

Doctor of Philosophy in English (to 1550)

'Exile-and-Return' in Medieval Vernacular Texts of England and Spain
c. 1170–1250

Liliana Worth

Jesus College, University of Oxford

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Liliana Worth, Jesus College, Oxford

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THESIS ABSTRACT

The motif of 'exile-and-return' is found in works from a wide range of periods and linguistic traditions. The standard narrative pattern depicts the return of wrongfully exiled heroes or peoples to their former abode or their establishment of a superior home, which signals a restoration of order. The appeal of the pattern lies in its association with undue loss, rightful recovery and the universal vindication of the protagonist. Though by no means confined to any one period or region, the particular narrative pattern of the exile-and-return motif is prevalent in vernacular texts of England and Spain around 1170–1250. This is the subject of the thesis. The following research engages with scholarship on Anglo-Norman romances and their characteristic use of exile-and-return that sets them apart from continental French romances, by highlighting the widespread employment of this narrative pattern in *Spanish* poetic works during the same period. The prevalence of the pattern in both literatures is linked to analogous interaction with continental French works, the relationship between the texts and their political contexts, and a common responses to wider ecclesiastical reforms. A broader aim is to draw attention to further, unacknowledged similarities between contemporary texts from these different linguistic traditions, as failure to take into account the wider, multilingual literary contexts of this period leads to incomplete arguments. The methodology is grounded in close reading of four main texts selected for their exemplarity, with some consideration of the historical context and contemporary intertexts: the *Romance of Horn*, the *Cantar de mio Cid*, *Gui de Warewic* and the *Poema de Fernán González*. A range of intertexts are considered alongside in order to elucidate the particular concerns and distinctive use of exile-and-return in the main works.

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INTRODUCTION

The motif of 'exile-and-return' is found in works from a wide range of periods and linguistic traditions. The standard narrative pattern depicts the return of wrongfully exiled heroes or peoples to their former abode or their establishment of a superior home, which signals a restoration of order. The appeal of the pattern lies in its association with undue loss, rightful recovery and the universal vindication of the protagonist. Though by no means confined to any one period or region, the particular narrative pattern of the exile-and-return motif is prevalent in vernacular texts of England and Spain around 1170–1250. This is the subject of the thesis.

This research engages with scholarship on the specific nature of Anglo-Norman romances and their use of exile-and-return by highlighting the widespread employment of this narrative pattern in *Spanish* poetic works during the same period. A broader aim is to draw attention to further, unacknowledged similarities between contemporary texts from these different linguistic traditions. Such comparative work is needed because these texts are rarely considered together, despite the similarities in themes, tone and form which transcend linguistic barriers. Failure to take into account the wider, multilingual literary contexts of this period not only leads to incomplete arguments, but lends undue support modern nationalistic interpretations.¹

Scholarship on Anglo-Norman literature has already shown that exile-and-return is characteristic of Insular romance, as opposed to continental French romance. The latter commonly employs the 'quest' narrative, in which heroes undergo self-development through

¹This is especially true of the *Cantar de mio Cid* which is seen as Spain's national epic. The relationship between medieval vernacular poems and nationalism is recognised. For a recent example, see Joep Leerssen, 'Introduction: Philology and the European Construction of National Literatures', in *Editing the Nation's Memory: Textual Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Dirk van Hulle and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), pp. 13-26.

a series of individual trials that are sometimes fantastical.² In the continental works, knights are inspired by the beloved and perform martial feats in service of their lady and for the protection of women. Their exploits often reflect a society at peace; they overcome domestic opponents through single combat or demonstrate their military skills in tournaments that are designed to prove who is the best knight or lady for the entertainment of the court.³ The continental French *roman courtois* has in turn been differentiated from the *chanson de geste* in which heroes are seen to fight for other concerns, such as the defence of Christendom, God, and their king. Scholars in the French field have alternatively identified the differences between the genres in terms of political ideologies and gender: arguing against the accepted view that the more sophisticated genre of romance chronologically followed the more orally-inflected epic, Sarah Kay has instead shown that these are contemporary, that they are respectively monologic and dialogic, and that they dialectically elucidate each other's distinct political unconscious. Drawing upon Bakhtin, feminism and Jameson, among others, the scholar argues that epic presents a gift economy in which women are exchanged to consolidate male relationships and, far from taking a minor role as in the *Chanson de Roland*, women frequently appear in *chanson de geste*, often indicating the instability of a social order that depends solely on male relationships. In romance, on the other hand, women or other exchanged objects function only symbolically and in reference to something other than themselves. In Kay's work it is romance, and not epic, that is seen as the less complicated genre. Simon Gaunt has engaged with these arguments, positing the differences in genre in terms of gender and showing that in many *chanson de geste* homosocial bonds are produced through men, whereas in romance it is women who are mediators of these bonds. These divisions, however, are not unproblematic and have affected the classification

²See Rosalind Field, 'The King over Water: Exile-and-Return Revisited' in *Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 41-53. Susan Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Romance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 87. Laura Ashe, 'The Hero and his Realm in Middle English Romance', in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartlidge (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 129-47.

³The principle behind the hunt of the white stag offers one example. See ll. 35-66 in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*.

of Insular romance, in which, for example, the hero's characterisation remains stable like those of his continental *chanson de geste* counterparts.⁴

In contrast to the heroes of the French *roman courtois*, the protagonists of the early Anglo-Norman romances are fully-formed, perfect characters who engage in military feats for the defence of Christianity and the land, in addition to the beloved. This is exemplified by the *Romance of Horn* and the *Lai d'Haveloc* episode of Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*.⁵ The commonly used exile-and-return pattern in these narratives presents a change that takes place in the realm, rather than in the protagonist. Heroes are banished as the result of society's failure to recognise their worth, rather than through any fault of their own. Their return heralds the new, widespread endorsement of their qualities. The heroes of the later Anglo-Norman romances, such as *Boeve de Haumtone* and *Waldef*, also follow exile-and-return trajectory, although they are not so perfectly formed as their earlier counterparts. Although the pattern is not exclusive to works of this period, as mentioned above, it is nevertheless more prominent in Insular romances than in contemporary continental narratives. However, what has not been fully recognised, until now, is the prevalence of exile-and-return in contemporary Spanish works. Many of these have been traditionally categorised as epic, which may have precluded direct comparisons in the past.⁶ The common

⁴See Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). Cf. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 222. See Simon Gaunt, 'From Epic to Romance: Gender and Sexuality in the *Roman d'Eneas*', in *Romantic Review* 83 (1992), 1-27; *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 75-85. On the blend of *chanson de geste* and *roman courtois* conventions in Insular romances see Marianne Ailes, 'What's in a Name? Anglo-Norman Romances or *Chansons de geste*?' in *Medieval Romance, Medieval Contexts*, ed. Rhiannon Purdie and Michael Cichon (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011).

⁵Ashe has argued that *Horn* resembles Insular chronicles more than its continental romances. Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England 1066-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 151-158. It has also been argued that these works show a greater degree of historicity and locality, setting them apart from their continental counterparts. See Rosalind Field, 'Romance as History, History as Romance', in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. by Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows and Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 163-73.

⁶One posthumous and incomplete paper exists on absence and exile of husbands and fathers in medieval Spanish texts by the renowned hispanomedievalist, Alan Deyermond, edited by David Hook. See Alan Deyermond, 'Esta tan triste partida'(Conde Dirlos, v. 28a): maridos y padres ausentes', in *Medieval Hispanic Studies in Memory of Alan Deyermond*, ed. by Andrew M. Beresford, Louise M. Haywood, and Julian Weiss (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2013), pp. 293-302. There has been some lengthier discussion of the Cid's exile, but not in relation to his return. See Theresa Ann Sears, '*Echado de tierra*': Exile and Psychopolitical Landscape in the Poema de mio Cid (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1998). Peter Linehan

use of this pattern in the Spanish and Insular works, in addition to other structural, thematic and formal similarities, are a further indication of why such genre delineations are problematic. Interpreting works solely according to the categories of epic, lai, romance, and *chanson de geste* or *cantar de gesta*, or even linguistic tradition, does not necessarily further our understanding of these poems, especially when there are many similarities between the texts, as in these cases.

The parameters of a thesis are such that the most suitable way to discuss exile-and-return is through a small number of texts selected for their exemplarity. Moreover, these works were chosen because their similarities offered clear potential for original and creative interpretations through new comparative readings, especially since such criticism on English and Spanish medieval literature is uncommon.⁷ I begin by examining the *Romance of Horn*, before considering the Spanish *Cantar de mio Cid*, arguably the most well-known work in pre-modern Spanish literary history after Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. From the corpus of medieval Spanish literature, the *Poema de Fernán González* was chosen on account of its resemblances to *Gui de Warewic*, a narrative known for its enduring popularity, and because the other narratives that employ exile-and-return, such as the *Libro de Apolonio*, *Bernardo del Carpio* and *Siete Infantes de Lara*, are less suitable for comparison.⁸ Both the

maintains that 'the Cid's story, in history as in legend, was a tale of successive exile and return determined by the state of his relationship with the king'. Peter Linehan, 'The Cid of History and the History of the Cid', *History Today*, 37.9 (Sep., 1987), 26-32 (p. 28).

