THE CID IN HISTORY AND FICTION

by

Melvin Byron Ricks, A. B.

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C O N T E N T S

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CHAPTER ONE

THE CID'S LIFE

I. Introduction

Antonio de Trueba has remarked that "the adventures of the Cid have been increasing in magnitude, as century after century rolls by, in much the same manner in which the bulk of a snowball is augmented as it tumbles down the slope of a hill." So greatly does the Cid of tradition differ from the Cid of reality that the very name of this Spanish national hero has come to be associated much less with the idea of a flesh-and-blood warrior of the eleventh century than it is with a purely abstract conception of virtue and patriotism. That is to say, the Cid is more symbolic than human; his name is to the Spaniard what "patria y libertad" is to the Cuban; his character is the embodiment of Spanish ideals of courageous loyalty to one's country, and serves as a perfect model which the patriotic Spanish youth is expected to imitate. It is obvious that man in the concrete can never have approached this almost divine state of perfection; this model Cid is the product of poets, troubadours, and indulgent historians, all of whom were ambitious to cast the maximum amount of glory about their national hero. Regarding the sub-

ject of the Cid from the inspirational side only, it is really of little importance whether he existed or not; but in a genetic study of his place in literature, such as is proposed in the present paper, an investigation of the historical basis is exceedingly interesting, if not indispensable.

Although the real facts of the Cid's life are considerably confused and obscured by a generous sprinkling of imaginary episodes, there are certain documents which careful students of the subject regard as more or less authoritative; among these may be enumerated the following:

(a) The Crónica General, which contains the Crónica del Cid, is a compilation made from various sources by Alfonso X. in the second half of the thirteenth century.

(b) The Crónica del Cid is an extract from the Crónica General, comprising 280 pages of the fourth chapter of the latter, "retouched and with the Christian character of the hero revised and corrected by some ignorant monk of the fourteenth century."[1]

(c) The Poema de Mio Cid is by an unknown poet, and was written probably in the year 1140.

(d) The marriage contract of Rodrigo and Jimena was published in 1601 by Sandoval (Monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña, fol. 43r.-44 v.), and reprinted by Sota (Crónica de los Príncipes de Asturias y Cantabria, p. 651),

[1] Watts, H.E., in the preface to his "Christian Recovery of Spain." (For date of publication, etc., of this and other works referred to in these pages, the reader should consult the bibliography at the end of the work.)

and also by Risco in his work "La Castilla y el más famoso castellano," which was published in 1792 and contains, in addition to the marriage contract, a life of the Cid, the Santiago Genealogy, and the Gesta Roderici Campidocti.

(e) The Crónica Rimada de las cosas de España (called by Ríos "La Leyenda del Cid") was written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and published by Francis Michel in the Jahrbücher der Litteratur, Vienna, 1846.

(f) The Gesta Roderici Campidocti is a Latin work discovered by Risco in the library of the convent of San Isidro in León, and was published in 1792, as noted under "d."

(g) A letter in Arabic discovered by R. Dozy in the archives of Gotha. This settles forever the question of the Cid's identity. It was preserved in a volume of Arabic manuscripts, being the third of a treatise on the men of letters who flourished in Spain during the fifth century of the Hegira. The letter is dated 505, which corresponds to A.D. 1109.

(h) Various minor documents of slight importance, including a fragment of a Latin chronicle written in France about 1141; the Latin chronicle of Burgos; Anales Toledanos Primeros, of the thirteenth century, containing brief notices of the Cid; the Latin annals of Compostela, of the thirteenth century; the chronicle of Lucas de Tuy, used by Alfonso X. in compiling his Crónica General; the chronicle of Rodrigo de Toledo (also used by Alfonso), probably copied

from a work by a monk of Silos, who wrote a life of Alfonso VI. of which only the introduction, ending with the death of Fernando I., has survived; and the Liber Regnum, a composite chronicle made up of brief summaries of the Gesta, the Poema, the legend of Cardeña, and a few old ballads; the Liber Regnum begins with Adam and ends with San Fernando.

It is to the sources named above that we are indebted for the history of the Cid outlined in the succeeding pages.

II

Rodrigo's Early Life and Character

Don Rodrigo Láynez,[2] generally known as Rodrigo or Ruy Díaz de Bivar, was born in the castle of Bivar, about two leagues distant from the city of Burgos, which center had been founded and made the capital of Castile in the year 982. The precise date of Rodrigo's birth is unknown; most scholars favor the year 1040, though there are a few who pre-

[2] While the fact that there was such a person as Rodrigo Láynez has been clearly established historically, it is interesting to note that in the past there have been some very able critics who argued both for and against the existence of the Cid; the Swiss historian, Müller, is willing to accept the Poema as a reliable source of information; Huber, a German critic, believes that the Crónica del Cid is a trustworthy document written probably by a Valencian Moor (a contemporary of the Cid), since, firstly, it is simple, circumstantial, and not poetic, and secondly, it presents the Cid in an unfavorable light; Masdeu, on the other hand, devotes 168 pages of his "Historia Crítica de España" to an effort to prove that the story of the Cid is a mere fable, without any basis whatsoever in fact.

fer to believe that the great hero was born some ten years earlier. It is a matter of record, however, that his death occurred in the year 1099, at which time he would have been only fifty-nine years of age, if we assume that he was born in 1040.

The first historical mention of the Cid is found in his marriage contract, which was drawn up in 1074. In reading the various "histories" of the Cid's early life, it should be constantly kept in mind that all the little stories[3] assigned to the Cid's life previous to this date are necessarily based largely upon conjecture. It is reasonably certain, however, that Rodrigo came of noble lineage, counting among his paternal ancestors the famous Laín Calvo, one of the two men appointed in the reign of Froïla II. to be judges over all Castile, and also a certain Diego Porcelos, one of the founders of Burgos. His father was Diego Láynez; his mother, Teresa Núñez, was a daughter of the Governor of Asturias.[4] But notwithstanding his illustrious ancestry, young Rodrigo was comparatively poor until his own exploits brought him wealth.

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[3] Chief among these are the tales of the Cid's precocious early life and his romantic marriage to the daughter of a count whom he had slain in a duel.

[4] Quintana, Manuel José, in his Obras Completas, Vol. XIX, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, page 203, gives us a full family tree for the Cid.

In passing judgment upon the Cid's character, it should be borne in mind that the standards of the present day are in many respects quite different to those of eleventh century Spain. Hence, a correct estimate of the Cid can be made only by observing him through the eyes of his fellow citizens and endeavoring to determine how nearly he measured up to the ideals of his day. We are not surprised that in his warfare he betrayed friend and enemy alike, when we remember that acts of this character were then looked upon as bits of superior military strategy. To us his night attack upon the sleeping Leonese, by which he retrieved the fortunes of his master, Sancho, seems a mean trick, because the brothers had agreed that the victor in the battle of the day before (which happened to be Alfonso) should have both kingdoms; this, nevertheless, was a feat which gained glory for the Cid among the people of his own time. Indeed, the Cid was so perfect a reflection of his times that his character must necessarily embody all the worst vices as well as the best virtues of his age. Therefore, his character must be, to us, one of strange contrasts: on the one hand, he was always liberating his prisoners, and on the other, he mistreated them most cruelly. Here, he succors a Saracen and bears him off on his shoulder; there, he has the Moorish governor of Valencia, a descendant of the great El-Mansour, burned alive at the stake. For this and many other acts of cruelty towards the Moors, he came to have a tremendous rep-

utation for ill in the camps of the latter. Ibn-Bassam[5] exclaims spiritedly in regard to this "dog of Galicia": "How many wonderful places has this tyrant seized and destroyed the beauty thereof! How many charming young girls.....espoused the points of his lances and were crushed beneath the feet of his insolent mercenaries!"

An outstanding pernicious trait in the Cid's character, and one which it is difficult to explain away, is his waivering loyalty to either Christianity or Islam. It has pleased the Spanish people, however, to overlook this fault; especially have they been glad to show their approval of the Cid's independence of the king, since this gave them an opportunity to register their disapproval of the encroachment of royal power upon popular rights.

As Rodrigo's actual life became more and more obscured by a camouflage of legend, the real Cid was willingly forgotten, and a national hero, embodying all the virtues of a patriotic and valiant knight of chivalry, grew up in his stead. Such a model of integrity did the Cid become that the Spaniard came to reinforce his affirmations by solemnly adding "a fe de Rodrigo." Indeed, the Cid was adored as a saint and would probably have been canonized during the reign of Philip II. had not the Spanish ambassador been recalled

[5] The Arab author quoted in Dozy's "Recherches," etc., Vol. II, page 22.

from Rome at an unfortunate moment. And it is remarkable, indeed, that it should be Philip II., that great enemy of freedom, who dickered for the canonization of an exponent of popular liberty such as we find in the Cid.[6]

III

The Cid under Fernando the Great and Sancho

The life of the Cid falls naturally into four divisions: he served under three kings of Castile and was then virtually a king himself. Our information concerning the events of the last three periods is comparatively complete, but we can only conjecture how the Cid spent his time during the life of his first king, Fernando. As the latter was responsible for political events that greatly affected the Cid's life, it may be well to notice the chief events that took place during his reign.

King Fernando is deserving of great credit for the

[6] Before leaving the subject of the Cid's personality, it may be interesting to describe briefly a portrait of his, probably a work of the imagination, which serves as a frontispiece to Risco's "La Castilla y el más famoso castellano." The head only is shown, mounted on a very stout neck, draped with loose clothing. The head is decidedly gibbous (anything but round) and is flat on top; some hair is gone from the high forehead, but the remainder is very heavy and is tossed back from the face in regular rolls; the beard is likewise uncommonly heavy, though short. The eyes are turned upward; the gaze is firm, calm, and somewhat prayerful. The mouth is turned down at the corners, giving the face, on the whole, an appearance much like that of a rough savage. The impression, however, that one gets from the entire portrait is that the Cid was rather too intelligent to be classed as a barbarian. Still, little interest attaches to this picture, except that it shows us at least one man's idea of how the great Campeador looked in real life.

contribution he made toward freeing his country from the Moslem invaders. He was a son of Sancho the Great of Navarre, who was the first to assume the title of King of Castile.[7] Almost all the Christian states of the Peninsula were united under this king; he, however, made the mistake of dividing his kingdom amongst his sons, Ramiro, Fernando, and García. These princes soon became engaged in a civil war, from which Fernando emerged triumphant. The latter, with the help of the Cid, waged war against the Moors, and at his death, in 1065, was the only powerful Christian prince in Spain. But despite the warnings of all his best counselors, he repeated the mistake of his father by dividing his kingdom into five parts: Castile went to Sancho, León and Asturias to Alfonso, Galicia and a part of Portugal to García, Toro to Doña Elvira, and Zamora to Doña Urraca.

