e.g.
Et instruxerunt aciem contra Israel. Inito autem certamine, terga vertit Israel Philistheais (I Kings iv. 2)

Philisthiim iniere praelium contra Israel ... et caesi sunt a facie Israel (I Kings vii. 10)

Amaelecitae impetum fecerant ex parte australi in Siceleg ... et succenderant eam igni (I Kings xxx. 1)

Iniiit itaque Joab, et populus qui erat cum eo, certamen contra Syros: qui statim fugerunt a facie ejus (II Kings. 13)

Et dirrexerunt aciem Syri ex adverso David, et pugnaverunt contra eum. (18) Fugeruntque Syril a facie Israel (II Kings x. 17-18)

Ingravatumque est bellum contra filios Benjamin (Judges xx. 34)

Et fugerunt viri Israel ante faciem Philisthiim, et ceciderunt interfeci (I Kings xxxi. 1)

Fugerunt Syri a facie Israel (II Kings x. 18)

Et [Judas] exiit obviam illi ... et ceciderunt vulnerati multi et reliqui fugerunt (I Maccabees iii. 11)

Et ingravatum est praelium: et ceciderunt vulnerati multi ex his et ex illis. (18) Et Judas cecidit, et ceteri fugerunt (I Maccabees ix. 17-18)

8. 'Literary Sources of Two Episodes in the PMC', BHS, LII (1975), 109-22. Smith suggests an episode in Sallust's De bello Iugurthino (the assault on Capsa) as the source for the Castejón account and a stratagem in Frontinus Strategemata - a collection of military ruses culled from Greek and Roman history - for that of Alcocer. The arguments concerning Castejón are powerful and convincing, although it must be remembered that ruses do appear in histories, as a kind of narrative motif: similar historical incidents are recounted in similar terms. The Alcocer episode, which involves deceiving the enemy into leaving his position by pretended flight, is paralleled by the CAI's account of
Alfonso VII's capture of Coria [135], which is itself reminiscent, according to Sánchez Belda, of the Israelites' attack on Gabaa in Judith xx. 29-33. Frontinus' detail of the tent left standing can be paralleled by Livy's account of Hannibal's deception of the Romans in the Second Punic War shortly before the battle of Cannae (Livy, Book XXII, 41 and 43). Smith also points out the similarity between the Alcocer episode and the Israelites' capture of the town of Ai in Joshua viii. 2-25 (p. 119 n.1).

9. See Smith's note to 1.697 of his edition of the CMC, where he summarises critical opinion on the origin of the expression. It has been suggested that it is related to the Classical Latin phrase tunc cerneres (vidisses), which occurs also in medieval Latin. One of Smith's examples, however, is contained within a borrowing from Sallust (Silense: 10). On the Classical origin of là veisze and veriedes, see E. R. Curtius, 'Antike Rhetorik und vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft: Epische Formeln', CL, I (1949), 27-31 and Silvio Pellegrini, 'Epica francese e Cantare del Cid', CN, III (1943), 231-8. Charles V. Aubrun, 'La Métrique du Mio Cid est régulière', BH, XLIX (1947), 332-72, rejects Pellegrini's conclusions and attributes the Castilian veriedes to French influence.


12. The motif achieves one of its most elaborate forms in the Nibelungenlied, where the pervasive atmosphere of a courtly society has penetrated the heroic legend and is reflected in the extraordinarily long descriptions of welcoming crowds, of fair women eagerly awaiting the arrival of bold knights and of regal courtesies exchanged between rulers. See, for example, pp. 82-4, 97 and 106-8 in The Nibelungenlied, trans. A. T. Hatto (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965).

13. The relevance of the crowd scenes in the CAI is discussed on pp. 343-5.

14. In the latter case, see above pp. 323 and 327.

15. See also pp. 350-1.

16. Similar arrays of finery are described in the scenes of arrival and departure in the Nibelungenlied. The attention to appearance shown by King Etzel prior to Rüdiger's embassy to Burgundy is also noteworthy (The Nibelungenlied, p. 151).

17. See Smith, 'Latin Histories', pp. 10 and 15. On the innumerability topos, see his note to 1.699 of his edition of the CMC.


20. F. Vercauteren discusses the full significance of the phrase and traces its historical development in "Avec le sourire ...", Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux, 1969), I, 45-56.