⁷There has been an increasing number of works on medieval Spanish literature and its place in a European literary context, particularly in relation to Old English works, but this scholarship is usually limited to the *CMC* and smaller in scope. See, for example, Alan Deyermond, 'La estructura del *Cantar de Mio Cid*, comparada con la de otros poemas épicos medievales', in *El Cid, Poema e Historia, Actas del Congreso Internacional* (Burgos: Ayuntamiento de Burgos, 2000), pp. 25-39 (p. 27); Alfonso Boix Jovaní, 'Aspectos del héroe germanico y nórdico en el Cid', *Insula*, 731 (Nov., 2007), 17-18; Alan Deyermond, 'El *Cantar de Mio Cid* y la épica anglosajona', in *Sonando van sus nuevas allent parte del mar: El Cantar de Mio Cid y el mundo de la épica*, ed. by Alberto Montaner Frutos (Toulouse: Université Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2013), pp. 217-226; David Hook, 'Acción, descripción, y narración en el *Cantar de Mio Cid* en el contexto de la epopeya europea', in *Sonando van sus nuevas allent parte del mar: El Cantar de Mio Cid y el mundo de la épica*, ed. by Alberto Montaner Frutos (Toulouse: Université Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2013), pp. 191-216. One study is much wider in scope. See Julian Weiss, 'Remembering Spain in the Medieval European Epic: A Prospect', in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. by Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College Medieval Studies, 2012), pp. 67-82. It would be worth extending the scope of such research to produce new and wider considerations of European literature when the similarities across works from different linguistic traditions offer some basis for comparisons. Cf. Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

⁸Here after *CMC*, *Horn*, *PFG* and *Gui*, unless expanded for clarity in certain cases. The relatively small

Poema de Fernán González and *Gui de Warewic* give exile-and-return a spiritual dimension. The protagonists, whether Gui, Fernán or Castile itself, suffer an estrangement from God and undergo a period of penitential suffering that allows them to end their spiritual exile, achieve redemption and return to God, so indicating the divine favour that their realm now enjoys. Furthermore, both show a greater degree of hybridity than the earlier works, blending together hagiographical, epic, courtly tropes, and historiographical material.

These English and Spanish texts were also selected for comparison because they show analogous responses to similar external influences, many of which have already been studied separately in the two fields and are outlined in brief below: literary exchange with continental French texts; the relationship between the works and their political context; and the impact of wider ecclesiastical reforms on local literary production. Arguments justifying comparative work sometimes rely on explicit evidence of translation, manuscript transmission or the export of certain literary performance practices, which in this case may well have been facilitated by the royal marriage between Eleanor of England, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, to Alfonso VIII of Castile.⁹ Evidence of this kind for the circulation of the same texts across England, France and Spain during this period does exist, such as the Latin hagiography of *St Patrick's Purgatory* and its extant vernacular versions.¹⁰

number of extant texts from medieval Spain poses a potential problem for this kind of comparative work, since it reduces the scope for broader comparisons, yet this is not sufficient reason to forego consideration of Spanish texts alongside Insular texts, especially when the similarities between them are so patent. On the problem the small number of existing Castilian epic poems see Alan Deyermond, 'The Problem of Lost Epics: Evidence and Criteria', in *Al que en buen ora nació: Essays on the Spanish Epic and Ballad in Honour of Colin Smith*, ed. Brian Powell and Geoffrey West (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), pp. 27-43. The popularity of the Guy of Warwick story is attested by the following: Rosalind Field, 'From *Gui* to *Guy*': The Fashioning of a Popular Romance', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. by Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 44-60. The other narratives either exist in prose form in chronicles or in shorter, fragmentary ballads, which makes them less suitable for comparing these with the lengthier narrative poetry. 'Fragmentismo' is a recognised quality of these poems. See *Spanish Ballads*, ed. by Colin Smith (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2002), pp. xxx-xxxii.

⁹For a representative standpoint on the importance of explicit evidence when assessing influence of texts from other linguistic traditions see David Hook, 'The *Poema de Mio Cid* and the Old French Epic: Some Reflections', in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross*, ed. by Peter Noble, Lucie Polak and Claire Isoz (Milwood, New York: Kraus International, 1982), pp. 107-118. Eleanor appeared to wield similar amounts of power as her mother at her respective court. See Peter Linehan, *History and Historians of Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 257-8.

¹⁰The late twelfth-century Anglo-Latin *Tractatus de Purgatorio de Sancti Patricii* gave rise to the Old French translation, *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz*, and the later Spanish version, the *Purgatorio de San Patricio*, which appeared towards the end of the thirteenth century. See T. Atkinson Jenkins, *L'Espurgatoire Seint*

Beyond this, both *Horn* and the *CMC* show a mixture of concerns that are often associated with continental French *chanson de geste* and the *roman courtois*. In the Spanish field, numerous studies have been devoted to the question of French influence on narrative poetry, which has sometimes been linked to trade along the Santiago de Compostela route.¹¹ The relationship between continental French and Insular romance, discernible through their common language, is obvious and recognised.¹² The similar amalgamation of concerns from *chanson de geste* and *roman courtois* in *Horn* and the *CMC* again shows that assigning strict categories to heroic poetry is problematic and provides further justification for comparisons.¹³ Similarly, the two later texts I discuss also show some echoes of continental French romances, evident in the effects of a female presence on the hero's endeavours, and lends support for comparative work.

Both *Horn* and the *CMC* focus on a debate between combative and non-combative means of wielding power, which may be linked to the analogous political contexts in which these texts were produced. Ashe has argued that the preoccupation with cultural difference in *Horn* may implicitly reflect the crises in power experienced by Henry II with regard to

Patriz de Marie de France: An Old French poem of the twelfth century (Philadelphia: Press of A. J. Ferris, 1894), (esp. 1-6); A. D. Deyermond, *Historia de la literatura española I: La Edad Media*, (Barcelona: Ariel, 1998), p. 171.

¹¹For a summary of the scholarship on the influence of *chanson de geste* on the *Cantar de mio Cid* see Pablo Justel Vicente, 'La épica francesa y el *Cantar de Mio Cid*: estado de la cuestión', in *Sonando van sus nuevas allent parte del mar: El Cantar de Mio Cid y el mundo de la épica*, ed. by Alberto Montaner Frutos (Toulouse: Université Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2013), pp. 227-283. For another approach to French influence see, for example, Brian Dutton, 'French Influences in the Spanish *Mester de Clerecía*', in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Robert White Linker by his Colleagues and Friends*, ed. by Brian Dutton, J. Woodrow Hassell and John E. Keller (Madrid: Castalia, 1973), pp. 73-93. On international trade along the route see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Chance 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 178. On the possible transmission of French heroic poetry through the same see Ian Michael, *Cantar de mio Cid* (Madrid: Castalia, 1976), p. 51.

¹²For example, one of the earliest works on *Gui* discusses the numerous references to *chanson de geste* and the *roman courtois*. See *Gui de Warewic: Roman du XIIIe Siècle*, ed. by Alfred Ewert, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1932-33).

¹³On the amalgamation of these discourses in Insular history and romance see Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 105-109, 123-124. On the 'overlapping' of genre in both *Horn* and the *CMC* see Jeremy Lawrance, 'Chivalry in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*', in *Mio Cid Studies: some problems of diplomatic fifty years on*, ed. by A. D. Deyermond, D. G. Pattison and Eric Southworth (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2002), pp. 37-60 (pp. 56-7). This integration is successful in comparison, for example, to other contemporary European texts such as *Das Nibelungenlied* and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, where the tension between the courtly and epic priorities arguably accounts for the pessimism pervading both works. On the blend of *chanson de geste* and *roman courtois* conventions in Insular romances see Ailes, 'What's in a Name?'

Ireland and efforts of English barons to obtain lordships in that realm.¹⁴ The superiority of Horn over his foreign allies perhaps reflects a concern with establishing English hegemony over Wales and Ireland. Similarly, the triumphant tone of the poem has also been linked to the historical context, and suggested to be the result of the successes of the king during the 1170s.¹⁵ In the *CMC* the ultimate victory of the military qualities facilitating conquest and settlement has been linked to the context of fluctuating Christian power in the face of the growing Almohad threat, as evidenced by Alfonso VIII's defeat at Alarcos in 1195.¹⁶ The *Cid*'s vindication may indicate a wider concern with maintaining adequate martial practices in Christian territory, which suffered from waning manpower.¹⁷ Both texts could be said to reflect the respective expansionism of their local context.