Following the example of his father, Sancho fell upon his brothers and sisters and captured all their territory, with the exception of Zamora, where he met an untimely death, as we shall soon have occasion to notice.

Rodrigo had fought valiantly in the service of Fernando and was a very close friend of Sancho's. He reduced to a Castilian dependency the territory of the Moslem king of Zaragoza and then, in turn, defended this Moorish city against an army from Aragon. About the same time he is said

[7] Watts' "Christian Recovery of Spain," New York, 1894, p. 309, contains an excellent genealogy of all these kings, arranged in tabular form to facilitate comparison.

to have conquered five petty Moorish kings, who are supposed to have given him the title of "Cid."

Throughout the reign of Sancho in Castile, from 1065 to 1072, the Cid was a loyal battler for his king; in a few instances, he did not particularly relish the idea of despoiling the lands of the old king's heirs, notably at the siege of Zamora, where he played only a minor part, but as a general rule he was ever ready to wage war against whomsoever Sancho might direct, be this friend or foe. His was a much stronger personality than that of his master, whom he incited to acts of treachery that would probably never have occurred to the latter; a case in point is the famous battle of Golpejara, which presently will be touched upon. Sancho assigned to his doughty vassal the title of "alferez" ("ancient"), but the Cid was in reality commander-in-chief of the entire army ("principem super omnem militiam," as the Gesta Roderici expresses it.)

King Sancho did not wait long to follow the example of his father, for in 1068 he attacked his brother Alfonso and defeated him in the battle of Llantada. The victory was not decisive, however, so the fight was repeated at Golpejara, near Salamanca, some three years later. This time it was agreed that the vanquished brother would retire to a monastery. The Castilians were routed and fled, but Alfonso forbade his soldiers to pursue them, as, under the terms of the agreement, he believed the dispute to be settled.

The Cid, learning that the Leonese were resting quietly in their tents, advised Sancho to rally his troops and fall upon the enemy again at daybreak. The victors of the previous day were overwhelmed by this unexpected attack and their king was taken prisoner, although to secure him the Cid's soldiers were obliged to enter the church at Carrión, whither Alfonso had fled for protection.[8]

Sancho preferred to keep his rival in the prison at Burgos, but was prevailed upon by his sisters to allow his brother to retire to the monastery of Sahagun, on the banks of the Río Cea. Alfonso found life at this place a rather dull affair, so seized the first opportunity to escape to Toledo, where he enjoyed the protection of the Moorish king, Mamoun, or Almenon, who had been a very good friend to Alfonso's father, Fernando.

It was now a comparatively easy matter for Sancho to drive his youngest brother, García, from the throne of Galicia. Doña Elvira surrendered Toro without a struggle. The following year, 1072, Sancho attacked his sister Urraca, who was queen of the city of Zamora, the scene of the second part of Guillén de Castro's "Las Mocedades del Cid." Elvira had proved but a timid opponent, but the capture of Zamora was quite a different matter; indeed, the difficulty of "taking Zamora" has become proverbial among the Spanish people.

[8] A brief, but breezy, account of this battle is given in Larousse's French. Ency., 19th Cent.Ed.,Vol.IV, p. 281.

as is witnessed by the old adage, "No se tomó Zamora en una hora." During the siege of this city, King Sancho was treacherously slain by a certain Bellido Dolfos, who was in turn pursued by the Cid, escaping the latter's vengeance by a very narrow margin.

The Galician and Leonese soldiers in the Cid's camp left at once for their respective provinces, but the Castilians were genuinely affected by the loss of their king, since they realized that this meant that the throne of their country would pass into the hands of the ruler of one of the other rival provinces. They carried the body of King Sancho to the monastery of Oña, where it was interred with customary respect and honor.

IV

The Cid in the Reign of Alfonso

The Castilians now gathered in Burgos and unwillingly elected Alfonso king, he being the only logical candidate available; his occupancy of the throne was conditioned, however, by his willingness to take a solemn oath before twelve Castilian nobles to the effect that he had taken no part in his brother's death and had had no previous knowledge thereof. Only the Cid was bold enough to enforce this requirement of his fellow citizens.

Upon hearing the news of his election, Alfonso

at once repaired to Santa Gadea, in Castile, where the oath was administered by the Cid.[9] The new king considered this a tremendous affront, but for the time being he had to smother his anger towards Rodrigo, as this great soldier was one of the most popular men in Castile. He readily understood that it behooved him to look pleasant on all occasions and endeavor to ingratiate himself with his new subjects before attempting to pay off old scores. Following this policy of conciliation, he gave the Cid to wife his cousin Jimena, a daughter of the Count of Oviedo, thus forming a link between the nobility of his two kingdoms, Castile and León. The wedding, as we have already noticed, took place on July 19, 1074.

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[9] The balladists' account of this event has been translated by J. G. Gibson:

"Alfonso, and ye Leonese,
I charge ye here to swear,
That in Don Sancho's death ye had
By word or deed no share.

Alfonso, if thou tell not truth,
Be thine a death of shame;
May villain peasants strike thee down,
Not gentlemen of name."
.....

Three times the Cid has given the oath,
Three times the king has sworn;
With every oath his anger burned,
And thus he cried with scorn:

"Thou swearest me, where doubt is none,
Rodrigo, to thy sorrow;
The hand that takes the oath today,
Thou hast to kiss tomorrow!"

The Cid served under Alfonso's banner for approximately nine years, when circumstances arose which gave the king an opportunity to rid himself of his old enemy. Rodrigo was sent by his royal master to collect tribute from Motamid, King of Sevilla; during his stay in that city, he aided Motamid in repelling, near the Castillo de Cabra, an attack made upon the Sevillians by Abdallah, King of Granada. Several Christian knights, among them a certain García, who were fighting in the army of Abdallah, were captured by the Cid and held as prisoners for three days. Then, depriving them of all their portable possessions, Rodrigo set them free. García went straightway to Castile and, supported by a group of confederates, openly accused the Cid of retaining a portion of the tribute he had collected from Motamid. Alfonso, who cherished the memory of the Cid's part in his humiliation at Golpejara, as well as at Santa Gadea, lent a very willing ear to this accusation and declared the Cid banished from his kingdom, with nine days in which to leave.

The immediate cause of Rodrigo's banishment, however, was probably not the misappropriation of tribute money, but rather an attack which the Cid made upon the Moors without Alfonso's consent. This circumstance is assigned to the year 1081.

V

The Cid in Exile

It is at this time in the Cid's life that the Poema takes up his story. The house in Bivar in which Rodrigo lived had seen some very rough treatment at the hands of the royal deputies that searched it for treasure. Upon his return home, the Cid found that everything bore marks of desolation and distress. Disheartened, he left his old home and rode over to Burgos; here he found the people sympathetic enough, but afraid to do him a favor. Consequently, he was obliged to take refuge in the open.

The Cid, with three hundred of his cavaliers, now began to lead a life similar to that of the condottieri in Italy. He favored neither Christians nor Moors and was ever ready to avail himself of any strategy or deceit that would further the interests of his band.[10]

The first incident of any importance during Rodri-

[10] It was probably during this period of the Cid's life that he established his headquarters, according to an old legend, near a spot now marked by the "Peña del Cid." This is an immense, steep-sided rock located in a little Arogonese valley near Zaragoza; it is between Alcaniz and Daroca and not far from the point where the Río Martín has its source. One may still see upon this rock the remains of an ancient dwelling, which the naïve countrymen believe was used by their Cid as a lair from which to spring upon any party of Moslems or Christians that chanced to come that way.

go's life as a freebooter was his visit to the Count of Barcelona for the purpose of offering his military services to that ruler. Apparently, the Count gave him a rather indifferent reception, so we find him going very shortly on a similar mission to the Beni-Hud at Zaragoza. Here he entered the service of the so-called King of Zaragoza, in whose employ he remained for eight years -- from 1081 to 1089. However, during this period there were three Moorish kings at Zaragoza: the first, Ahmed el Moctadir,[11] famous for his wars with Modhaffar, his brother, lived less than a year after the comingof the Cid; the second, Moutamin, was a son of Moctadir, and died in 1085; the third king, Mostain, was he who plotted with Rodrigo to reduce Valencia. Mostain was a son of Moutamin and, consequently, a grandson of Moctadir.

Under Moutamin, the Cid, with a band of desperadoes, numbering as high as seven thousand at one time, overran the whole of northeastern Spain. The blows he dealt the enemy were quick and terrific, and even with greatly inferior forces, he seems never to have lost a battle. At the siege of Almenara (a city friendly to Moutamin) by Mondzir, Prince

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[11] Ríos (Hist.Crít.de la Lit.Esp., Vol.II, p.177) gives this name as Almuctamir and the name of his successor as Almuctaman. There is always a great variation in the spelling of these Moorish names.

of Lérida, and his allies, the Cid's men were greatly outnumbered, but met with extraordinary success in their attempt to drive away the besiegers from before the city. Among the prisoners taken in this engagement was Ramón Berenger III., Count of Barcelona. Rodrigo generously set the Count free, but had occasion to recapture him later on. The Cid tried in 1084 to effect a reconciliation with his old master, Alfonso; the latter received him with an outward show of gladness, but Rodrigo soon perceived that his lord's hatred for him was still very much alive. There was nothing left for him to do but continue in the service of Moutamin.

From the death of Moutamin in 1085 until Mostain's move against Valencia in 1088, we do not know anything of the Cid's life. However, his successes in battle had made him exceedingly popular in Zaragoza, and it is very probable that he spent the greater part of these three years either residing in that city or fighting in the surrounding country.