27. 'Latin Histories', p. 9.

28. See above p. 323.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

Towards a description of epic style:

Semi-redundant phraseology in the Cantar de Mio Cid

and the Chanson de Roland.

The inadequacy of a historical explanation of certain stylistic features characteristic of twelfth-century Romance epic, but which are shared by other forms of written communication, has necessitated a different approach to epic language. To trace the origin of those particular features is difficult, if not impossible, and I propose to describe the language of the two major Romance epics to see how the language can be related to epic as a celebratory genre. The features considered in the first part of the last chapter are generally characterised by their expanded form, which has involved the introduction of words - physical references, a duplication or a division of a single notion - that would seem to produce a tautology. If these forms of expression are basic elements of epic style, then it is clear that they must perform a vital linguistic function which enables heroic poetry to operate in a celebratory mode.

W.P. Ker in his book Epic and Romance drew a distinction between the language of ballads and the language of epic. He compared the ballad and the epic versions of the Danish Child Sveidal and concluded of the epic's language: 'it is composed in a style of which it is impossible to mistake the gravity; it has all the advantage of established forms that have been tested and are able to bear the weight of the poetical matter. There is a vast difference between the simplicity of the ballad and the stately measure and rhetorical pomp of the original'. (pp. 146-7). Elsewhere, he characterised the tone of the epic genre in not dissimilar terms: "Whatever Epic may mean, it implies some weight and solidity" (p. 5). Thus the substance of epic in
considered in harmony with its language; what is expressed is in accord with the means of its expression. Although this is self-evident, the nature of this congruence is not easy to determine and attempts are not always made to define it. Ker, in spite of the certainty with which he wrote, did not indicate what were the vital components of an epic language, those that differentiated it from other related forms of literary language.

Difficulties arise from the fact that Ker's view was understandably retrospective. If it is assumed that ballads and epic did not co-exist, audiences contemporary with the composition would not be aware of the difference in tone and manner. Either genre would be acceptable, depending upon the context of time and place and the consequent changes in popular literary fashion, as the taste for epic gave way in each heroic tradition to a taste for the shorter ballad form. An audience did not find the recitation of an epic acceptable because of the 'weight and solidity' of the verse, nor because it was consciously aware of those features of the poet's discourse that literary critics examine. Both of these factors are profoundly involved, but clearly another element is missing.

The missing element is that quality of the epic poem that ensured the reaction of a contemporary audience, not on a superficial level - whether it judged a particular performance successful or not - but on a deeper, unconscious level. In his article on myth in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, Peter N. Dunn emphasised the ritual quality involved in an epic recitation. This quality can be divided into various contributory elements. Dunn draws particular attention to the audience's attitude to the social ethic and moral code implicitly advocated by the poet, which are accepted unconsciously in what he refers to as 'a ceremonial statement of what all believe'. Epic is seen as socially necessary, for each recitation confirms and celebrates those values and attitudes that are held in common by a particular social group at a particular time. Any change in
social outlook will be reflected in a consequent change in received values in epic poetry.

The conscious extent to which the audience concurred with the poet's view is arguable, since it depended upon the particular poem and hypotheses as to the type of audience for which it was intended. It is impossible to be certain that the audience of the Cid accepted the full implications of the conflict between Alfonso VI and his vassal, the Cid, and of the final resolution of that conflict. All that can be said with certainty is that an audience wished to hear an epic poem in which the Cid's prowess and deeds were celebrated, simply because he had become for the Castilians, perhaps those of Burgos in particular, their own hero. The recitation of that epic had to be traditional in style and its language had to be likewise traditional. Thus, if the ritual of an epic performance is considered on a superficial level, the audience is not dissimilar from a religious congregation: it is familiar with the general sense of what it hears, with the nature of the language spoken or chanted and with the gestures made. The epic poet was implicitly aware that his audience had certain preconceptions and his creative task consisted in reconciling tradition - both accepted legend and accepted narrative methods - with his desire to add his own individual contribution. He could seek a radical originality - departure from tradition - only at the risk of his own reputation and success. It is thus that the versions of a particular legend persist and develop only in accord with changes in the contemporary social context and that epic language tends to be conservative and naturally archaic. Such notions are fundamental to studies of heroic poetry.