As for the two later texts, *Gui* and the *PFG* appear to show an analogous response to an increased concern for confession, penitence and instruction of both the clergy and laity that arose from late twelfth-century theological arguments developed in Paris by scholars such as Jacques Vitry. As discussed in the chapters on these two later texts, arguments in favour of individual confession and systematic penitence overseen by priestly counsel would gain the endorsement of Innocent III and inform the reforms issued at the Lateran Council in 1215, including the extraordinary canon of *Omnis utriusque Sexus* which exceptionally extended the Church's reach into the spiritual lives of its followers by universally calling for annual, individual confession.¹⁸ Scholars in both the Spanish and Anglo-Norman fields have also discussed the relationship between such increased calls for the instruction of the laity

¹⁴ Ashe, *Fiction*, p. 121.

¹⁵ Ashe, *Fiction*, p. 124.

¹⁶ The poem has long been associated with the 'frontier society' of Christian Spain. Its emphasis on leadership, strategy and recruitment has been linked to the ongoing conflict with the Almohad forces and the Christian defeat and victories at Alarcos in 1189 and Las Navas in 1212 respectively. For a recent example, see Michael Harney, 'The *Cantar de Mio Cid* as Pre-War Propaganda', *Romance Quarterly*, 60.2 (2013), 74-88.

¹⁷ On the insecurity of 'frontier society' and the birth of the Calatrava, Santiago and Alcántra military orders see Manuel González Jiménez, 'Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1082-1350)', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. by Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 49-74.

¹⁸ Peter Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction' in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 1998), pp. 3-33 (pp. 7-8); Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 62-78; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 5.

and clergy and the production of penitential literature, hagiography, and the development of more ascetic heroes.¹⁹ The emergence of the more erudite verse-form of the *mester de clerecía* has been linked to the reiteration of these reforms in Spain through the Council of Valladolid in 1228.²⁰ Although the influence of central ecclesiastical reforms on local literary production has been discussed in scholarship from the two fields, there has been no broader study that takes into account the wider impact of such reforms across European literature.²¹ Although I do not claim to undertake such a comprehensive study here, the similarities identified between the English and Spanish texts do offer some representative indication of the parallel reception of clerical reforms in texts from different linguistic fields, which would justify comparisons.

Each chapter has a main narrative poem as its subject. The methodology is grounded in close reading with some consideration of the historical context and contemporary intertexts. To varying degrees, closely related texts are also discussed in order to elucidate the particular concerns of the main poems. Saints' lives, odes, extracts from chronicles, and other narrative poems are considered alongside the primary works. As expected, many of these are in Anglo-Norman, French, Castilian, and Latin, but discussion of works in Arabic, Old English, Middle English and Middle High German is also included. The scope and length of each chapter differs according both to the idiosyncracies of the text itself, as well as the nature and amount of existing scholarship on that work. Much more criticism has been produced on the *CMC* than the other primary works because of the poem's prominent place in Spanish literary history; works from the field of English studies comparable in this respect might include Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. In contrast, both *Horn* and the *Gui* are

¹⁹Crane, *Insular Romance*, pp. 92-106. The way contemporary ideas about penance may inform the Gui/Guy narrative and other romances has also been discussed in Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 36.

²⁰Julian Weiss, *The 'Mester de Clerecía': Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006); Derek Lomax, 'The Lateran Reforms and Spanish Literature', *Iberoromania*, 1 (1969), 299-313.

²¹Cf. Continental French reception; see Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

typical of Anglo-Norman works in receiving relatively little scholarly attention.²² As a consequence, the chapter on the *CMC* is lengthened by the inclusion of larger amounts of secondary scholarship. Similarly, the chapter on the *PFG* is made longer through necessary discussion of earlier and contemporary histories, which I include to posit its interpretation as a verse chronicle, which has not been fully recognised in the criticism on this work. Moreover, the cumulative structure of the thesis is such that the first chapter on *Horn* sets out more straightforward arguments that serve as premises for the rest of the thesis.

In the first chapter I add to the scholarship on Horn's characterisation as a perfect hero and figure of truth and on the work's departure from continental romances through my consideration of the double use of exile-and-return in the poem.²³ The repetition of the pattern, which is employed first in relation to his homeland Suddene and then to Westir, reflects the work's inflection of *chanson de geste* and *roman courtois* discourses, if these are understood as reflecting differing ideals: in the first exile-and-return Horn fights the enemies of Christendom in open warfare to avenge his father's death and recover his usurped lands; in the second exile-and-return he is also inspired in his military endeavours by his love for the foreign princess Rigmel. Such integration of objectives is not fraught with tension, which appears to be in line with triumphant tone of the poem and Horn's perfect characterisation.²⁴ Moreover, as I show, the combination of the hero's perfection and his exiled status allows him to function as a gauge of the foreign societies to which he travels. As the embodiment of truth, military prowess, divine favour, he continually shores up the weaknesses in Brittany and Westir where he is an outsider. In contrast to his own customs, these realms prioritise words over action and are more concerned with non-combative customs, such as feasting, hunting, and chess-playing, than cultivating the martial practices

²²As in many cases where there are Middle English versions of Anglo-Norman poems, *Guy of Warwick* has been the subject of more studies.

²³Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 147-8; Ashe, 'Hero', p. 135-6.

²⁴Ashe notes the 'optimistic, self-assertive, and apparently secure ideology' of the Insular romances that set them apart from their continental counterparts and the 'cynical pessimism and disillusionment of many of the *chansons de geste*, and the arch escapism, and ironic nostalgia, of the Arthurian romance'. See Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 123-4.

that are ultimately proved by Horn to be necessary for the very survival of Christendom itself.

The second chapter addresses similar themes in the *CMC*. Like Horn, the Cid successfully integrates a plurality of concerns. He engages in full-scale battles to recover his wealth, status and family after the king wrongly exiles him owing to the slander of his enemies at court. While much scholarship has claimed that the central issue of the work is the king-vassal relationship, I show that what lies at the heart of the poem is a debate about royal policy and the most appropriate form of knighthood, as in *Horn*. The Cid's eventual success through martial feats, the Infantes' displays of cowardice and the despicable treatment of the hero's daughters, as well as the king's subsequent volte-face towards the Cid and his enemies indicate a similar transformation of society. In the *CMC*, however, such a change affects domestic, rather than foreign, society. Over the course of the narrative the kingdom is transformed from one that prioritises non-combative means of wielding power, such as slander and marriage alliances, to one that fully endorses the drive for conquest and settlement that the Cid embodies. Moreover, like *Horn*, the *CMC* reflects an amalgamation of discourses: the Cid's performance of feats for his wife in the mid-battle, for example, suggests the influence of the *roman courtois*. As I show, this is made more apparent when his characterisation is compared to his treatment in other texts, such as the *Historia Roderici* and the *Carmen Campidoctoris*.

Spiritual exile-and-return is considered in the chapters on *Gui* and the *PFG*. In the discussion of the Anglo-Norman work I show how the second part of the narrative promoting a spiritual kind of knighthood debunks the first part in which Gui resembles the knight of continental romances who performs feats in service of his lady and for the fulfilment of erotic desire. As I argue, the didactic impulse of the work relies on Gui's unexpected peripeteia in which he turns from a life of *chevalerie terrestre* in order to undertake a penitential exile and repeat the same deeds for God as a *miles christi*. In parallel,

the relationship between Gui and Felice is transformed from one rich in erotic overtones to one that is characterised by asceticism. Rather than see the two parts as incongruous, as some scholars have argued, I show that that the difference in the two halves is part of an overarching, cohesive argument promoting the spiritual kind of knighthood that was endorsed by Bernard of Clairvaux for the Crusades, and arises from a new concern for the instruction of the laity and clergy in the early thirteenth century, as well as an increasing concern for penance and confession.

The *PFG* forms an suitable counterpart to *Gui*, partly because its *mester de clerecía* verse-form, as mentioned above, has been linked to these same ecclesiastical reforms which were reinforced in Spain through the Council of Valladolid in 1228. The *PFG* approximates *Gui* in its spiritual inflection of exile-and-return, which represents sin and redemption and is used by the Spanish work to map out Christian Iberian history. The loss of Visigothic power in 711 is represented as an estrangement from God precipitated by sin, which is then expiated through a long period of penitential suffering and brought to an end through the efforts of the redemptive hero. This is very much in line with Christian historiographical efforts from the ninth century onwards, which sought to explain the sudden demise of the Visigoths through the successful Arab invasion of the peninsula by attributing the loss of the kingdom to divine vengeance as punishment for the growing moral laxity of its Christian inhabitants.²⁵ The fall of the Visigothic kingdom would come to be depicted as a merely temporary loss of Christian power which could be rectified through atonement and the pious and warlike efforts of later Christian peoples in Iberia, who were represented as the heirs of the Visigoths. The tenth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, for example, established continuity between the earlier and later Christian groups by depicting the Asturian kings as the legitimate descendants of the Visigoths, so offering one of the first instances of *reconquista* rhetoric and informing the so-called 'myth of national redemption', which would support

²⁵Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 16-17; Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 10-13.