About the year 1075, the governor of Valencia, Abou-Becr ibn-Abdalaziz, ~~had~~ declared himself independent of the weak king of Toledo and, to maintain his independence, ~~had~~ accepted the protection of Alfonso I. of Castile. Nine years later, Alfonso abolished this arrangement and sent Alvar Fáñez and Cadir, King of Toledo, to take possession of the city, which he had just traded to Cadir for Toledo. Othman was then the reigning prince in Valencia, but his peo-

ple, upon learning of the approach of Cadir, deposed him and elected Cadir to be their king. The latter, however, quickly perceived that the Valencians were not of one accord, so deemed it prudent to keep a large guard of Castilian soldiers, whom he paid by levying a tax on the city. In addition, he gave the Castilians large tracts of land near Valencia, and they, with the approval of Alvar Fáñez, proceeded to make slaves of the Valencians in their employ and to treat them with great cruelty. The rule of Cadir was also unreasonably harsh, and thus many of the citizens found it preferable to emigrate from their city.

About this time the King of Morocco arrived in Spain with great hordes of Africans, which made it necessary for Alfonso to call Alvar Fáñez to the defense of Castile. Mondzir, the Moorish ruler in Lérida, seized this opportunity to march against Valencia; Cadir, seeing his danger, made an alliance with Mostain, and it is here that we get back to the history of the Cid, for it was but natural that Mostain should send his great commander at the head of his army to Valencia. But instead of lending aid to the city, Mostain secretly planned to capture it for himself and, accordingly, had arranged to give the Cid all the booty he might capture; the city itself, of course, was to go to Mostain.

At this juncture, Mondzir made friends with Cadir and the latter bribed the Cid with rich presents to desert

the king of Zaragoza. Mostain, therefore, was obliged to return to Zaragoza without Valencia. But the Cid was also a good strategist; he promised both Mondzir and Mostain to help them capture Valencia, and in order to retain a battalion of Castilian troops, he made friends again with Alfonso, who was in desperate need of the Cid's assistance in repelling a new invasion by the Almoravide general, Yussuf. Rodrigo scouted around to secure provisions for his men, and was unintentionally delayed in his relief to Alfonso. Yussuf retreated at the approach of Alfonso, but nevertheless, the Cid's old enemies hastened to accuse him of purposely delaying his march in order that Alfonso's army might be cut to pieces. Rodrigo was declared banished a second time (in 1090), and it is at this point that Sismondi[12] believes the author of the Poema begins his story.[13] After this second banishment, the Cid easily fell back into his old life of petty warfare.

VI. Rodrigo Takes Possession of Valencia

During a long absence of the Cid from the neighbor-

[12] "Lit. of the South of Europe," Vol. II, page 99.
[13] Various other scholars, including Watts (see his "Christian Recovery of Spain," page 280), who wrote the Encyclopaedia Britannica's article on the Cid, are of the opinion that the Poema opens with the Cid's departure after his first banishment in 1081. This, however, is a point of minor importance, as the incidents of the Cid's sad departure could have occurred at either date or even could very well have been repeated.

hood of Valencia, where he had left a certain Ibn-al-Faradj to look after his interests there, the cadi of Valencia, Ibn-Djahhaf, aided by the discontent of the people under the heavy yoke of the Cid, conspired to overthrow the Cid's lieutenant and declare the city independent. He succeeded in securing the aid of an Almoravide general, Ibn-Ayicha. Ibn-al-Faradj and Cadir, who was just recovering from a serious illness, did not know what course to take. They hoped the Cid would come to their rescue and had waited for him for three weeks when early one morning they were much surprised to hear a great noise outside the city. This proved to be made by only forty soldiers sent over by the Almoravide general. Ibn-Djahhaf was ordered arrested, but fellow citizens protected him; the Almoravide soldiers were helped over the walls by means of ropes. Cadir was assassinated that night by confederates of Ibn-Djahhaf, who coveted especially the costly jewels on the ruler's person. When the head of the dead Cadir was brought to Ibn-Djahhaf, the latter had it thrown into a pool near his house. These events occurred in November, 1092.

Ibn-Djahhaf was a vain, mediocre individual, and did not succeed in making himself king. Instead, he gained the enmity of Abour-Nacir, the captain of the Almoravide troops in Valencia, and the latter allied himself with the Beni-Tahir, hoping with this aid to overthrow Ibn-Djahhaf.

When the Cid learned of these circumstances, he offered to espouse the cause of Ibn-Djahhaf and protect him as the successor of Cadir.

Ibn-Djahhaf decided to accept this offer, but about that time Ibn-Ayicha sent him a message that by forwarding a rich present in money to the Sultan, Yussuf- Ibn-Techoufin, a large African army would be sent to defend Valencia. Ibn-Djahhaf dispatched this money in great secrecy by five couriers, among whom was the Cid's former lieutenant, Ibn-al-Faradj, who had been released from prison only a few days before. The latter sent news of the expedition to the Cid, whose soldiers soon overtook the five messengers and captured the money destined to Yussuf. The Cid then advanced on Valencia and, after stiff fighting, took Villanueva and Al-Coudia and closed in upon the city of Valencia itself. The Valencians surrendered and agreed to pay tribute to the Cid on condition that he keep his army at Cebolla.

In October, 1093, it was learned that Yussuf's son-in-law (Yussuf being ill) was sending a large army in the direction of Valencia. Thereupon, the Cid, the governor of Xativa, Ibn-Djahhaf, and the governor of Cullera met and formed an alliance for mutual protection.

The Cid soon became rather bold and officious around Valencia and demanded that the garden of the kings outside the city be delivered to him. The Valencians became enraged and rejoiced to hear that the great Almoravide army

was approaching (it was then in the vicinity of Murcia). Ibn-Djahhaf tried to pacify the Valencians by telling them that the Cid wanted the garden only as a temporary arrangement and that he (Ibn-Djahhaf) would retire shortly and allow a new president to be elected. The Valencians knew he was not sincere and at once proclaimed Ibn-Tahir president and closed the gates of the city to the Cid.

When the approaching army reached Xativa, the Cid left the garden of Ibn-Abdalaziz, which he had taken by force, and rejoined his troops. He destroyed the bridges over the Guadalaviar and inundated the country around him; the only approach left was through a narrow gorge. Hopes were high in Valencia, but a tremendous disappointment came the following day: the great African army, having no provisions, had been obliged to retreat. The Cid's army now completely surrounded the city.

Then the Valencians received word from Ibn-Ayicha that a new Almoravide expedition was being prepared, -- it behooved them to hold out by all means. Their hopes died again, however, when they learned that the immense Almoravide army had returned to Africa. The Cid thus became master of the country for miles around. Great crowds came to do him honor.

The Valencians, seeing that their present government was not saving them, besought Ibn-Djahhaf to return. With much apparent reluctance, the latter accepted the govern-

ment and was received into the city a second time as president, in February or March of 1094. He wished to rid himself of all opposition at once, and so caused the Beni-Tahir to be arrested. These submitted after a desperate resistance and were delivered by night into the hands of the Cid.

The Cid now requested an interview with Ibn-Djahhaf. The two leaders met for a parley outside the city and misunderstandings began to thicken. The Cid exacted all kinds of promises from Ibn-Djahhaf, who consented to everything until he was asked to surrender his son as a hostage. This he stolidly refused to do, whereupon the Cid withdrew his protection and began to favor the Beni-Tahir.

The Cid now ordered his army to close in upon Valencia, and a siege of heartless cruelty began. The most desperate famine conditions soon prevailed in the city; its inhabitants were obliged to eat rats and rubbish of every description.[14] Many of the inhabitants escaped from the city and threw themselves into the hands of the enemy.

As his opponents dropped off from hunger, Ibn-

[14] The suffering of the Valencians is depicted in a ballad which Ticknor (see his "History of Spanish Literature," Vol. I, page 19) has translated as follows:

Valencian men doubt what to do, and bitterly complain [vain.
That, wheresoe'er they look for bread, they look for it in
No father help can give his child, no son can help his sire;
No friend to friend assistance lend, or cheerfulness inspire.
A grievous story, Sirs, it is, when fails the needed bread;
And women fair, and children young, in hunger join the dead.

Djahhaf gained more and more power within the city. He set himself to collect food for his own guards, asserting that he was doing it for the purpose of conserving the supply.

Ibn-Djahhaf now sent a messenger to Mostain, King of Zaragoza, in search of help. Mostain paid no attention to the messenger for three weeks, but finally replied that he would endeavor to get Alfonso interested in the matter. Ibn-Djahhaf then dispatched messengers to Alfonso, who replied that García Ordóñez would be sent with an army, to be followed shortly by the king himself. The crafty Mostain now sent an embassy ostensibly to wait on the Cid, but really to get a secret letter into Valencia, in which he told the people to be of good cheer, -- a large army would be forthcoming to deliver them.

The Cid now plotted to raise up an opponent to Ibn-Djahhaf inside the city. Ibn-Mochich was chosen, and although Ibn-Djahhaf discovered the plot and had the Cid's candidate thrown into prison, the latter corrupted his guards, inducing them to raise a great outcry by night and proclaim Mostain king of Valencia. This plan, however, was not regarded by the Cid as very effective, so another measure to hasten the surrender of the city was adopted. The Cid sent back all the men, women, and children that had escaped from the city, so as to multiply the number of mouths to be fed. He declared that if they were not received he would proceed to burn them alive. This measure applied also to all who should desert the city

in the future. But some few continued to desert and were burned in sight of the walls; others were cruelly fed to the dogs. The soldiers outside were able to secure huge ransoms from rich parents by menacing their children with death.

The patricians of the city appointed Alhuatan to tell Ibn-Djahhaf that they could endure the famine no longer. The "president" became very humble, as he saw the citizens could be held back no longer. The city capitulated on Thursday, June 15, 1094. Many of the inhabitants were extremely emaciated from lack of food.

A very generous treaty was made with the Valencians, leaving them about as they were before, with Ibn-Djahhaf still at the head of governmental affairs. The Cid made a soft speech before the Moors, in which he promised that the justice of Solomon would be done. But his second speech was very different from the first; he demanded that Ibn-Djahhaf be turned over to him at once. Thirty patricians went to the almoxarife, Ibn-Abdous, and sought his advice. They were told to do as the Cid commanded, as the treachery of Ibn-Djahhaf in having the king, Cadir, murdered was now meeting with its just reward. Accordingly, the citizens of the city surrounded Ibn-Djahhaf's house and caught him and all his family. These they took before the Cid, who promptly consigned them to prison.