The extent of ritual is not limited by the audience's foreknowledge and anticipation, for it is intrinsic to the structure and language of an epic poem. The outline of the story is not merely known in advance, but it is, in itself, predictable. Indeed, if the ritual process, whether of a divine service or of
an epic performance, were to be characterised, perhaps the term 'inevitable-
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litt- would be the most apt. At one point in his article, Dunn refers to

the music of Beethoven that advances 'through darkness into the light'.

He refers to the fifth symphony. The music's mythical quality consists in
the basic pattern of emotion created for the listener by its rhythmic power.
The pattern is that of the triumph of an individual over opposing forces
that at first threaten to overwhelm him. This affords an insight into the
not dissimilar process of the unfolding of an epic narrative. In both sym-
phony and epic, there is the same certainty and conviction with which the
artist is conscious of the resolution of his work from the very beginning.
A sense of the inexorable process of an epic narrative grips even the modern
reader, just as it did the medieval audience; and just as he is now held en-
thralled by the performance of the Beethoven symphony. This is, however, to
talk of the epic process in disturbingly descriptive, even metaphorical terms,
although the parallel does have some validity.

It is evident that inevitability characterises not only the particular
narrative outline that the audience expects - the story - but the basic plot
structure, the infrastructure of epic in general. Even if someone were ignor-
ant of the details of the story of the Cid or of Roland, the outcome of events
is to some extent deducible: the rags of the exiled Cid will be turned to
riches, Roland will perish at Roncesvauex and be avenged by Charlemagne, his
lord. This can be explained in various ways. Dunn talks of patterns per-
ceptible in the Mio Cid that are created around events which are analogous to
mythical archetypes. They do not immediately appear as such in the poem, for
they are transformed by their context. These archetypes include the exile of
the hero - his quest or journey - , his successful completion of a series of
tasks or trials, the hero's return and his defeat of the forces of evil - the
Beni-Gomez. These incidents determine the emotional pattern of the work.
and ensure the basic response of the audience: their sympathy for the hero and hopes of his success, their antipathy towards his enemies and expectation of their downfall. Some of Dunn's analogies are excessive. At one point, he talks of Alfonso VI being as though 'possessed of the evil spirit of this [the Beni-Gómez] family'.

Patterns created around mythical analogies are perceivable in epic poems in general. The configuration of the patterns varies: in the Roland, for example, there is no one analogy of the quest, as there is in the CMC. But in each case the mythical archetypes are transformed in their context. The pattern, however, remains when the surface layers that account for the individuality of each epic are stripped off. What is constituent of this individuality is a vast mass of detail that makes up the story: how in fact do the hero or his cause and its attendant values triumph in the end? Perhaps the poet's own achievement consists in putting his hero to the severest possible test, loading the odds against him, but only to increase the scale of his ultimate success. The Corpes incident in the CMC is a good example. It reduces the Cid's honour to its lowest level, but his status remains unimpaired and his final triumph is guaranteed. This he has assured for himself by regaining the King's favour and by his careful dealings with Alfonso in the negotiations that led to the marriages.

There is an alternative method, one that is more common-sensical and that does not necessarily exclude the working of analogical mythical patterns. When reading any work, medieval or modern, the reader's reactions become centred on certain focal points that he isolates in his subjective reading of the text. As he proceeds through the work, this process becomes more defined and more concentrated and allows him to determine to a certain extent the work's outcome. His reactions are projected into the future, onto the text that remains to be read. The outcome of many medieval works is less in doubt than the majority
of modern ones, although this applies equally to popular genres today, those that are strongly traditional: the love-story and the detective novel. An epic text contains a certain number of signposts that taken together allow the modern reader — and the medieval audience — to predict its outcome. These signposts are generally key phrases that permit unequivocal conclusions to be drawn about the main characters and their fates. Such phrases are remarkable for their concision. In the Roland, the opposition between Christians and Muslims is summed up in the famous line:

Paffen unt tort e chrestiens unt dreit. (1015)

This idea is again taken up during the decisive battle between Charlemagne and the emir, who, aware that he is losing, realizes:

Que il ad tort e Carlemagnes dreit. (3553)

In the CNC, similar lines are no harder to find, although they tend to be less all-embracing, in accord with the poet's more restrained manner. Various references point to the Cid's recovery of his wealth and status. The Cid himself says:

Antes fu minguado, agora rico so. (2494)