Christian expansion in the peninsula.²⁶ In the case of the *PFG*, Fernán acts as a redemptive, Christian saviour who enables the return of this Christian realm, now Castile, to its 'former', Visigothic glory as a superlative military and spiritual power. Like *Horn* and the *CMC*, the work also engages in debates about combative and non-combative policies, but here the poem develops these arguments by adding a spiritual dimension to these behaviours: the neglect of military practice is not only inexpedient, it is inherently sinful. In this way, it participates in earlier and contemporary historiographical arguments about the relationship between moral weakness and loss of power. When the poem is compared to historical accounts, it becomes clear that it be interpreted as a verse chronicle; as I show by including discussion of historical texts, the *PFG* appears to draw upon historiographical material, such as the *Chronicon Mundi* and the *De Rebus Hispanie*, to establish a similar Visigothic precedent and its continuity with Castile long before it introduces the eponymous hero.²⁷ Its use of spiritual exile-and-return for a whole Christian realm, rather than an individual hero, is informed by *reconquista* rhetoric and reflects its participation in the historiographical tradition of the mid-thirteenth century. Moreover, the poem rewrites the existing narratives of Castilian power to offer a new vision of history in which the past sins of the Visigoths, particularly lust, are expunged by not only by Fernán, but also by his beloved, Sancha. Influence of *roman courtois* conventions can also be perceived here, but the *PFG* goes further than all three of the other poems in this adaptation. Like *Horn* and the *Cid*, Fernán integrates a plurality of concerns, including service for God, territory and the beloved, but instead of detracting from the hero's spiritual and military mission, as Felice does for Gui, Sancha becomes an essential part of his endeavour to recover God's favour for Castile and the associated territory lost by the Visigoths.

All four works engage with questions about the appropriate motivations for war and the importance of cultivating adequate martial practices. This is perhaps not surprising,

²⁶Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 101-104.

²⁷As indicated above, it is also possible to see Castile as the protagonist.

given the preoccupation with military activity in Europe during this period, as evidenced, for example, by the rise of the military orders in the twelfth century such as those of the Templars, Santiago de Compostela and Alcántara through which warfare was legitimised in Christian terms, apologies for Crusading campaigns as found in Bernard of Clairvaux's *De Laude Novae Militae*, and large-scale military operations in Spain that brought together troops from different parts of Europe, such as the Battle of Las Navas in 1212.²⁸ However, it is also possible to see their common preoccupation with female figures and the protection of a realm as inflections of themes found in many literary works, namely sex, competition, and the ambiguous effects of erotic desire. As noted above, the heroes of *Horn* and the *CMC* simultaneously perform knightly feats for the defence of Christian territory and the protection of women. This conflation suggests that these are the same thing, especially if sexual violence is understood to be a recognised weapon of war and a characteristic of enemy invasion. Their protection of women functions as a metaphor for the protection of the realm. *Gui* and the *PFG* are also concerned with war and sex. Both examine the common problem of erotic desire and its destabilising effects, but give different solutions. In *Gui* the hero's pursuit of *eros* is revealed as erroneous and replaced wholesale with devotion to God. In the *PFG*, negative effects of erotic desire are intimated through implicit references to Rodrigo's lust and the subsequent loss of the kingdom. Fernán's asceticism and Sancha's proactivity arise from this same anxiety about sex and Christian rulers. Their characterisation mitigates the arguments in existing narratives about the distracting effects of erotic desire on Christian leaders and the disastrous consequences for the realm, as epitomised by the last Visigothic kings. The problem of sex and political weakness also appears in another form in the *PFG*, this time in connection with foreign invaders, rather than domestic rulers. One of the features of enemy victory, both in the poem and the

²⁸Bartlett, *Europe*, p. 264; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 48-9; Angus Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire 1000-1500* (London: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 33-50; Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-century León and Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 19-23.

chronicles, is the sexual appropriation of women by the new Muslim rulers and the subsequent mixing of bloodlines. This appears to be another instance of the recognised use of sexual violence in war. In this poem, however, the problem is resolved through Sancha's characterisation, rather than that of the heroes. Her ability to protect herself from rape can be seen as a symbolic, counteracting response not only to the sexual violence suffered by women during enemy invasion, but also to the sexual aggression displayed by Christian rulers, such as Rodrigo, which lead to such a defeat. In their use of the optimistic pattern of exile-and-return and conflation of different discourses, all four of the heroic poems not only offer distorted versions of the realities of warfare that serve as apologies for conquest, they also show a profound engagement with the place and function of sex in the realisation of war and defence of the realm.

1. EXILE-AND-RETURNS IN THE *ROMANCE OF HORN*

The Anglo-Norman *Romance of Horn*, possibly written for the 1171-2 Christmas court of Henry II at Dublin, has been described as a neglected masterpiece.¹ The work, written by a certain Thomas, is remarkable for its structure, style and engaging insights into social behaviour, and comprises an amalgamation of the form and ideals of *chanson de geste* on the one hand, with certain features more characteristic of romance on the other, such as the distinct emphasis given to the female voice, a prominence that has been argued to be a result of the intrusion of the lyric mode in epic narrative.² As such, *Horn* is archetypal of the Insular romances, which are different from their Continental counterparts. Instead of the knight-errant of the *roman courtois* set on a path of self-realisation to gain the renown which makes him worthy of his beloved, the eponymous hero of *Horn* is from the outset a fully-formed, perfect character who fights primarily for ideals more commonly associated with *chanson de geste*, such as the protection of the land, in service of God, or to prove the superiority of Christianity. Nevertheless, he also inspired by his lady's love, aligning him to a degree with *roman courtois* figures, such as Lancelot. In engaging with both traditions, *Horn* reflects a characteristic tendency of twelfth-century Anglo-Norman romances. Similarly, the work is archetypal in its concerns for locality, historicity and authority, which have been shown to be part of the ongoing literary and historiographical efforts by the Insular elite to create a new narrative through which they might both celebrate and legitimise their rule.³

As I will discuss in this chapter, *Horn* conforms in full to the perfect hero figure of Insular works; such a characterisation forms a fundamental part of the pattern of exile-and-

¹*The Birth of Romance in England: Four Twelfth-Century Romances in the French of England*, trans. by Judith Weiss (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), p. 3.

²J. D. Burnley, 'The 'Roman de Horn': Its Hero and Ethos', *French Studies*, 32 (1978), 385-397 (p. 285). Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 140-6. On the use in *Horn* of the 'wooing woman' topos, which is associated with the *bele Sarassine* figure of the *chanson de geste*, see Judith Weiss, 'The Wooing Woman in Anglo-Norman Romance', in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. by Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows and Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 149-61 (pp. 154-156).

³Laura Ashe, 'Hero'. See also Field, 'Romance'.

return that provides the basis of Horn's trajectory.⁴ This pattern, as Laura Ashe points out, is characteristic of Insular works. In such narratives it is the world around the protagonist that must be corrected and not the hero.⁵ As I will show, through exile-and-return, which is duplicated in *Horn*, the perfect, outsider hero is repeatedly and emphatically used to shore up the weaknesses of the foreign societies with which he engages, whether those be Brittany, Westir or the pagan realm of Gudbrand.⁶ Moreover, it is significant that the duplication of the pattern produces two exile-and-returns that are distinctly different in tone, which arguably reflect the two modes that are conflated in Insular works. The first exile-and-return centres around the unjust dispossession of the perfect hero by pagans and as such it can be seen as reflecting the ideals of the defence of Christianity and the land that are more typical of *chanson de geste*. This first exile-and-return then provides the outer framework for the second, which is fundamentally centred on the figure of Rigmel, and as such constitutes a narrative that is more similar to the *roman courtois*, in which the hero performs deeds in order to be worthy of his beloved. Nonetheless, Horn is perfect in both cases, which might indicate that the poet pushes at the limits of the Insular hero without making him into an Arthurian knight, namely, a hero who is far from perfect at the outset and whose adventures are motivated by a need for self-realisation.

This seamless combination of the two exile-and-returns, with one being embedded within the other, points to two features of Insular romance. Firstly, it reflects how the higher ideals of service to God and those of romantic love are simultaneously and successfully integrated by Insular romance. Secondly, the doubling emphatically upholds the Insular figure

⁴Similarly, *Haveloc* and *Gui de Warewic* incorporate exile-and-return into their narrative. Moreover, Gui can be said to be a perfect hero in both halves of the story: although Gui does experience remorse over his previous life after he marries Felice, it is notable that there is a distinct lack of moral ambiguity in the description of his behaviour up to his marriage. Such a portrayal has been of consternation to scholars.