The Cid had agreed in the treaty of peace to live in Cebolla, but he now requested to be allowed to live in the

chateau of the city. The unfortunate Moors were obliged to accede to his demands. He next had the miserable Ibn-Djahhaf carried to Cebolla and tortured near unto to death. He was then brought to the Cid's garden near Valencia and forced to write a list of all his assets; he was made to swear that the Cid could put him to death without trial if he should be found to have property not mentioned in the list. The Cid declared all of Ibn-Djahhaf's property confiscated; a slave afterwards showed him much gold and precious stones in Ibn-Djahhaf's house that were not on the list.

The Cid's next speech to the Valencians, in which he asserted his authority and made known the strict limitations he would impose, was harsh indeed. So many people left Valencia that it took two days for them to pass out of the gates of the city. They were permitted to take no property whatsoever with them, excepting the clothing they wore.

The Cid now set about punishing Ibn-Djahhaf. It was shown that the latter had incurred the death penalty; hence, the wretched ex-ruler was dragged out and burned at the stake, an event which occurred in May or June of 1095. The high qualities of Ibn-Djahhaf were eulogized even by his bitter enemies. He was a mediocre character in life, but a martyr in death.

VII. The Cid's Last Years and Death

The Cid, now virtually a king, began to dream of

conquest. Had he lived ten years longer than he did, he might have become famous as an empire-builder. However, his ability as a governor was much inferior to his prowess in battle; hence, it is quite possible that in time of peace he would have displayed very little tact in the administration of a large government. But to the end of his life he continued to add to his territory around Valencia. He captured, after long sieges, the important towns of Almenara and Murviedro. In Murviedro he built a church in honor of St. John, for it was on St. John's Day, June 24, 1098, that he entered the city.

But a new danger soon arose from the Southwest. The Almoravides, who had come over from Africa "like a cloud of locusts," were threatening the destruction of Christianity in all Spain. Unfortunately, the Cid was unable to accompany the army he sent to meet them, and was therefore obliged to send his old lieutenant, Alvar Fáñez, in his stead. The Almoravides, under Ibn-Ayicha, were met at Cuenca, and Alvar Fáñez's defeat was so complete that few of his soldiers succeeded in getting back to Valencia. The Cid had never before been called upon to stand such a shock; according to the Moorish histories, he died of anger and grief in July [15] of

[15] Some commentators think the Cid died on May 29th. The Poema says that the Cid "passado es deste sieglo el día de cinquesma." If the year 1099 is correct and the statement in the poem is dependable, the Cid must have died on May 29th, as Pentecost (Cinquesma) fell on that day in 1099. See note 467 in Janer's edition of the Poema, Vol. LVII, B. de Autores Españoles.

1099, having possessed Valencia for only five years. [16] His body probably remained in Valencia until just before the city was burned, at which time Alfonso removed it to Burgos.

In 1541 the Cid's bones were removed to a new sepulcher, but were soon replaced in the original tomb by order of Charles V., who forbade that they ever be disturbed again. Despite this injunction, they were transferred many years later (in 1842) to the townhall of Burgos.[17] In the cathedral of the same city may be seen one of the chests which the Cid is reported to have filled with sand and delivered to the Jews as collateral security for a loan. Various other supposed relics of the "Blessed Cid," including his sword, shield, banner, and drinking cup, are preserved

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[16] The Chronicle of Alfonso X. describes the Cid's death in these words: "E esto era ya ora de sexta, e el Cid demandó al abispo Don Jeronymo, que le diesse el cuerpo de nuestro señor Jesu Christo, e lo rescebió muy devotamente los ynojos fincados e llorando ante todos; e desí acostóse en la cama, e llamó a Dios e a Sant Pedro, e dixo assí: Señor Jesu Christo cuyo es el poder e cuyos son los reynos, tú eres sobre todas las gentes, e todas las cosas son a tu mandado; pues por esto, señor, pido te por merced, que la mi alma sea en la fin que non ha fin. E quando esto ovo dicho, Ruy Díaz, el noble varón dió a Dios su alma sin manziella."

[17] This is the date given by Hume, page 129, "The Spanish People;" Ticknor's information (page 178, Vol. I, "History of Spanish Literature") is somewhat different: "It is a curious fact.....that the remains of the Cid, besides their removal by Alfonso the Wise, in 1272, were successively transferred to different places, in 1447, in 1541, again in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and again, by the bad taste of the French general Thibaut, in 1809 or 1810, until, at last, in 1824, they were restored to their original sanctuary in San Pedro de Cardeña. (Semanario Pintoresco, 1838, page 648)."

and worshipped by the populace.

Jimena continued to hold Valencia for two years after her illustrious husband's death. Near the month of October, 1101, General Mazdali, an Almoravide, surrounded the city and, after seven months of siege, Jimena was obliged to call upon Alfonso for help. The latter drove the Moors away temporarily and then advised Jimena to desert the city, as it was too far away to be conveniently held by the Castilians. Jimena, therefore, burned the city to the ground, and removed to Burgos, her old home, where she died in 1104.

On May 5, 1102, Mazdali took possession of the ruins of Valencia. The terrible fate of the city is a favorite theme in Moorish literature, as it is claimed that Valencia was at that time the fairest Moslem city in Spain.[18]

A word about the Cid's children and the relation of his life will be complete. All authorities are agreed that

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[18] One of these Arabic lamentations is given in the Crónica General, Folio 329, and reads, in part: "Valencia, Valencia, vinieron sobre tí muchos quebrantos, e estás en hora de morir; pues si ventura fuere que tú escapes, esto será gran maravilla a quien quier que te viere.....E si Dios quisier que de todo en todo te hayas de perder desta vez, será por los tus grandes pecados e por los tus grandes atrevimientos que hobiste con tu soberbia.....El tu muy nobre río caudal Guadalaviar, con todas las otras aguas de que te tú muy bien servies, salido es de madre, e va onde non debe.....Las tus muy nobres e viciosas huertas que en deredor de tí son, el lobo rabioso les cavó las raíces, e non pueden dar fructo.....El tu gran término, de que te tú llamabas señora, los fuegos lo han quemado, e a tí llegan los grandes fumos."

he left two daughters, Elvira and Sol, and that these ladies married a Count of Barcelona and a prince of the royal family of Navarre. Whether or not the Cid had a son cannot be conclusively determined from existing records.[19]

[19] In browsing through the available literature on the Cid, one occasionally finds rumors of this son, and in fact, the Santiago Genealogía and the Crónica plainly state that the Cid had a son who was slain in battle near Consuegra in 1081; this, however, is an item which cannot be historically proved.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FIRST STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CID LITERATURE: THE "POEMA DE MIO CID"

The Cantar del Cid, or Poema de Mio Cid, stands out as a bulwark in the early centuries of Spanish literature, beyond which all literary effort in the vulgar, or popular, language is completely lost.[20] This poem for several cen-

[20] There are, however, a few official papers in Spanish, mostly charters, which antedate the Poema by some fifty years, but it is no injustice to the claims of these documents to say that the Poema is the oldest Spanish literary monument that exists today. The disruption of the Roman political empire did not mean the discarding of the Latin language by the literary men of the various ex-Roman colonies. Instead, the latter continued to be used for many centuries in all written compositions, despite the fact that in each of the former colonies, and even in Italy itself, a local language was being developed by the breaking up of the noble Latin tongue and the influx of new words from the North. These new dialects were subject to rapid changes and sudden fluctuations,as they were not held in check by the stabilizing effect of abundant printed matter and universal education. Had the latter been present and potent factors in the situation, it is quite possible that the Latin language would have survived till the present day, though with a considerably enlarged vocabulary containing many foreign words and numerous new technical terms born of the progress of science. With these circumstances in mind, it is easy to understand why Spanish literature should have so abrupt a beginning. The time came when the people decided to use their popular language as a means of written communication. Latin lost ground rapidly, and a new literature sprang up. Spanish at this epoch had matured to such an extent that the earliest literary work, which we have just stated is the Poema de Mio Cid, can be read by the modern Spaniard with little discomfort or previous coaching.

turies existed only in manuscript form in a library in Bivar, the "patria del Cid." Don Tomás Antonio Sánchez was the first to place it before the public; the attention of this scholar was attracted by two or three allusions to the Poema which he encountered in his reading. Curious to examine personally these "versos bárbaros y notables," he secured permission to borrow the precious work long enough to make a "scrupulously exact"copy of it.[21] A first edition of the Poema was published in 1792, and since that date a number of editions have been run off the press, including that of Ochoa (Paris, 1842). of Janer (Madrid, 1874), of Damas Hinard (in French, 1858), and the recent edition with notes by Professor Menéndez Pidal.

Sánchez, in his"Noticias"[22] on the Poema, describes the binding and other physical features of the manuscript from which he made his copy. There are indications that the work contained originally slightly in excess of eighty leaves, seventy-four of which still survive; a half dozen or so of the first leaves have been lost, and two leaves are missing from the interior of the work, one appearing to have been deliberately removed with shears. The portion that remains contains 3,744 verses, and if Sánchez's inference is

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[21] Don Florencio Janer points out six instances in which Sánchez either misread the original or emended the verses to agree with what he thought they should be.
[22] Reprinted and criticized by Janer in Vol. LVII of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

correct, there must have been more than 4,000 in the complete text. There is some internal evidence to show that the poet divided his work into three sections, as follows: verses 1-1092, 1093-2287, and 2288-3744. The first verse of the second part, number 1093 reads:

Aquis' conpieza la gesta de Mio Cid, el de Bibar.

Verses 2286 and 2287, the last two of the second part, read:

Las coplas deste cantar aquis' van acabando;
El Criador nos vala con todos los sus sanctos.

Don José Amador de los Ríos would further divide the second and third parts so as to make seven sections in all, but the evidence upon which he bases this arrangement is even more obscure and unsatisfactory than that indicated above for the three-part division.

The first impression that one gets of the versification is that the unknown poet who composed it was both unlettered and unskilled in matters of meter and rime. However, a thorough perusal of the whole poem reveals the fact that its composer was in many respects an artist; in its subject-matter, there is remarkable unity and consistency throughout; the language, action, sustained interest, and the free and fearless spirit pervading the whole composition likewise indicate that these lines flowed from the pen of a man who was a master of his art. We have no assurance that the poet himself would not be ashamed of the crude copy by which his art is judged by the literary critics of today;

Prof. J. D. M. Ford, in his recent work on "Main Currents of Spanish Literature," hints that the poet's product may have been refashioned by some ignorant scribe in order to adapt it to his own ideas. Possibly, too, the copyists were none too careful, and it is indeed difficult for even a modern scholar to decipher the old manuscripts.