Thoughts of the recovery had been encouraged at a much earlier stage by Alvar Fúnez's prediction that:

Aun todos estos duelos en rozo se tornaran. (381)

King Alfonso VI, who is the key figure in the polarised arrangement of the characters in the poem, highlights his changing attitude and the consequent shift in the fortunes of the protagonists by his remark to García Ordóñez concerning the Cid's success:

Que en todos guisas, mijor me sirve que vos. (1349)

What is significant about these lines is their form. They are either antithetical or are comparisons and it is this definite polarity, a clear either/or, that allows the codification and organisation of reactions — of listeners or of
readers - to take place swiftly. Reader or audience can thus project certain well-defined assumptions onto the narrative, both retrospectively and into the future, that is, onto what has been read and what remains to be read.

A traditional epic motif - that of prophecy in all its forms - is of vital importance in this process of codification. It is also clearly linked to the inevitability of epic. Narratives contain references and incidents that portend what is to come, thereby removing uncertainty and the element of surprise from an audience's reaction. In the *Roland*, Charlemagne's dreams and other incidents such as Ganelon's dropping of the glove are portents of the eventual disaster.

On one occasion, Charlemagne dreams that his lance will be shattered as he stands before the pass at Roncesvaux, and the dark tones of this dream will be taken up later, as the rearguard enters the defile. A clearer prediction of the tragedy occurs at 1.9 of the poem, the last line of the first *laisse*, which expresses the inevitability of the situation for Charlemagne: 'Nes poet guardar que mals ne l'i ateignet'.

The *Nibelungenlied* is remarkable for the number of signposts that it contains. These include two prophetic dreams and many references alluding to the tragic slaughter of Gunther and his men, as well as comments upon incidents that travesty the protagonists' real intentions. When, for example, Siegfried and Kriemhild leave for the festival at the Burgundian court, the poet remarks: 'And now brave Siegfried and his queen set out ... for where they were expecting much joy, though it turned out to the great sorrow of them all'. The conclusion contains a summing-up that places the final events in perspective: 'The king's high festival had ended in sorrow, as joy must ever turn to sorrow in the end'.

In the *CMC* there is one supernatural prophecy, that of the Archangel Gabriel to the Cid in a dream, and one important reference to an augury, as the hero leaves on exile. In all of these cases, it is only the fact of the outcome that is foretold or indicated. The details - i.e. what actually happens and how it happens
remain for the poet to invent and to elaborate. When the Archangel says to
the Cid that: 'mientra que visquieredes bien se fara lo to' (400), we do
not know the form of the Cid's eventual triumph, merely that he will triumph.
The dreams of Charlemagne are similarly removed from the events that will ac-
ually take place: they do not suggest a one-to-one relationship with reality
and are all the more portentous for that. What happens is revealed only by
the events themselves, by which time the details of the dreams are of less
significance than the details of the events. In the CMC, there is in addition
a more intricate manner of verbal sign-posting. A pattern of associations and
contrasts, that heighten the poem's structure, and a gradual intensification of
the main themes, lead logically to the poem's climax. 12

The function of acts of prophecy - and of story-telling after the event
is well exemplified by the Odyssey, for there incidents are frequently duplicated.
This has prompted the structuralist critic Fredric Jameson to conclude: 'Prophecy
is particularly significant ..., for in so far as it redoubles everything that
will actually happen, it causes us to see in events, not their existential im-
mediacy, but a mere confirmation of speech itself, as events already narrated'. 13
In other words, incidents are less important in themselves than the fact that
they are narrated twice, once in prophecy and again in the actuality of the work.
As a consequence of this duplication their significance as incidents is lessened
and highlights the act of speech - prophecy or tale-telling - itself.

The ritual of epic and its quality of inevitability lead to the conclusion
that the importance of an epic recitation lies not in the tale but in the telling
of the tale. This depends upon the extent to which the particular poem is tra-
ditional. The epic of the Cid, in its surviving version, is probably extra-
ordinary: certainly the resolution of the hero's conflict with his king and the
implications of this are exceptional in the context of heroic poetry. A con-
cern with the theories of kingship and with questions of law and order points
away from the idea of an epic as a product merely for popular consumption. Otherwise, the poem is strongly traditional, in its language as well as in its story. It is known that the Cid was celebrated in other works and the CMC can be considered as part of a tradition of Cid material, even if the gaps in the available knowledge are disturbingly large. A recitation of the CMC was significant in its telling in as much as it celebrated what people already knew about the hero and expected to hear. To a certain extent, it also confirmed the values of the contemporary society on the occasion of the triumph of the Cid over the Infantes de Carrión. It thus fulfills the role of social necessity that Dunn ascribes to epic poetry. The story, what is narrated, assumes prime importance only when it departs from what is known or assumed and sets off on a path of its own.