⁵Ashe, 'Hero', p. 142. As I demonstrate in this thesis, the figure of the exiled, rebel vassal is not just present in Insular narrative but is also commonplace in contemporary Castilian literature.

⁶On the duplication of exile-and-return and possible earlier versions of *Horn* which did not include this repetition, see Judith Weiss, 'Thomas and the Earl: Literary and Historical Contexts for the *Romance of Horn*', in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. by Rosalind Field (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 1-13 (pp. 2-3).

of the perfect hero by showing more than once how he reveals the faults of the societies around him. The purpose of this chapter then is to examine the two different exile-and-return in the *Horn* narrative which are different in motivation. I first examine Horn's exile-and-return from Suddene and his fight against his pagan adversaries. This is followed by a discussion about the hero's subsequent exile-and-return from Brittany, which leads him to travel to a third realm, Westir. As I will show, Horn remains a perfect hero and figure of truth throughout and is distinctly characterised by his actions, rather than his words. Any assertions he does make are subsequently substantiated by his deeds. In contrast, his antagonists, whether Christian or pagan, are depicted as false, boastful figures, whose claims are never proven true. On both larger and smaller levels of society Horn functions as a corrective mechanism and, through his distinct characterisation, shores up the inferiority of foreign customs and defeats those who do not espouse his militaristic values, both from within and without Christian kingdoms.

In *Horn* the hero is characterised by his perfection, divine favour, truth, and insistence on the importance of action. His exiles from Suddene and Brittany and his appearance as 'Gudmod' in Westir signal an initial failure to accommodate a hero such as Horn in these different societies; his returns, correspondingly, symbolise the ultimate triumph of the values which he embodies. The emphasis on action and truth in the characterisation of the hero in *Horn* has been previously noted in scholarship. J.D. Burnley suggests that this may have been influenced by contemporary moral psychology which asserted that the repetition of vicious or virtuous acts constituted a vicious or virtuous character.⁷ Ashe argues that, in line the conception of Insular protagonists, Horn is God's instrument and a figure of truth whose words come to pass because of his very faith.⁸ As a perfect hero, Horn is used repeatedly to shed light on the imperfections of the societies surrounding him; his prioritisation of action and truth in the hero contrasts with the political *status quo* in Brittany and Westir and with the world-view of Gudbrand's pagan forces. It is this combination of qualities that allows him to succeed and to

⁷Burnley, 'Hero', p. 393.

⁸Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 147-150.

prove, to differing degrees, the inferiority of the other nations compared to his native Suddene and his own customs, on which he unceasingly insists.⁹ As shown below, his characteristic prioritisation of action over words is made further evident through the portrayal of the hero's antagonists, such as Rollac, Wikele and Eglaf, who are characterised as boastful, arrogant, and false. They are debunked by Horn not through eloquence, but through action which proves their worthlessness.¹⁰ Moreover, Horn's constant insistence on military action is evident even when he adopts the name of 'Gudmod' in Westir, which may be interpreted as 'warlike-spirit' if the name is understood to be composed of two Old English morphemes: 'gūð', meaning 'combat', 'battle' or 'war', and 'mōd', signifying 'heart', 'mind', or 'spirit'.¹¹ It appears then that the hero's militaristic attitude and preference for action are so strong that they continue to be a fundamental part of his identity, even at those points in the narrative when he is in disguise. Moreover, such a consistent panegyric of the man of action in *Horn* might not only be the result of certain characteristics of Insular heroes, who are often hero-kings with the capacity for establishing justice and peace over an unruly realm.¹² It could also be a gesture toward Strongbow or Richard FitzGilbert, Earl of Clare, for whom it has been argued the poem served as a kind of compliment.¹³ The possibility of such a reference would support arguments pointing to the historicity in *Horn* which has been seen as a characteristic feature of Insular works.¹⁴

⁹See, for example, Horn's response to Rigmel's offer of a ring before he has taken arms: 'N'est pas us a la gent a ki lignage apel' (l. 1154). ['To wear it is not the custom for custom for one of my lineage'.] Or on his refusal to swear an oath to exonerate himself from Wikele's charges: 'Kar a ces dunt sui nez n'est acostument' (l. 1940). ['For it is not the custom among those of my race'.] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of *Horn* are taken from Weiss, *French of England*.

¹⁰In this he is dissimilar from another exile-and-return hero, Fernán González who must rely on the power of his words as well as action to persuade his men to fight for Castile and fulfil his destiny. His elaborate speeches have been linked to the influence of the *quadrivium*, most notably rhetoric, on clerical authors of *mester de clerecía* works. See Isabel Uría Maqua, *Panorama crítica del mester de clerecía* (Madrid: Castalia, 2000), pp. 31, 74-92.

¹¹See entries in *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. by John R. Clark Hall, 4th edn (Toronto: University of Toronto and Medieval Academy of America, 1960), pp. 162, 239.

¹²See Ashe, "Exile-and-return".

¹³Ashe, 'Hero', p. 145. Judith Weiss argues that Thomas might have elaborated the story of Horn that was already in circulation to produce a version for the Christmas court of Henry II in which Strongbow was cast as Horn. It is possible that Thomas was a member of the Earl's household. Weiss, 'Thomas', p. 4-6.

¹⁴See Ashe, *Fiction*, p. 146; Susan Crane, *Insular Romance*; Field, 'Romance'.

This preference for action displayed by the perfect hero leads to the denigration of other societies. In the first exile-and-return Horn's successful, and inevitable, reversal of his unjust dispossession as a child by King Rodmund through the hero's military action establishes the ultimate inferiority and falsehood of pagan religion, as well as the corresponding triumph of Christianity. More distinctly, such a characterisation of the hero is not only used in the first exile-and-return to question the legitimacy of pagan rule on a macropolitical scale, it is also used to identify weaknesses of authority on a micropolitical plane during the second exile-and-return. His characterisation serves to disparage the enemy in the greater fight between Christian and pagan, and also to challenge different forms of rule within Christian realms, especially when those policies might be detrimental to the very fight for Christian hegemony against the pagan enemy. In Brittany, where the second exile-and-return takes place, weakness in authority lies in an excessive reliance on words instead of action, as evidenced by the success of Wikele's slander and Horn's subsequent banishment after his offer of judicial combat is rejected by King Hunlaf. Similarly, in Westir, to which he travels after his second exile, it is the lack of military action in the land and the court's preoccupation with leisurely activities that continually exasperate Horn. This tendency in Westir is ultimately condemned through the battle against Gudbrand and his pagan forces, during which it is not Horn but the king's sons who are overwhelmed and killed by the enemy. As representatives of that society, their death must be seen as the symbolic failure of these excessive peace-keeping policies in the realm. In both these cases and throughout the poem, Horn's combined status as exile, outsider, and perfect hero, means that he can be used consistently as a gauge of the societies he encounters. In line with Insular convention, the hero brings with him on his two returns the inevitable triumph of Christianity, truth, the establishment of justice, and the prioritisation of action over words in government. Within the economy of the narrative then, Horn is not only God's instrument but a tool of social critique.

i. Exile-and-Return I

The fundamental importance of exile-and-return in *Horn* in both thematic and structural terms is apparent from the beginning of the work. The romance opens with the first instance of exile that pits Horn as the perfect, Christian figure against the pagan forces of King Rodmund, indicates the divine favour that will protect him and lead him to an inevitable victory, and establishes the injustice suffered by the hero and his companions:

Mestre Thomas ne volt k'il seit mis a declin
 K'il ne die de Horn, le vaillant orphanin,
 Cum puis l'unt treit li felun sarasin.
 Un en i ot, guaignar[rt], del lignage Chain,
 En language african l'apelent Malbroin.
 Ci[l] trova primes Horn repuns enz un gardin,
 Od lui xv valez ko erent de sun lin –
 N'[en] i ot ne fust fiz de bon palain:
 Cume seignure serveint tuit Horn, le meschin.
 Chascun aveit vestu bliaut ynde u purprin
 E Hor[n] ert conréet d'un paile alexandrin.
 Gente façun aveit, bien semblot angelin;
 [...]
 Mes a Horn ne fist mal, kar ne fud destinez;
 Si lui ot Deus dune par ses digne buntez
 Un eür: k'i ne fust pur nul hom esgardez,
 Ki sempres n'en eüst e meriz e pitez;
 [...]
 Mes Horn lé passa tuz de tutes beautez,
 Si cum le voleit Deus k[i] maint en trinitez,
 Ki mist a queor le rei k'il les ad manaez,
 Kar rien ne puet perir k'il vol ke seit gardez (ll. 3-15, 22-25, 36-9).¹⁵