We have already alluded to the fact that in the Poema, as it is known to us, there is no fixed metrical principle observed. The most common verse is that of fourteen syllables, called Alexandrines, (*) which are divided near the middle by a slight pause. This may be illustrated by a selection from the poem itself:

Después en la carrera feremos nuestro sabor
Antes que nos retrayan lo que cuntió del León.
(Spoken by the Infantes of Carrión).

This pause is very striking in the following translation of verses 723 to 726 by J. Hookham Frere, "the first of English translators:"

Their shields before their breasts forth at once they go,
Their lances in the rest levelled fair and low,
Their banners and their crests waving in a row,
Their heads all stooping down toward the saddle-bow.

The present writer freely admits that it is no easy matter to find extended examples of any given meter; the verses

(*). Spanish Alexandrines contain fourteen lines.
Vreña, "Versifación Irregular", page 19.
Borja, "Libros y Autrores Clásicos", page 14.

Prof. J. D. M. Ford, in his recent work on "Main Currents of Spanish Literature," hints that the poet's product may have been refashioned by some ignorant scribe in order to adapt it to his own ideas. This would account for most of the irregularities in the poem as we now have it. Possibly, too, the copyists were none too careful to pass on an exact duplicate of the copy furnished them; in dealing with the hand-written manuscripts of that day, it is very difficult for the most careful of modern scholars to decipher and copy every phrase correctly.

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are so barbarous that the same metrical arrangement seldom extends through two consecutive lines! Sismondi has observed that the rime alone enables the reader to discover that the composition is in verse, though even that is so barbarous that sometimes we have considerable difficulty in ascertaining its existence. This rime was supposed to have been based on assonance, but the latter is very imperfect -- the author was not averse to including an unharmonious ending when the thought seemed to require it, just as he sometimes allowed a verse to run out to twenty syllables, or included one of only eight syllables. It was customary with poets in those days to repeat one vowel ending until they exhausted the series or became tired of it; thus, they had no fixed system and could change the vowel at any point in the stanza, to use the new vowel perhaps two or two hundred times. But let us refer again to Sismondi for a clearer explanation of Spanish practice in regard to rime: "The Spaniards distinguish their rhymes into <u>consonant</u> and <u>assonant</u> rhymes. The latter.....consist in the repetition of the same vowel. When the Spaniards had become more familiar with poetical composition, and had laid down certain rules of art, the assonant rhymes became as regular as the consonant. If the rhyme was not complete, being only framed from the vowels of the last two syllables, it was prolonged, and all the second verses of the romance were terminated by the same assonant rhymes."[23]

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[23] "<u>Lit. of the South of Europe</u>," Vol. II, page 121.

Some examples of the rime used in the Poema will perhaps aid in conveying a better idea of the system used in that work; "a" and "o" were the vowels most frequently used as assonants, although "i" and "e" are not wanting:

Example in "a":

De Castiella la gentil exidos somos acá,
Si con moros non lidiaremos, non nos darán del pan:
Bien somos nos seyscientos, algunos hay de más.
En el nombre del Criador que non passe por ál:
Vayamos los ferir en el día de crás.--
Dixo el Campeador: A mi guisa fablastes.--
Ondrastes vos, Minaya, ca aun vos lo yedes a far.

Example in "o":

Non lo dizen a nadi, e fincó esta razón.
Minaya Albar Fáñez al buen rey se espidió:
Hya uos ydes, Mynaya, yd a la graçia del Criador.
Leuedes vn portero, tengo que uos aura pro.
Si leuaredes las duennas, siruan-las a su sabor.

Combination of "a" and "o":

Grado a Dios Fijo e al Padre que está en alto,
E a vos, (Mio) Cid, que en buen ora fuestes nado,
Mataste a Búcar e arrancamos el campo.
Todos estos bienes de vos son e de vuestros vasallos:
E vuestros yernos aqui son ensaiados,
Fartos de lidiar con moros en el campo.--

Example in "i" (uncommon):

A las sus fijas en braços las prendia:
Legolas al coraçon, ca mucho las queria,
Lora de los oios, tan fuerte-mientre sospira:
Ya, Donna Ximena, la mi mugier tan conplida,
Commo a la mi alma yo tanto uos queria.

Example in "e" (rare):

Si me vinieredes buscar fallar-me podredes:
E si non mandedes buscar o me dexaredes.

Having now considered briefly the form of the Poema, let us examine somewhat its subject-matter. The vari-

ous events are taken up in approximately chronological order, but the amount of space devoted to each incident is not proportional to its relative importance; the Cid's siege and capture of Valencia is passed over very briefly, whereas the matrimonial ventures of his daughters, and the events growing out of these, are dwelt upon at length.

The first part of the poem (to verse 1093) deals with the Cid's banishment and his departure from Burgos, his adieu to Jimena, the siege of Zamora by King Sancho and the assassination of the latter, the oath administered to Alfonso by the Cid in Santa Gadea, the legend of the loan secured on the chests of sand, the Cid's wars against the Moors, and the capture and release of the Count of Barcelona, after this ruler had been made to feast in the presence of the Cid.

The second part recounts briefly the conquest of Valencia and the events leading up to this. We are then told of the Cid's magnificent embassy to King Alfonso, bearing rich gifts for the latter, and how the Cid was readmitted to the country after a reconciliation with Alfonso on the banks of the Río Tajo. The journey of Jimena and her daughters to Valencia, where they took up permanent residence in the Cid's household, and the marriage of the girls to the Infantes of Carrión bring the poem down to the concluding verse (2287) of the second section.

The last section is almost wholly given over to the story of the timorous Infantes of Carrión. The cowardice of these parlor knights is well illustrated by the lion adventure and the campaign of King Búcar against the city. Next the Infantes plot vengeance and ask leave to take their wives on a visit to Carrión. The farewells of the young couples to Jimena and the Cid are followed by the shameful scene in the oak-grove of Corpes. [24] When the young wives are rescued and restored to the arms of the grief-stricken parents, it is the Cid's turn to swear vengeance. Then follows the long court scene in Toledo, the second betrothal of Doña Elvira and Doña Sol, the Cid's challenge to the Infantes and their defenders, and the humiliating defeat of the latter. A very brief reference to the Cid's death brings

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[24] An amusing version of this affair, more compact than that given in the Poema, is to be found in one of the ballads in the collection of Carolina Michaelis:

Andando por sus jornadas
A Tormes habían llegado
Y entre los robledos dél
Las damas han apeado
De las mulas en que van,
Porque así lo traen pensado;
Mandan primero a su gente
Se vayan adelantando.
Por los cabellos las toman
Habiéndolas desnudado;
Arrástranlas por el suelo,
Tráenlas de uno a otro lado;
Danlas muchas espoladas,
En sangre las han bañado;
Con palabras injuriosas
Mucho las han demostrado.
Los cobardes caballeros
Allí se las han dejado,
Diciendo, "De vueso padre
En vos ya somos vengados."

the poem to a close.

The historical value of the poet's narrative is a matter of debate. In that day prose was not the universal vehicle for conveying ideas that it is now; the Poema was not unique in its use of verse for this purpose. Hence, critics willing to support the thesis that "meter doesn't make history less true" are not lacking. It may be said, at least, that one feels compelled to reject the idea that the poet invented the whole story, or even a considerable portion of it; hence, the matter resolves itself into two questions: first, how dependable are the sources used by the author of the Poema in writing the biography of a man who died perhaps a full century before his time, and second, what sections of the poem are most open to the charge of being nothing more than "padding?" Confident replies to either of these questions are not, and should not be, forthcoming, but if the "searchlight of science" be invoked to answer the second of them, it can be said at least that suspicion falls heavily upon the lion adventure and upon the ease with which our Cid borrowed money on mere chests of sand. His Jewish creditors would be much too astute to allow him to depart without even having him open his security or give his permission for them to do so.

In our review of the Cid literature, it will be interesting to note that the character and deeds of the Cid

go through a process of evolution; the literature of a given epoch reflects the spirit of the period, and this is in a state of continual change.(25) We note here in the Poema that even at that early date the Cid was not the same man that existed in the eleventh century. And from now on through the chronicles, ballads, etc., this Cid grows as his history becomes more remote; he finally becomes a veritable giant, a candidate for canonization, an object to be worshipped. He is the "Blessed Cid," and in 1541 the people of Castille avert a famine by the simple device of opening the box containing the Cid's bones, whereupon rain fell in great abundance throughout the land. It is interesting to observe that this supernatural element in the Cid literature is relatively slight,--much less than that to be found in similar literature of the surrounding countries.

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(25) The form of the literature based on the Cid is also varied from epoch to epoch. Thus it is easy roughly to divide this literary effort into five stages, to wit: the Poema, written in the twelfth century; the chronicles, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the ballads or romances, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the Cid dramas, in the early part of the seventeenth century (serving as an inspiration to lesser dramatists down to the present day); and miscellaneous writings on the Cid, mostly of modern date.

go through a process of evolution; the literature of a given epoch reflects the spirit of the period, and this is in a state of continual change.[25] We note here in the Poema that even at that early date the Cid was not the same man that existed in the eleventh century, which indicates that he is fairly on the road to a status in Spain similar to that of Robin Hood in England. And from now on through the chronicles, ballads, etc., this Cid grows as his history becomes more remote; he finally becomes a veritable giant, a candidate for canonization, an object to be worshipped. He is the "Blessed Cid," and in 1541 the people of Castile avert a famine by the simple device of opening the box containing the Cid's bones, whereupon rain fell in great abundance throughout the land. It is interesting to observe that this supernatural element in the Cid literature is relatively slight, -- much less than that to be found in similar literature of the surrounding countries.

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The whole story of the Infantes of Carrión has frequently been discredited, but the eminent scholar, Sr. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, in searching through various old archives, has found the Infantes recorded by name, and hence it is not impossible that these young nobles were actually married to the Cid's daughters. One could accept this much as a simple historical fact and still not believe the elaborate story of the affair given in the Poema. In conclusion, we may say that, although some of the incidents are quite imaginative, there is really no good reason to believe that the framework of the Poema is not based upon actual fact. The fictitious details used for "filling in"" are responsible for the stamp of improbability borne by this poem.