But how can the ritual of epic be related to its language? In a work in which the content of the tale is of less importance than its telling, where what is narrated is subordinate to the process of narration, it is evident that language will be redundant to a conspicuous extent. It is a basic principle of communication theory that the clarity of a message, the ease with which it can be received and comprehended, depends directly upon the amount of redundancy that it contains. The greater the amount of redundancy, the clearer will be the message. Additionally, redundancy, in the context of communication theory, can be considered as being in inverse proportion to the amount of information conveyed by a particular message. The less the amount of information, the greater will be the redundancy. This applies to any message, whether literary or non-literary, whether it is written, spoken or chanted. Clearly, however, it is possible to narrate very briefly a traditional story, containing a certain selection of events that occur in a specific order and have a known outcome. The epic poet has no constant need to introduce and explain novelties when he keeps to the outlines of the traditional story and this need not be
narrated in great detail. The poet can rely on an audience's collective memory and his account could have very low redundancy. Yet redundancy depends on context and because epic is a celebratory genre, the traditional story must be filled out to achieve the large scale of incident required. When new elements of the poet's own invention are introduced into the narrative, then the language assumes a specifically informative significance. Otherwise, the act of narration is significant as a thing in itself, for the rate of communication—the amount of information transmitted (conveyed) per line or per laisse—is low, while its redundancy is high.

Considered in this way, redundancy in epic is determined only by its traditional nature, by the preconceptions of the audience. Redundancy depends also on the context of the individual work, for all verbal structures, poetic or specifically informative, contain a proportion of redundancy. The inevitability of an epic's structure entails that its language will be redundant to a greater extent than that of a work in a genre whose distinctive features are less fixed. The relation of redundancy to context depends upon the ease with which the receiver of a message can predict the whole message, after he has received part of it. The greater the ease with which a correct prediction is made, the greater the redundancy contained in the message. The degree of certainty with which the epic audience views what it hears is great, whether looking forward or back, as has been observed in the consideration of plot structure and narrative devices—prophecy, verbal patterns etc. This might suggest that passages of any epic text must be boring and perhaps this is true of some poems and of less successful episodes of others, although how a medieval audience received such passages can never be known. The success of the poet depends upon his skill in amplifying and varying his material in a work that is basically celebratory. The function of language here is to prolong the act of communication at the required level and on the scale of the epic genre.
The question of formulae cuts awkwardly across the view of epic language that I am adopting and it may seem that I am begging too many questions. The use of formulae, of 'well-tried and tested expressions' (Ker), adds considerably to the ritual of epic, as they form the basic elements of the epic language with which the audience is familiar. If other expressions were used, its sense of what was acceptable would be outraged and the performance rejected. The use of formulae ensures the recurrence of the familiar, within the context of an individual work and within the corpus of a heroic tradition as a whole. However, in this context, it has been assumed, on the evidence of previous scholarship, that the verse of the Roland, but probably not that of the CIC, is substantially formulaic. In addition to formulae, formulaic phrases or syntactic formulae are of considerable importance. Repetition of phrases conveying notions of gesture and utterance, for example, lies at the heart of epic ritual and illustrates the function of one particular type of phrase that is characteristic of epic language.

It might seem that some phrases characteristic of epic language are conspicuous by their absence from among those isolated by this method of analysis. Epic is obviously characterised by some stylistic features proper to the genre: the epic epithet, the use of ad-rario phraseology, apostrophes to weapons, countries and heroes, etc. Here, however, devices that are inevitable components of epic language have been sought, rather than surface adornments, although epic epithets are per se semi-redundant. The nature of the vital components is determined by their linguistic function. The verbal structure of epic will reflect its celebratory function. The characteristic linguistic features will therefore serve to prolong the narrative, to extend the act of communication itself. It is this act that is of prime importance, not the narration of a story that is interesting because of the novel incidents it contains. The particular features isolated have been termed semi-redundant,
but it must be stressed that is only as conveyers of information that they are thus redundant; they are not so poetically—indeed, they are essential. Epic phraseology is characterised by its expanded or expansive nature, where the expansion communicates little or nothing to the basic phrase, but merely prolongs it.