Horn's function as a perfect, Christian hero and the use of exile-and-return to underpin this status is apparent from the outset. Thomas relates how he wishes to tell of Horn, the 'vaillant orphanin' and how he was treated by the old enemies of Christianity, the 'felun sarasin'. The

¹⁵['Master Thomas does not want to end his own life without telling the story of Horn, fatherless and brave, and his fate at the hands of the wicked Saracens. One of them, a scoundrel descended from Cain, was called "Malbroin" in the African language. He was the first to find Horn hidden in a garden, with fifteen other boys of his race; all good counts' sons, they acknowledge the young Horn as their lord. Each wore a crimson or blue tunic, while Horn was clad in Alexandrian silk. His eyes were clear and bright, his face rosy, his bearing noble. He looked like an angel [...] But [Malbroin] did no harm to Horn, as fate intended. Out of his great kindness, God gave Horn this good fortune, that all seeing him would at once pity and have mercy on him [...] But Horn surpassed them all in every fair feature, as god in His Trinity intended him to, who moved the king's heart to spare them. For nothing He wants to preserve can perish.'] Citations are taken from Thomas, *The Romance of Horn*, ed. by Mildred K. Pope, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 9-10, 2 vols (Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1955-64).

diction in ‘orphanin’ produces pathos and immediately touches upon a more universal sense of injustice. This is then qualified by the introduction of ‘sarasin’ who are revealed to be the cause of his orphaned state and whose description as ‘felun’ sets them as diametrically opposed to Horn who is ‘vaillant’. This contrast is further apparent in the portrayal of the Saracen: he is described as one descended from Cain, ‘del lignage Chain’, and is identified by the poet in terms of the Saracen’s language, ‘[e]n language alfrican l’apelent Malbroin’. His descent from Cain, the first murderer, as well as the morpheme ‘mal’ in his name, is used to indicate his evil nature, as Weiss points out.¹⁶ Moreover, this reference to Genesis 4:1-2, although somewhat commonplace, arguably positions both the *Horn* narrative and its hero within the greater expanse of Christian history and aligns the protagonist with biblical heroes. Such a reference could be seen to be part of the use of historicity, albeit in a looser sense, in Insular works for legitimisation, which is in this case is used both to bolster the hero as God’s instrument and to substantiate the authority of the romance itself. The superfluous reference to ‘language alfrican’ in the portrayal of Malbroin further establishes the contrast between Horn and his antagonist. The explanation of the name posits a linguistic divide, highlights the alterity of the pagan nation and reinforces the sense of a francophone, Christian community in the audience, so highlighting the greater traditional divide between Christians and Saracens.¹⁷ Furthermore, the contrast between the sole figure of the child Horn and the plurality of the ‘li sarasin’ compounds the aforementioned sense of injustice. This difference in number and size creates a sense of an excessively unjust vulnerability in Horn, which is perhaps also accentuated through the connotations of the Saracen archetype, which is frequently gigantic.¹⁸

¹⁶ Weiss, *French of England*, p. 45.

¹⁷This is later echoed by the description of another pagan, Marmorin. Similarly, Thomas explains what the pagan character is called in terms of his country and linguistic background, ‘Marmorin fu nomé en la sue cuntrée’ l. 1465. Linguistic plurality and difference is also evident in the description of the pagan envoys who come to Hunlaf’s kingdom. They are well-spoken in their own tongue, ‘sunt bien enparlé, chescun en sun language’ and bring interpreters who are clever and versed in many languages: ‘Latimiers ont od eus pur muster lor corage, | Qui de plusurs latins sunt escolé e sage’, ll. 1350-2. It seems that the differences between Horn and his adversaries are consistently depicted not only in religious but also linguistic terms. Cf. Wikele’s Anglo-Saxon ‘Witegod’ in l. 4013.

¹⁸See Rainourt in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, the eponymous hero in *Fierabras*, Amoran in *Gui de Warewic* and

However, this injustice suffered by Horn in the opening lines is not static. Already in these lines there is found a potential for the retribution. Horn is here introduced as child who takes refuge in a ‘gardin’, a decidedly non-combative space that informs his vulnerability and helplessness. However, he is already ‘vaillant’, which is suggestive of a future to come that will see the man, now capable of warfare, comply with his precocious bravery and redress his earlier injustice on the battlefield. The double emphasis on his youth and idyllic surroundings therefore paradoxically underscores the danger of his future vengeance: the only reason Horn does not fight back is because he is not yet a man. This potential for eventual victory is then made explicit by the references both to God’s protection of the hero and to Horn’s superlative and angelic appearance: he ‘bien semblot angelin’. His appearance is directly linked to God’s will, ‘si cum le voleit Deus k[i] maint en trinitez’ which, in addition to the patent heavenly connotations of ‘angelin’, substantiates his status as God’s instrument and establishes a refrain in the narrative.¹⁹

This strong relationship between God and the hero in *Horn* is made more apparent by comparison with corresponding episodes in the Middle English *King Horn*. Instead of the Anglo-Norman version's strong emphasis on trust in God, the children, led by Horn, are frightened and fear for their lives in the boat: 'Þe child[er] hi broȝte to stronde, wringinde here honde [...] þat schup so [swiþe] drof | þe child[er] dradde þerof; | Hi wended to wisse | of here lif to misse' (ll. 113-124).²⁰ There is a certain degree of dramatic tension in the Middle English

Marmorin in *Horn*, who is described as huge, terrifying and snarling: 'Mut fud hidus e grant od chiere rechignéé' (l. 1464).

¹⁹Herselot perceives him thus: 'Pur dire qu'out vëu le danzel angelin, | cum est gent e mollé e en beauté si fin' (ll. 946-7). [To tell [Rigmel] that she had seen the young man, so splendid and shapely, so like an angel, of beauty so perfect.] The connection between Horn as angelic figure and God's plan is also present in Herselot's speech a few lines later: "Dame Deu vus destine | Une rien qu'ai vëu, ki bien est angeline" (ll. 954-5). ['My lady, I have just seen something which God has ordained for you – in appearance truly like an angel.'] See also ll. 1054, 1055-6. Horn is also thought to be a heavenly creature after his performance on the harp. Lenburc exclaims, 'Del ciel est descendu pur la gent espier' in l. 2856. ['He has come down from heaven to look at mankind.'] It is significant that it is the female characters in the poem who often perceive an angelic resemblance in Horn's appearance. This could perhaps be evidence of the fluidity in Insular romance between the modes of epic and the *roman courtois*. In *Horn* the women fall in love with the hero yet still recognise his adherence with the higher ideals of God and his provenance as His instrument.

²⁰Citations are taken from *King Horn*, ed. by Rosamund Allen (New York and London: Garland, 1984). On this point and other differences between *Horn* and its Middle English counterpart, see Mildred K. Pope, 'The

arising from this ambiguity which is absent from the more deterministic *Horn*. In the Anglo-Norman, as shown here, Thomas insists time and again on God's will as the force behind Horn's victories. It is God who gives Horn his 'eür', his success; he is not hurt by King Rodmund 'kar ne fud destinez' and it is God, who 'par ses digne buntez' who ordains that 'sempres n'en eüst e meriz e pitez'. An ultimate victory is therefore indicated as inevitable and a gift from God from the outset. Such an ordained destiny of success forms the basis of the exile-and-return pattern in *Horn* in which the hero is perfect and his return unequivocal.

Accordingly, the certainty of Horn's victory postulated in the opening lines is then played out in the rest of the narrative. Through authorial interventions and references to God's plan, the poet reiterates the idea that Horn's success is determined and makes the audience anticipate his victories at moments of dramatic tension or suspense. As soon as Horn reaches manhood, and is therefore able to bear arms for the first time, Thomas anticipates his triumph by announcing before the battle has even taken place that God gave him his first vengeance:

Si orrez cum dan Horn est eissu de s'enfaunce,
 Cumment li reis haltisme ot de lui remembrance
 Kar rien ne poet perrir ki en li ad creaune.
 Pus cel tens des en ça el reiaume de Fraunce
 N'out pruesce maör nē ad menor vauntaunce,
 Kar en Deu aveit mis, trestute s'esperaunce:
 E Deu meintient bien ceus ki en li ont fiance.
 D'Aufrike sunt eissu dui rei de grant puissance,
 Ki onc Deu n'amerent: çeo fud doel e viltance.
 Freres erent Rodmund, un rei de surquidance,
 Ki ocist Aälof, le rei de grant vaillaunce,
 Le pere a icest Horn qu'avom ci en balaunce:
 [Uncore tenent la tere od tute la purtenance]
 Dunt cist deit estre reis, s'il ad encor cressaunce,
 Kar sis peres la tint, si-n fud mort a pesaunce.
 Mes Deu li mostra or par grant signiffiance,
 Qu'il aveit en sun quor vers li bone voillance,
 Ki li dona de ces sa premere vengeance. (ll. 1302-1321)²¹

Romance of Horn and King Horn, *Medium Aevum*, 25 (1957), 164-7.