CHAPTER THREE

SECOND STAGE: THE CHRONICLES

The oldest of the chronicles follow closely upon the Poema de Mio Cid; in fact, there has been some discussion as to whether one or two of them was not written before the composition of the Poema. But from the fact that the chroniclers sometimes included verses in their histories without even eliminating the meter and rime, it is inferred that they quoted these directly from preceding poetical works. Sánchez was strongly of this opinion, and after making a thorough comparison of the Crónica del Cid with the Poema, he was able to cite numerous instances in which the phraseology, in metrical form, of the chronicle is more or less identical to similar passages in the Poema.[26]

The statement that the Crónica del Cid is merely an extract from Alfonso X's Crónica General has already been made; hence, the remarks on the former will apply also to the fourth chapter of the latter. The Crónica del Cid is sometimes called the Crónica de Cardeña, from the circumstance that is was found in the Cid's tomb at San Pedro de Cardeña. Fernando, a grandson of Fernando and Isabela, and later Emperor of Germany, saw it there in his youth and gave orders to have it printed. The first edition appeared

[26] Cf. Sanchez's remarks on page xvii of Vol.LVII,B.de A.Esp.

in 1512 and the second in 1593. The chronicler[27] begins with the victories of the Cid under Fernando the Great and then, after brief allusions to Rodrigo's youth, proceeds to record his military adventures with great minuteness. He does not stop with the Cid's death, but continues to the end of the reign of Alfonso the Sixth, who died ten years later(in 1109). The style is rather grave throughout, though thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the times. Ticknor decides that much of it is as fabulous as the accounts of Bernardo del Carpio and the Infantes de Lara, but Professor Dozy, convinced that the account proceeds from Moorish sources, is inclined to accept its statements with less hesitation.

The Crónica Rimada was discovered among the Spanish manuscripts in the Library of Paris in 1844, and was published, as was noted in a previous chapter,[28] two years later by Francis Michel in Vienna. It has a one-page introduction in prose, dealing with political affairs down to the time of Fernando González. 1126 barbarous verses follow, sharply broken off at the end, as if the author had been interrupted for some reason and did not return to complete his task. The story deals almost wholly with the Cid; it

[27] This was probably an Arab whose work was translated by Alfonso X. Sismondi, in his "Literature of the South of Europe," Vol. II, page 120, says it is rumored that the authors were two Saracen pages of the Cid who wrote only a few years after the latter's death.
[28] See page 3.

begins with the quarrel between Don Diego and the Conde de Górmaz and relates several incidents not found in the prose chronicles, and considerably amplifies many of the events recorded in both. The apocryphal invasion of France is dwelt upon at length, the Moors capture three of Jimena's brothers in battle, and the Cid, having secured their release, is forced by the king to marry Jimena against her will. The whole composition is lacking in unity and purposeful directness of plot. Even the character of the Cid is allowed to change during the progress of the narrative; in the last part of the poem, Rodrigo has lost much of the arrogance and feudal piety which characterized him in the beginning. If this poem was written as late as the fifteenth century,[29] its author had access to a large number of Cid stories and ballads; his utilization of so much folk-lore would indicate that he made no attempt to write a work of historical value --- his aim was merely to glorify the Cid, in which direction his effort would have been more convincing had he confined

[29] This is the date preferred by most authors, including Ticknor; Dozy, on the other hand, believes it to be as old as the twelfth century; unfortunately, the internal evidence therein is not to be trusted, as some awkward hand has attempted to retouch and rejuvenate the original version. The reader receives the impression that the work is in reality a mere mosaic, thrown together with so little tact and skill that it is easily the clumsiest, worst mangled document among all those that have come down to us from the earlier centuries of Spanish literary effort. Ticknor held this chronicle to be nearly worthless, though he doubtless underestimated its importance when he dismissed it with only a foot-note (see his "History of Spanish Literature," Sixth Am. edition, Vol. I, page 25).

himself to the more credible of the balladists' relations. He saw that the Cid had outgrown his real history and could not withstand the temptation to revise and modernize the previously existing records. It is this tendency on the part of the chroniclers that is responsible for the lines of development found in this type of composition.

The metrical arrangement of the Crónica Rimada is similar to that of the Poema de Mio Cid. There is a pause near the middle of each of the verses, which are supposed to terminate in the assonant "a-o:"

251 Oytme, caballeros, muy buenos fijosdalgo,
Del más onrrado alcade que en Castiella fué nado:
Disteme a Castiella e besástesme la mano:
Con vusco conquerí los regnos de España fasta Santiago.
Vos sodesançianos e yo del mundo non sé atanto:
Mio cuerpo e mi poder métolo en vuessas manos:
Que vos me conseiedes syn art e syn enganno.

Don José Amador de los Ríos objects to the name "Crónica Rimada" for this poem; he prefers to call it the "Leyenda de las Mocedades de Rodrigo," or simply the Leyenda. However, it was first published under the heading "Crónica rimada de las cosas de España desde la muerte del rey Don Pelayo hasta Don Fernando el Magno y más particularmente de las aventuras del Cid."[30]

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[30] Ticknor was fond of emphasizing the "primitive simplicity and directness" of the old literary headings. It is hardly possible one would get such an impression from this particular example. This lack of uniformity in the names of the old literary works greatly confuses and embarrasses the amateur student of them. Often there are as many versions of a title as there are English, French, and German translators, not to mention the variety in the original tongue. It is to be regretted that critics did not early adopt the policy of using the most general Spanish name for a given piece, uniformly refraining from translating this, except perhaps in parenthesis after the original title.

There are other chronicles of this period dealing with the Cid, such as that of Lucas de Tuy, the Liber Regnum, and the Gesta Roderici Campidocti, all of which have been mentioned in the first chapter of this paper, but as most of these were written in Latin and are thus outside the field of Spanish literature (they are of value in this study chiefly as sources of history), no further mention of them will be made here. The Gesta is of considerable importance historically; its detailed accounts of military operations were quite largely used by Dozy in his synthetic "Cid of Reality."

CHAPTER FOUR

THIRD STAGE: THE BALLADS OR ROMANCES

While it would appear that ballads, from their very nature, would date from time immemorial, there are few, if any, in Spanish that scholars are willing to agree were written previous to the fourteenth century. The greater number are comparatively modern and many are merely portions of the chronicles put into verse. Durán thinks that by far the larger number of the romances were composed in the sixteenth century. Perhaps the worst of them are modern imitations of the old ballads; these resemble the early romances in form only, as the chivalrous spirit which prompted the earlier ballads has died out.[31] But this does not mean that the old ballads are forgotten among the common people; indeed, their tenacious resistance to the effects of time is remarkable. Dr. Espinosa has copied down ballads from the lips of Mexican laborers in the state of New Mexico that closely resemble those in the romanceros of old Spain.

A curious fact in regard to these ballads is that they evolved from the longer epic poems in the Peninsula,

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[31] Here we have further evidence of developmental progress in the literature, depending upon the continual change in the spirit of the times. The lines of development are much more distinct in the ballads than in the chronicles, as the former extend over a longer period of time and seem to have a freer rein, due to the larger number of people engaged in their composition and recital.

whereas in the surrounding countries the contrary was true. The ballads followed naturally upon the breaking up of the longer poems. Perhaps their greatest value to us is the light they shed on the national character of the period. They glow with the pride of accomplishment and sing the praises of the heroes that helped to make Spain a world power. A most important theme is that of loyalty; even the Cid, exiled and mistreated by his king, persists in fighting independently the battles of his country and in sending back rich gifts to his lord.

The romances of the Cid, of which there are more than two hundred now extant, form, when taken in chronological order, a fairly complete story of the hero's life.[32] (But the value of such a story to the historian is, of course, open to grave question). These romances are generally filled with minute details and have an air of truth about them. It is possibly a fact, as has been asserted, that some of the ballads are of such great age that they may be accepted as true; that is to say, their authors were eye-witnesses of the happenings perpetuated by their verses. We see from the following that the balladists themselves resent having the

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[32] In fact, the entire history of the Spanish nation may be pieced together from the ballads. Ticknor says "they are few in number as far as respects the Gothic and Roman periods, but ample from the time of Roderic and the Moorish conquest of Spain down to the moment when its restoration was gloriously fulfilled in the fall of Granada, --a series which would constitute such a peotical illustration of Spanish history as can be brought in aid of the history of no other country."(History of Spanish Literature, Vol.I, page 144).

truth of their stories called in question:

> Los que dicen mal del Cid
> Ninguno con verdad habla,
> Que el Cid es buen caballero,
> De los mejores de España.
> - Romancero General.

The first collection of the romances was made in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and since that time numerous editions of the romancero have been published.[33] The "Romancero del Cid" has been published separately, this being simply a collection of the romances concerning the Cid; the collection by Mme. Vasconcellos (Carolina Michaelis)[34] is one of the most satisfactory and complete, containing 205 romances arranged in chronological order.

In looking through the romancero, one is impressed with the similarity of vocabulary and phraseology. The ballads themselves are considerably interlaced, quite a few containing identical verses or a whole series of identical verses. One may be contained in another, the last half of one may be the first half of another, etc. Or a long ballad may describe in detail a particular adventure and then dispose of another equally important incident in one or two lines; for example,a detailed relation of the Cid's experience with the leper ends as follows:

> "Morirás tú muerte honrada,
> Tu persona no vencida:

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[33] Durán's Romancero General, in Volumes X and XVI of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, is regarded as one of the best of these collections.

[34]Published by F.A.Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1871.

Tú serás el vencedor,
Dios su bendición te envía."
En diciendo estas palabras,
Luego desaparecía;
Levantóse Don Rodrigo,
Y de hinojos se ponía;
Dió gracias al Dios del cielo,
También a Santa María,
Y ansí estuvo en oración
Hasta que fuera de día. [35]
Partióse para Santiago,
Su romería cumplía;
De allí se fué a Calahorra,
A donde el buen Rey yacía.
Recibieralo muy bien,
Holgóse de su venida;
Lidió con Martín González,
En el campo le vencía.

- Escobar's Romancero.

All this indicates that the romances have been somewhat jumbled together in passing from generation to generation, that a number of authors took their material from the same sources, and that sometimes one man's work would suffer "revision" and "adaptation" at the hands of others, thus giving the public two versions of the same ballad. These romances were often set to music and taught by mothers to their children.[36]

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[35] Rodrigo, like some of the biblical characters, prayed till daybreak. Thus did the balladists prepare the Cid for canonization.