The action of a Romance epic must advance at a slow pace, if the appropriate level, the so-called "tone", of the narrative is to be maintained. Redundancy is thus inevitable and the rate of information transmission is generally low, especially in dramatic scenes. As well as prolonging the act of narration, expanded phraseology can be considered to lend the necessary qualities of weight and solidity, as Ker defined them, to the narrative.

Most of the stylistic features detailed in the first part of the last chapter—binary and physical phrases, references to place-names and the mention of a fief when distinguishing a vassal—are expanded in form. They may appear tautological and it is precisely those tautologous elements, the references to parts of the body or the duplication of a notion, that constitute the semi-redundant elements in the message communicated by the poet. Expanded form also characterises the representation of those actions and gestures included in the last section of Chapter VI and it is these features that illustrate most clearly the relationship between language and the ritual quality of epic.

The heroes are characterised by gestures performed slowly and solemnly at dramatic or deeply emotional moments. Charlemagne is consistently portrayed in an attitude of deep thought:

Raisset sun chef, si cumencet a penser.
Li empereres en tint sun chef enclin.
De sa parole ne fut mie hastifs. (139-41)

Symbolic gestures are performed in the same deliberate manner:

De sa main destre l'end asols e seignet (340)

The Cid is portrayed in similar attitudes and his movements have a similar
solemnity:

Algo la mano, a la barba se tomo (2476)

or

Algo su mano diestra, la cara se santigua. (216)

In all of these examples, the weight of the phrasing, which is drawn from the particular form of the lines, allows successive movements to be depicted slowly, in parataxis, without losing their symbolic or religious significance. Their necessary dignity is preserved and it becomes ritualised in the context of the poem. In performance, the appropriate gesture prompted by the physical reference would have added a further element of redundancy to the act of communication.

The CMC and the Roland both contain another group of stylistic features which serve to prolong the act of narration. These features have not been included in Chapter VI because they do not occur in the Latin works. There are three categories of bipartite lines which share certain similarities with binary phrases, for they can be synonymous or antithetical, although the third group is distinct, consisting of examples of the rhetorical device of _conposuit_.

In the first category, synonymous duplication occurs within a single line, where the second hemistich reiterates the notion expressed in the first, possibly with variation. In expressions of time of day, this duplication generally comprises two hemistichs, one of which is abstract, the other concrete. In the CMC, but not in the Roland, similar examples occur referring to particular actions, except that the concrete notion is replaced by a physical phrase. Examples

**CMC:** En cuenta de sus averes, de los que avien ganados (101)

**Roland:** Alemanes sunt e si sunt d'Alemaigne (3038)

**CMC:** Quando viniere la mañana que apuntare el sol (2180)

**Roland:** Bels fut li vespres e li soleils fut cler (157)
The CMC abounds with examples of antithetical half-lines that contrast the main thematic elements of the poem. Within a single line, a pair of radically contrasted verbs can be used, such as crecer/mangar; andar/ahitar; alzar, alegrar/ansar; alabarse/resarse. The examples in the Roland do not fall into such readily definable categories. In the CMC, there is also a small number of phrases that, when taken together, form a single notion. The poet uses them in a manner not unlike that of inclusive pairs. A further group of antithetical hemistichs, similar to both categories above, involves groups of people or two specific individuals. These are divided: unos ... otros, el uno ... el otro, and they perform simultaneous but contrasted actions.

Examples

CMC: Que ningún orme de los sos ques le non afeitos o rol bessas
la mano (1252)

CMC: Nager plugo al rey mucho peso a Garci Ordoñez (1345)
Roland: Walt sunt li rui e li vel toseburs (814)
CMC: Beveson so vino e comenz el co von (1104)
CMC: Los unos contra la sierra e los otros contra la agua (558)
Roland: L'un en l'escut e li altre en l'osbrec (1384)

The final category of bipartite lines is a combination of the other two. The pairs express a single notion and are thus synonymous, but their wording is antithetical, except that a vital element of the second hemistich is negated or reversed. This type of phraseology, known as oppositum (emphasis by negation) abounds in the CMC, but similar expressions, especially of time of day, are frequent in the Roland as well.