²¹[You will hear how lord Horn left his childhood behind and how the King most High was mindful of him, for nothing can perish which believes in Him. There was no knight so skilled in the art of defence or attack from that day to this in the kingdom of France, nor of greater valour nor with less boasting, for he had put all his hope in God, and God protects well those who trust in Him. Two powerful kings had come out of Africa, who never loved God: that was deplorable and shameful. They were brothers to Rodmund, an arrogant king responsible for Aalof's death, the valiant king and father to this Horn, whose life was here at a turning-point. They still held the land and all the possessions of which he was to be king when grown up, for his father had

Horn's characterisation as a perfect hero who enjoys divine favour and is set on a definitive path to victory is again patent in these lines. This favour towards Horn is clear: God 'ot de lui remembrance' and 'il aveit en sun quor vers li bone voillance'. In addition, Horn displays strong faith in God, 'en Deu aveit mis, trestute s'esperaunce', which is shown to lead to a greater degree of divine protection, 'Deu meintient bien ceus ki en li ont fiance'. This is, of course, in contrast to the pagans who are explicitly described as kings who never showed love for God, '[k]i onc Deu n'amerent' and who lack similar faith, which is condemned by the poet, 'çeo fud doel e viltance'. A sense of inevitable victory is here created not only by the references to God's favour, but more specifically by the statement that God gave Horn his first vengeance at this point, 'li dona de ces sa premere vengeance'. The use of the *passé simple* in 'dona' endows Horn's first military efforts with complete certainty as well as divine favour, as the poet anticipates the outcome for the audience before the action of the battle. The inevitability of this first victory both reflects and informs the overarching structure of the first exile-and-return that sees Horn travelling to Suddene to recover his land, which is similarly underpinned by continual references to God's plan.²² This determinism is further underscored by the description of the victory as his first, 'sa premere', and identity of his opponents, who in this case are the brothers of the king who killed his father, '[f]reres erent Rodmund'. It appears that the hero fights those implicated in his original unjust treatment as soon as he is able to bear arms; this creates an immediate sense of an unrelenting pursuit of justice that in turn pervades the rest of the narrative. The diction in 'premere' proleptically indicates further victories by positing that it is the merely the first and will not be the only instance of vengeance, so underscoring a sense of inevitable success. In addition, these lines constitute a further example of how Horn is perfectly formed from the outset. Although he has just left childhood, 'Horn est

held it and had died miserably for it. But now God was to show by an important sign that He bore him good will in His heart, because He gave him his first vengeance on them.']

²²Other references to the divine ordaining of Horn's victory and authorial interventions by which Thomas assures his audience of Horn's success are found, for example, in ll. 79-80, 96, 104-9, 126, 394, 412-15, 1711-2, 2200, 2896-2904b, 2934, 3201-3, 3584-5, 3586-8, 4623, 4831, 4874-5, 5065, 4743 and 4744-7.

eissu de s'enfaunce' and is on the threshold of manhood, 'qu'avom ci en balaunce', the hero is nevertheless described in superlative terms: there is no-one in France from that day to this of greater valour or modesty, 'Pus cel tens des en ça el reiaume de Fraunce, | N'out pruesce maör nē ad menor vauntaunce'. Once more, the shifts in time with the deictic 'pus' and 'des en ça', although somewhat conventional in descriptions of the superlative qualities of heroes, here reinforce the idea of his unchanging and perfect character that must necessarily lead to an ultimate victory, especially since he is acknowledged to be the best even in the audience's own present time. Paradoxically, Horn is here portrayed as one enjoying superlative valour as he reaches adulthood and before he has even been tested. All this informs the determinism in his trajectory and upholds the pattern of exile-and-return.

Horn's interaction with his pagan antagonists within the structure of the first exile-and-return is focussed on the defence of Christendom with little reference to other motivations, such as the preoccupation with love that is later introduced through Rigmel. His eventual recovery of his land as a hero favoured by God marks the expected triumph of Christianity over the pagan forces, which are characterised at different times by their worship of some or all of Mahomet, Tervagant and Apollo and their Slavic, Persian, and African provenance.²³ The indiscriminate mixture of non-Christian figures of worship and realms, in addition to the continual employment of 'Africa', serving as a kind of catch-all term for the heathen space, shows how at this point *Horn* establishes alterity through conventional literary tropes, rather than using more specific references, as in its descriptions of Westir in which there is a greater concern with locality.²⁴ This is in fact paralleled by the treatment of Aalof's death which, as Weiss points out, is relayed inconsistently and shown at different points to be caused by varying pagan figures.²⁵

²³ See ll. 80-5, 734-5, 2930a, 4843.

²⁴ On the similarities between the representation of the saracens in *King Horn*, *Horn* and *chanson de geste* see Diane Speed, 'The Saracens of King Horn', *Speculum*, 65.3 (Jul., 1990), 564-595. On this tripartite amalgamation of pagan gods, common to *Horn* and these works, and the ideological purpose it serves in the *Chanson de Roland*, see Weiss, 'Remembering', p. 72. It has been argued that Ireland formed the basis for the description of Westir; details from its description suggest that Thomas knew this realm first-hand. Weiss, 'Thomas', pp. 4-5.

²⁵ See Weiss, *French of England*, p. 69; 'Thomas', p. 7.

That Aalof was killed by pagans is what seems to be important, rather than the specific identity of his killer. The conventional conflict between Christian and pagan in *Horn* often associated with *chanson de geste* is further upheld by the differences between, on the one hand, Horn as a figure of truth and action and, on the other, the pagan forces who are depicted as boastful and false. This is evident in all three battles that Horn fights against pagan forces in Brittany, Westir and Suddene, as discussed below. Even before Horn is able to bear arms, however, this particular distinction between pagan and Christian is apparent. The opening lines discussed above already give an indication of this. Rodmund is described as 'un rei de surquidance', an arrogant king, whose characteristics are directly contrasted with those of Horn's father, through the rhyme and balanced phrasing in Aalof's description as 'le rei de grant vaillaunce' (ll. 1313-4). We might even perceive this contrast in this change from the definite and indefinite article: while Rodmund is 'un rei', Aalof is 'le rei'. This indicates that the status of the one true, recognised king belongs to Aalof and those of his line; Rodmund, in direct opposition, is depicted offhand as just one of many inferior and arrogant pagan leaders. Arrogance and boastfulness, which must indicate a lack of fulfilment of the claims made by one so described, are then made a key feature of pagan characterisation, in contrast to Horn.

At the hero's first battle, which takes place in Brittany, messengers from the two African kings and brothers of Rodmund, Gudolf and Egolf, are described in terms of their pride, which further informs the contrast between hero and antagonists: 'li message sunt fier, si dient fierement' (l. 1362).²⁶ The polyptoton here in 'fier' and 'fierement' emphatically characterise these representatives of the pagan forces as arrogant. Similarly, in Horn's second battle against pagan forces, which takes place in Westir and in which he fights against two other brothers of Rodmund, Hildebrant and Herebrant, the messenger is again portrayed in terms of arrogance. Rollac comes to gate of the city very arrogantly, 'mut orgoillusement', in l. 295 and is described as arrogant and boastful, 'surquidé e preisaunt', in l. 2990. It is significant that in both these

²⁶[The messengers were arrogant, insolently repeating [what had been entrusted to them].]

cases, it is the messenger that is described as boastful or arrogant. This can be interpreted as a symbolic conflation of two characteristics of the pagans, and indeed of the antagonists in general, namely, an emphasis on words, here represented by the figure of the messenger, and the tendency for the pagans' words to be undermined by a failure to fulfil them. Thomas underscores the falseness of their claims by commenting on the precipitate nature of their speech, so anticipating the defeat that follows: 'Icist, tel cum vus di, ad sa raisun hastée'.²⁷ In the third battle, which takes place in Suddene, the figure of the boastful messenger does not appear, as here it is Horn who is the aggressor rather than the defender. Nevertheless, similar arrogance is a characteristic of the pagan enemy in this third campaign. When Rodmund and his army go to meet Horn, they come like an arrogant people, 'cum gent surquidee' (l. 4687). These boasts form an inherent part of the alterity of the pagans, not only through their contrast with the superlatively modest Horn, also because these boasts often couch their specific claims pertaining to religious superiority.