[36] Sismondi ("Literature of the South of Europe," Vol. II, page 130) says that these song-ballads were frequently "recited at festivals, and sung by the soldiers before battle... ....The measure of these early romances, or redondilhas, was completely the reverse of the Italian; it changed from long to short, the verse containing four trochees, with an occasional defective verse. Nothing is more irregular than this succession of four trochees. The accent on the seventh syllable alone is obligatory; but it is sufficient to give a trochaic movement to the whole verse. With regard to rhyme, each second line terminated with an assonant, while the first four lines were unrhymed. It was in this meter that the deeds of many a brave Spaniard, and more especially of the Cid, were celebrated by anonymous poets."

CHAPTER FIVE

FOURTH STAGE: THE DRAMATIC LITERATURE

Just as the poets, historians, and balladists found excellent literary material in the Cid's exploits, the dramatists, as soon as the national theater sprang into popularity, recognized the splendid dramatic possibilities in the same series of adventures. The imaginary occurrences ascribed to Rodrigo's youth were especially favored by these playwrights, who were naturally ever on the alert for suitable material. The later life of the Cid does not lend itself so well to dramatization, since it affords little opportunity to build up a clever plot, and moreover, the action is principally of a military character, which would involve the introduction of horses and siege scenes upon the stage, thus making a setting so awkward as to be beyond the restricted field of the regular stage; this material would, without doubt, be more effective in the modern motion picture.

Among the playwrights who recognized the dramatic possibilities of the Cid stories, there are two that stand out with especial prominence: Guillén de Castro in the Peninsula and Corneille in France. It is interesting to note that each of these two great classic dramatists became famous immediately upon the appearance of his drama on the Cid. The reputation of thè Spanish author, in particular, depends almost

wholly upon his "Mocedades del Cid;" he wrote no other play that is at all comparable to this one. But one wonders that these plays should come to be considered veritable masterpieces of literature, in the face of the fact that both of them are admittedly defective, making it very easy indeed for unkind critics to find fault with them. The play of Corneille precipitated one of the most terrific storms in literary history; it was severely condemned from nearly every angle, but nevertheless it has survived its critics by nearly three hundred years, and ranks among the very best of the old dramas of the classic period.

"Las Mocedades del Cid," the play of de Castro, was first represented on the stage about 1618, nearly two decades before that of Corneille, his only successful imitator. This play really consists of two dramas with one title, each being complete in itself and doubtless intended by the author to be shown at different performances. In form, these two sections of the "comedia famosa" are typical of the other dramas of the Golden Age: each is divided into three "jornadas" of approximately one thousand lines each. The first part is by far the more popular and is that which was reconstructed in French by the great Corneille.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the French classical drama, it may be of considerable interest to compare briefly the works of de Castro and Cor-

neille, noticing the features changed by the latter in converting this romantic Spanish "comedia" into a classical French drama. To begin with, we should bear in mind that Corneille labored under difficulties which did not hamper the work of Guillén de Castro; he was obliged to observe the classic unities of time and place, and therefore could not avoid certain incongruities which laid his play open to the harsh criticism of his jealous and unsympathetic judges. The Spanish playwright allowed his action to extend over a year's time, moved his scene from Burgos to the Oca Mountains and back again, and included various minor episodes having little bearing on the main action; Corneille, on the other hand, was obliged to reduce the action of his play to twenty-four hours, his setting to a single scene (the open square in front of the palace),[37] and had to eliminate all the irrelevant incidents,[38] which for the most part took place outside the main scene of ac-

[37] A mistake of Corneille's, already famous, is his placing of his drama in Sevilla, which at the date of the tragedy was in the hands of the Moors and continued to be held by them till 1248. This anachronism does not, however, affect the incidents of the play.

[38] The main situations discarded by the French poet are as follows: (1) the opening scene in which Rodrigo is knighted, (2) the beginnings of the love of the two ladies (Jimena and Urraca) for the Cid, (3) the council scene in which Count Lozano insults Don Diego in the presence of the king, (4) the old father's trial of his sons' mettle, (5) the Cid's battle with the Moors, (6) the leper scene, (7) the banishment of Rodrigo by Jimena, and (8) the second council scene, in which the king makes his will, dividing the royal domains among his five children.

tion. Although the French play contains five acts and much expansion of dialog, Corneille's chief task was that of condensation, to bring the action and setting within the limits of the French stage; the steps he took to this end of necessity made the action in his play seem less natural --- Jimena must lose her father, repeatedly seek justice of the king, and agree to marry Rodrigo all within twenty-four hours, giving her hand in betrothal to the man who slew her father before the latter's body can be removed from the house. Corneille's language, moreover, is too artificial, whereas the dialog in "Las Mocedades" is in the main as naïve as that used by the early balladists, whose productions were in some instances bodily included in the play. Corneille's characters are more modern and must all belong to the nobility, since the wealthy class to which he catered would not suffer the common people to be brought upon the stage. De Castro's characters are of a more primitive type --- Don Diego bites his sons fingers upon the stage --- and as the Spanish theater catered to all classes of people, there was no objection to admitting large groups of common soldiers or peons to the stage. The duel between Jimena's father and the Cid was conducted off the stage by both playwrights. Guillén de Castro, however, allowed Jimena to appear with her handkerchief soaked in the blood of the slain Count, and Diego likewise came out with his

cheek smeared with blood to publish the fact that his affront had been washed away. It is easy to imagine the shocked feelings of a French audience had such a scene as the following been reproduced on Corneille's stage:

(Don Diego appears and addresses the king):

"Yo ví, Señor,
Que en aquel pecho enemigo
La espada de mi Rodrigo
Entraba a buscar mi honor.
Llegué y halléle sin vida,
Y puse con alma exenta
El corazón en mi afrenta
Y los dedos en mi herida.
Lavé con sangre el lugar
Adonde la mancha estaba;
Porque el honor que se lava
Con sangre se ha de lavar."

The unity of place obliged Corneille to omit the council scene in the first act; the insult to Don Diego does not occur in the presence of the king, and hence the affront seems of less importance. For the same reason, the Cid's battle with the Moors could not be staged, and many essentially private scenes, such as the old father bewailing the loss of his honor, personal interviews between father and son, and a soliloquy of Rodrigo, are all placed out in the public thoroughfare where a crowd of curious onlookers would be quick to gather. This last-named defect considerably troubled Corneille himself and brought upon his play the unqualified condemnation of his critics.

The necessity of observing the unity of time brought about still another incongruity in the French drama;

The Cid is obliged to go off on an expedition to fight the Moors and return within twenty-four hours, despite his many other activities in that brief period of time; Guillén de Castro is able to allow a whole year to pass in which the Cid may fight the Moors, and also a private duel, without hurry. And in twelve months' time it is not so unnatural that Jimena should relent and accept the hand of her father's slayer.

But notwithstanding the fact that Corneille often made direct translations from Guillén de Castro and followed the latter's plot rather closely, he is not wholly indebted to "Las Mocedades" for the material used in "Le Cid;" he also borrowed to some extent from the Spanish ballads, and even invented a few situations himself. For instance, he greatly adds to the tenseness of the approaching duel by having the parents of the sweethearts know that their children were madly in love with each other. To fill in a space in the last act, caused by the omission of political events in preparation for the second part of "Las Mocedades," Corneille inserts a second visit of Rodrigo to Jimena, the first visit being the one in which Rodrigo dramatically requested his sweetheart to kill him. This second scene between the lovers belongs entirely to Corneille, and is the only major episode not found in the original play.

Although the chief center of interest in both dra-

mas is the struggle of the young couple between love and duty, there is a distinct leaning in "Las Mocedades" towards the worship of valor and honor, whereas in "Le Cid" the chief emphasis is upon love. The French characters are more squeamish and polite --- the prowess of the rough Rodrigo on horseback is purposely omitted. "Le Cid" never loses sight of the passionate love of the bewildered pair, its situations are decidedly more tragic, and in it a deeper psychological analysis is attempted. Despite the great odds against which Corneille was compelled to labor, he produced a play which profoundly affected the whole French theater, and which, in many respects, is an improvement upon the model which he so closely followed.

The second part of "Las Mocedades" is much less interesting than the section with which we have just been dealing. This part is, indeed, almost incapable of dramatic representation; the scenes are either too repugnant, as in the slaying of King Sancho, or too gigantic, as the besieging of the city of Zamora. However, the heroic spirit of the old ballads is well preserved and constitutes the chief merit of the play. The sonorous, grandiloquent language is also quite amusing at times; there are few speeches in literature more bold and fear-inspiring than the bombastic challenge of Diego Ordóñez before the city walls.[39]

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[39] As Ticknor remarks in his literary history, "the effect must have been great on a Castilian audience, always sensible

In passing, it may be observed that the record of events in this second part of "Las Mocedades" finds a remarkable parallel in the ninth chapter of Book Nine of Mariana's "Historia General de España."[40] The latter had already been written in 1618 and very probably was familiar to the author of the Spanish play.

The remaining imitators of Guillén de Castro --- Diamante, Polo, and Moreto --- may be disposed of in a single paragraph. The most important of the imitations, all of which are decidedly mediocre, is that by Diamante. The latter's "Siege of Zamora" is a poor adaptation of the second part of "Las Mocedàdes del Cid." His "Honrador de su Padre," in which the quarrel between Rodrigo and Count Lozano figures prominently, is similar to the plays of Guillén de Castro and Corneille and was long thought, due to an erroneous assumption on the part of Voltaire, to be a source of Corneille's tragedy. As a matter of fact, it was really Diamante who copied Corneille, since "Le Cid" appeared in 1636, at which time Diamante was only ten years of age. The latter probably did not begin to write for the stage until 1657, as that is the date of publication of the

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to the power of the old popular poetry, and always stirred as with a battle cry when the achievements of their earlier national heroes were recalled to them." ("History of Spanish Literature," Vol. II, page 362).

[40] In Volume XXX, B. de A.Españoles. Mariana lived from 1536 to 1623; Guillén de Castro, from 1569 to 1631; "Las Mocedades" appeared in 1618.

oldest of his dramas now extant.[41] Diamante, after himself copying a borrowed drama, has, to continue the cycle, an imitator of his own in Francisco Polo, who wrote a play called "El Honrador de sus Hijas."[42] The subject of this drama (the marriage and desertion of the Cid's daughters by the Infantes of Carrión) is promising, but the author failed miserably in his treatment of it. The remaining member of our trio of second-class imitators is no less a figure than Agustín Moreto, who wrote a burlesque farce of little value, based on the achievements of the Cid. But it should be mentioned here in justice to Moreto that his imitations were in general very successful; it was seldom that he failed to improve notably upon the original play.