Examples

CMC: El dia cs exido, la roch quere entrar (311)
It might be argued that the second hemistich serves in most of these examples as a line-filler, and indeed it probably did. Yet if bipartite lines are considered within the context of epic language as a whole, their linguistic function is also to prolong the act of communicating a single notion. Epic is a celebratory genre and as such its rate of information transmission is generally low and its language is characterised by its high redundancy. Bipartite lines, physical phrases and the other features listed in the first part of Chapter VI all contain semi-redundant elements, which tell the reader or the audience very little, but enhance and heighten the impression of a notion already communicated or in the process of being communicated. Paradoxically, it is the actual redundant elements that do inform us of one thing: that the work with which we are dealing could be an epic poem.
Footnotes

1. This appendix is based substantially on a paper that I read to the London Medieval Society in February 1974.


5. 'Theme and Myth', p. 362.

6. 'Theme and Myth', p. 366.

7. There is certainly more validity in Dunn's approach than in the attempt of Eugene Dorfman to determine an infrastructure in Romance epic (*The Narreme in the Medieval Romance Epic. An Introduction to Narrative Structures* [Toronto and Manchester, 1969]). Dorfman's basic aim is attractive and would seem to emphasise again the inevitability of epic narrative. He seeks an underlying chain of incident, linked by a strict sequence of cause and effect, beneath the plots of the Roland and the CMC. Unfortunately, the pseudo-Proppian structuralist method comes unstuck when one of the core incidents ('narremes') - the family quarrel - is either displaced in the narrative, as in the CMC, or, if it exists at all, has only a contingent impact on subsequent events, as in the Roland. The difficulties of applying such a schema to a number of works are fewer if the schema is flexible, but Dorfman's most certainly is not. See the reviews of Dorfman by Margaret Chaplin, *BHS*, XLVIII (1971), 58-60 and by Phillip Damon, *RPh*, XXVII (1973-74), 240-4.

8. The *Nibelungenlied* contains reverse predictions, see below p. 487.

10. The Nibelungenlied, trans. Hatto, p.106 and p.291; see also pp.32, 100, 190 and 229. The dreams occur on pp.18 and 124 and there is a reference to another at p.190.

11. See 11.405-9 (the prophecy), 11.11-12 (the augury) and another reference to an augury at 11.2615-16.


16. Paradoxically, the chronicle-style passages in the CMC isolated by Allen are, to modern readers, the least interesting. The description of
journeys in the first cantar contain a greater amount of information than dramatic episodes: the Corpes scene or the farewell scene between the Cid and Jimena studied by Allen ('A Structural Analysis' pp.381-2).

17. See Joseph J. Duggan, The Song of Roland. Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft (Los Angeles, California, 1973). Findings on the CMC are at variance: Duggan, 'Formulaic Diction in the CMC and the Old French Epic', FNLS, X (1974), 260-9, has claimed that the Spanish poem is more formulaic than six of the major Old French epics and only slightly less formulaic than the Roland. Margaret Chaplin, however, who has adopted narrower criteria than Duggan in the determination of formulae, has found that the CMC contains a rather lower percentage of formulaic material. These findings are to be published in Medieval Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton (London: Tamesis, in press).

18. The Poema de Almería is an exception. See above pp.367-9.

19. Considerable importance was attached to these lines in the Roland by Curtius, who rightly stated that they formed, together with binary phrases and laisses similaires, a system of Doppelung. He also claimed, however, that they were an inheritance from Classical poetry, particularly from Virgil. There is no doubt that there are slight similarities with lines of the Aeneid, but there are differences that make borrowing or reminiscence impossible to prove. See 'Rolandslied und epischer Stil', pp.216-9. Bipartite lines are also discussed by von Richthofen, Estudios épicos medievales, pp.265 and 277, and Nuevos estudios épicos medievales, pp.115-7; de Chasca, El arte juglaresco, pp.194-6.
20. See Deyermond, 'Structural and Stylistic Patterns', pp. 63-5.

21. I take the phrase 'emphasis by negation' from Smith's note to 1.2752 of his edition of the CMC.
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