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[41] Sismondi, however, sides with Voltaire, since he states in a note in his "Literature of the South of Europe" (Vol.II, page 132) that "Corneille borrowed his Cid partly from these romances, as he confesses in his preface, and partly from two Spanish tragi-comedies; one by Diamante, and the other by Guillén de Castro."

[42] Published in 1662 in Volume XXIII of "Comedias Escogidas."

CHAPTER SIX

FIFTH STAGE:
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS BASED ON THE CID

In this section an attempt will be made to gather together the best known of the miscellaneous works based upon the adventures of the Cid Campeador. The majority of these are of inferior merit and are mentioned merely to show how much inspiration the story of the Cid has furnished the lesser, and usually the more modern, authors, both in Spain and abroad.

In the field of poetry, Diego Jiménez de Ayllón and Fray Gonzalo de Arredondo, two rather insignificant poets, may be mentioned. The former wrote a poem on the exploits of the Cid and dedicated it to his leader in the army, the Duke of Alva, in 1579. Arredondo's contribution was a poem of little merit in which are sung the praises of both Rodrigo Díaz and Fernán González. It was published in 1522, during the reign of Charles V.

A poem of better quality is the German translation of the Romancero del Cid by Herder. We are indebted to the same man for a splendid poem (in German) on "The Cid After the Spanish Romanceros." This was written just two years before the author died and after his health had badly broken down; this latter circumstance is reflected by a few inaccuracies in the poem, which is remarkable for its

conservation of the atmosphere and cadence of the original romances. Other translations of the Poema or of portions of the Romancero have been made by J. Hookham Frere, A. M. Huntington, John Ormsby, Lockhart, and Southey, into English, and by Damas Hinard, into French; the works of most of these translators will be found listed in the appendix to this work.

A curious composition in verse on the Cid is the four-act opera in French, first sung in Paris in 1885. The music is by Massenet and the words by three authors, Gallet, d'Ennery, and Blau. The latter took entire pages from Corneille and also borrowed from Guillén de Castro. The opera, which was not received with a great amount of enthusiasm, consists of ten tableaux, picturing the most dramatic scenes in the Cid's romantic early life, the strongest being that is which Jimena swoons upon being told that Rodrigo is dead.

The French have been especially fond of writing dramas on the subject of the Cid, doubtless influenced by the very successful work of Corneille. From 1637 to 1639 there appeared three dramas in French as follows: Desfontaine's "La Suite du Cid," Chevreau's "La Vrai Suite du Cid," and Chillac's "La Mort du Cid au l'ombre du Comte de Gormaz." Voltaire followed, a century later, with a tragedy entitled "Le Cid."

Among the more recent Cid dramas are those by

Casimir Delavigne, Hugelmann, and Pierre Lebrun. The three-act historical drama by Delavigne was first represented in Paris in 1840, with the title of "La Fille du Cid." The action begins forty years after the Cid's romantic marriage. Jimena is dead, but has left a charming daughter, Elvira. The latter has two suitors, Fernando and Rodrigo, who are sons of Fanés de Minaya. The Cid wants his daughter to marry Fernando, who is brave and courageous in battle, but Elvira prefers Rodrigo, whom, however, she cannot marry because of the latter's timidity in military activities --- she must marry a valiant hero. She exhorts him to brace up, but he decides to enter a monastery to help him forget his, as he believes, hopeless condition. He is ready to take the eternal vows when he is ordered into battle with his brother, Fernando. Seeing his brother fall, mortally wounded, Rodrigo swears to avenge Fernando's death and is converted into a veritable champion. He is a new Cid, and Elvira is overjoyed when she realizes that she can now afford to marry the man she loves. The play is a mixture of comedy, tragedy, and vaudeville. Long conversations are substituted for action, and despite the splendid language found in many of the scenes, the drama, as a whole, is one of the author's weakest plays.

The five-act drama, "La Nouveau Cid," by Hugelmann, appeared in Paris in 1866. It is of inferior merit, spectacular, and kaleidoscopic. It scarcely refers to the Cid

and is of a mocking character, mixing the ancient and the modern in a rather novel fashion. "Le Cid d'Andalousie" is a five-act tragedy in verse, written in 1825 by Pierre Lebrun. The principal characters are Sancho (the Cid), the King, Bustos, and his sister, Estrella; the story itself closely resembles that in Lope de Vega's "Estrella de Sevilla," and was obviously borrowed very largely from that source.

Another literary field invaded by the Cid is that of the novel. Notwithstanding the fact that innumerable novelists have seen fit at least to mention the Cid in their works, there is only one who has given over whole books to the subject. This is Don Antonio de Trueba y la Quintana, who is the author of three historical novels, two of which, "El Cid Campeador," and "Las Hijas del Cid", deal, as their titles strongly suggest, exclusively with the Cid. The story in the first begins with the blow that ended with the death of the Count of Górmaz and the marriage of his daughter to Rodrigo, and then follows the Cid's story through the reign of Sancho and down to the coronation of Alfonso in Santa Gadea. "Las Hijas del Cid" continues the biography of Rodrigo and covers about the same ground as does the Poema de Mio Cid. It begins with Rodrigo's banishment and departure from Burgos and in the second chapter explains how the Jews were deceived in the matter of the loan. Rodrigo's wars with the Moors are described at

length, especially the engagements in which the famous swords, Colada and Tozona, were captured. As is to be inferred from the title, the Cid's daughters fill a large place in this novel; the last one hundred pages relate the Cid's difficulties with his sons-in-law, the Infantes of Carrión. In the last chapter we learn that the author will write no more novels of the days of knighthood, since he is "convencido de que Dios le llama por otro camino."

One cannot help admiring Trueba's skill in collecting the legends told of the Cid and weaving these together in the form of a continuous story, though the rambling nature of the material necessarily detracts from the effect of the novels. There is no possibility for a well-planned, stirring plot, and therefore the author's books cannot be more than a compilation of semi-historical incidents, joined together by the law of chance, just as they are supposed to have occurred in the life of the Cid. The narrative is very well handled, however, and cannot fail to hold the attention of anyone who is interested in the romantic story of the Campeador. To others --- especially to those who are not familiar with the circumstances surrounding the Cid's phenomenal development into a sort of semi-god --- the stories are rather unattractive and seem to belong preferably to the department of juvenile literature, an impression produced by the fact that all the fairy-tale adventures of the Cid are included and are

told in the simple, charming style calculated to delight the younger readers.

These novels have not been widely read outside the Spanish peninsula, just as the Cid outside his own country loses his halo of saintliness and becomes a mere man. One of the stories, however, "El Cid Campeador," was translated to English some thirty years ago, and has gone through two or three editions. We are indebted to Mr. Henry J. Gill for this version in English.

In conclusion, we shall notice one other type of Cid literature --- the allegory. There is but a single specimen of this, published in Madrid in 1679. It is a tale illustrated with popular ballads and is the work of Francisco Santos. It bears the title "La Verdad en el Potro y el Cid Resuscitado." In it the Cid comes back to earth and converses with a beautiful woman, who, placed on the rack, is forced to give a true report of things as they are in this world. The Cid decides that he would not accept this world as a gift, and then goes back to his grave, far from satisfied; he is especially displeased with the monstrous tales and inventions that have been attributed to him as a warrior and servant of the king. Upon hearing someone singing a ballad describing his insult to the pope at Rome, the Cid exclaimed: "Is it pretended I was ever guilty of such effrontery?..... I treat the great Shepherd

of the Church so?..... By St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lazarus, with whom I held converse on earth, you lie, base ballad-singer!" It will be noted that our Cid admits the truth of his adventure with the leper, which, though less irreligious, is scarcely less improbable than his bearding of the pope at Rome.

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A P P E N D I X "A"

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of

The principal events connected

with the life and literature of

the Cid.

YEAR	
982	Burgos founded and made the capital of Castile
1026-40	Birth of the Cid at Bivar
1049 ?	The Cid conquers the king of Zaragoza for Fernando
1064	The Cid first mentioned in a charter of Fernando
1065	Death of Fernando I. the Great. Divides kingdom among his five children
1068	Battle of Llantada. Sancho defeats Alfonso
1071	Battle of Golpejara. Alfonso flees to Toledo
1072	Siege of Zamora. Death of Sancho
1072	Alfonso succeeds to throne of Castile
July 19, 1074	The Cid marries Jimena, daughter of the Count of Oviedo
1080	Roman ritual replaces Gothic in Christian Spain
1081	The Cid banished from Castile by Alfonso
1081-89	The Cid serves under the king of Zaragoza
1081	Death of Moctadir, king of Zaragoza. Succeeded by Moutamin
1085	Death of Moutamin. Succeeded by Mostain
1085	Toledo captured by Alfonso VI.
1088	Mostain and the Cid plot to capture Valencia
1090	The second banishment of the Cid from Castile
1092	Cadir assassinated in Valencia

1094	Dynasty of Almoravides begins in Spain
June 15, 1094	The Cid captures Valencia
1095	The Cid has Ibn-Djahhaf burned to death
1098	The Cid captures Murviedro
1099	The Cid's army defeated by Moors at Cuenca
May 29 ? July ? 1099	Death of the Cid at Valencia
1101	Almoravides besiege Valencia
1102	Jimena evacuates Valencia, after burning the city
May 25, 1102	Moors re-occupy Valencia
1104	The Cid's widow, Jimena, dies at Burgos
1109	Ibn-Bassam's letter written in Arabic
1118	Zaragoza taken by Alfonso El Batallador
1140-1207	Poema de Mio Cid
1150-1250	The Gesta Roderici Campidocti
12..	Alfonso X's Crónica General
12..	Latin annals of Compostela
1400-1600	Most of ballads written
1512	Juan de Velorado's edition of the Crónica del Cid
1601	Sandoval publishes marriage contract of the Cid
1783	Masdeu's Historia Crítica de España
1792	Risco's "La Castilla y el más famoso castellano"
1844	Dozy discovers Dzakhira of Ibn-Bassam in Gotha
1846	Crónica Rimada published by Michel in Vienna

A P P E N D I X "B"

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