Correspondingly, Horn's status as a perfect hero and figure of truth relies on his having the 'menor vauntaunce' (l. 1306). This humility is another indication of the hero's characteristic tendency to prefer action over words as a means of displaying his worth, in contrast to his antagonists. Significantly, when he does make claims, especially in pre-battle speeches where he outlines the reasons for fighting, he substantiates them through his deeds, as shown below. His enemies' claims are then repeatedly shown to be groundless through Horn's actions. This polarity is evident throughout his interaction with pagans, as well as in his dealings with antagonists from Christian societies. Moreover, he is often characterised by a quiet determination, especially in the episodes in Westir. It is possible that this aspect of his characterisation is one indication of a conflation of different discourses in *Horn*, which is more apparent in the hero's interaction with Rigmel and her effects on him during battle. Horn's modesty marks a departure from older heroic poetry, where boasts form an important part of

²⁷[This was [Marmorin's] hasty speech, just as I'm telling you.] Weiss translation is here amended.

heroic characterisation.²⁸ Given that such boasting seems to become more negative or appear to be in bad taste in *Horn*, as indicated by the above examples of the pagans' claims, it is possible that this tendency towards a quiet self-assurance in *Horn* is informed by the *roman courtois*, in which bragging is condemned even when it is displayed by positive characters, as in *Erec* or *Yvain*.²⁹ This initial emphasis on the hero's distinctive humility is perhaps part of the amalgamation of epic and courtly discourses in *Horn* that inform his characteristic ability to integrate several interests, including love, Christendom, and his patrimony.

Horn's singular insistence on action as a means of proving worth is made patent by his reaction to the challenge to battle relayed by the pagan messengers in Brittany. The first messengers to Hunlaf communicate demands by Gudolf and Eglof that he give up his God to whom he adhered and believe in Mahomet, their lord, 'Qu'il relenquist sun Deu a qui (il) iert aliez, | Si creüst en Mahun ki iert lur avoez,' (ll. 1340-1). Horn's reply to Marmorin goading and hasty speech, 'raisun hastée (l. 1474) reflects his preference for action. The victory that follows underpins the argument that Horn's claims, especially in relation to Christianity, come true, unlike those of his enemies. Moreover, it forms part of the aligned dichotomies of false and true, arrogant and humble, pagan and Christian, and military weakness and force which inform the contrast between the hero and his antagonists.

Lors respondi si Horn: 'Or pus joe trop ester.
K'ad dit icist vassal? ne me dei mes celer.
Va, paien, çoe que diz ne fait a otrier,
Si Deu le me cunsent tut le te frai neër:
La bataille en avras ja de mei per a per

²⁸On boasts in Old English poetry and the subsequent calls for action these entailed see Dwight Conquergood, 'Boasting in Anglo-Saxon England: Performance and the Heroic Ethos', *Literature in Performance*, 1.2 (1981), 24-35; Barbara Nolan and Morton W. Bloomfield, "'Bēotword", "Gilpcwidas", and the "Gilphlæden" Scop of "Beowulf"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 79.4 (Oct., 1980), 499-516. Note Conquergood's argument that 'monsters do not dignify their actions with speech', which highlights the differences in the values of *Horn* where action without speech is not something that is associated with antagonists but with heroes. Conquergood, 'Boasting', p. 26. On the importance of speech-acts in *Beowulf* and the use of boasts, general speech (and silence) in heroic characterisation see Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to Beowulf* (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 203-237. Boasts are seen as a positive part of his characterisation and appear to be justified, which may conflict with modern and/or Christian expectations of a greater degree of humility in the protagonist. See *Klaeber's Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. by R.D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, John D. Niles, 4th edn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. lxxvii, 141, 157 and n.1 on p. lxxiv.

²⁹Erec argues that he who boasts a lot is worth a little: 'Tex vaut petit, qui mout se loe' (l. 4432). Cf. ll. 5914-19. See also Kay's arguments about the hero's claims, and 'orgueil' in *Yvain* (ll. 2180-209).

Que la lei de Mahun ne vaut d'oeuf un quarter.
 Vei me ci trestut prest, si l'oses cummencier,
 Pur defendre la lei ke tenum, al premier,
 En apres, ke Hunlaf ne deit treü doner.' (ll. 1483-91)³⁰

Horn is immediately prepared to fight in response to Marmorin's demands that they embrace Mahomet and pay tribute. His response is dynamic: he is 'prest' and can hardly keep from launching into an attack, 'pus joe trop ester'. This tendency toward action is made explicit when Horn states that he will fight him, 'la bataille ne avras', in single combat, 'per a per' in order to show that the creed of Mahomet is worthless, 'Que la lei de Mahun ne vaut d'oeuf un quarter'. Such a negation of the creed is also shown to be dependent on God's help: 'Si Deu le me consent tut le te frai neër'. This phrase exemplifies the divine favour in Horn's trajectory through the narrative: he is constantly ready to prove the falsity of his antagonists by means of military action, even when they are seemingly matched in strength or worth, 'per a per'. His victories undermine the boastfulness of his enemies portrayed at their first encounter and reveal these to be false claims. In addition, these lines show how the ideal of Christianity takes precedence over more pragmatic considerations. Horn must 'defendre la lei' first, 'al premier'; only after that, 'en apres', will he look to stopping Hunlaf from paying tribute, or 'treü'. As such, it is the truth of Christianity that is continuously upheld and prioritised through Horn's combative endeavours, which, more than diplomacy or tribute, are the preferred means of engaging with the enemy.

The hero's readiness to prove the truth of Christianity through action and undermine his enemy reverberates later in this battle and in the other two campaigns against his pagan adversaries, as when Horn kills Turlin, one of Gudlof's relatives:

Ke mort l'ad trebuchié el tai lez une espine.
 'Utre,' fait il, 'glutun! De tei ait ui seisine
 Belzebuc en enfern od sa gent enferrine!
 Vus ne fauserez mes la nostre discipline.' (ll. 1669-1672)³¹

³⁰["Then Horn retorted: 'Now I hold my hand too long. What does this fellow say? I should keep quiet no longer. Go, miscreant, what you say is out of the question, and if God allows me, I'll make you recant it. I'll fight you now, man to man, to show you Mahomet's faith isn't worth a bean. If you dare to begin, here I am quite ready, first to defend out creed and next to ensure Hunlaf doesn't pay tribute."]

During this battle in Brittany, Horn deals once more with the challenge to Christianity by responding with military action in its purest form, namely by killing the adversary. His death-blow is accompanied with the words that the pagans will never prove that Horn and his allies' way of life is false, 'Vus ne fauserez mes la nostre discipline'. Military action is thus presented as the means by which to defend and prove the superiority of the Christian religion and to reveal the falsity of the creed of the pagan fighters. This is apparent again in the second battle against the pagans which takes place in Westir. Horn is once more ready to use his military prowess to show that his pagan adversaries believe in a false religion:

'Qu'il ad del tut mentu bien li ferai gehir;
 D'ïçoe qu'il vint sur nus l'en ferai repentir,
 Pur desfaire nos leis: pur fol l'en f(e)rai tenir.
 Quant l'avrai mis a fin e del tut ait perir,
 Ceus ki vindrend od li irrum pus envair.' (ll. 3045-9)³²

The language of mendacity is again employed in the portrayal of the pagan antagonists. Horn states that Rollac has lied about everything, 'del tut mentu', and, moreover, that he will make, 'ferai', Rollac admit this. Horn's intervention means that Rollac will not only 'repentir' of his attempts to 'desfaire' Christianity, he will also 'perir'. The death of the pagan adversary and proof of the falsity of his religion are conflated and directly associated with Horn's superior military strength, so suggesting that this entire episode in some way duplicates on a grand scale the arguments relating to the belief in the judicial combat which are discussed in the oath episode. Furthermore, the pagans are once more portrayed as boastful in this episode and Horn's explicit aims in battle indicate how their falsity and arrogance are inextricably linked in the poem. The hero wishes to 'destruire paëns', destroy the pagans, so that no-one might boast that Mahomet, Tervagant, or Apollo, the false gods they believed in, could protect them, 'ke nul n'en seit vantant | Ke les puise tensor Mahun ne Tervagant | N'Apollin, lur faus deu, u il erent

³¹[[Horn flung] him down dead in the mire beside a thorn bush. 'Away with you, wretch!' he said, 'may Beelzebub in hell seize you today, with his hellish company! You'll never prove our way of life is false.']]

³²[[I'll force him to confess he's told a pack of lies; I'll make him sorry he ever attacked us to destroy our laws; I'll see that he's considered a fool. When I've totally put an end to him and made him perish, we can go and attack those who came with him.']]

creänt' (ll. 3291-3). Similarly, the third and final battle against the pagans in Suddene sees Horn defeat the enemy in these terms. Horn calls Rodmund a 'reneet', that is, one who blasphemes, in l. 4796 and proves that the pagan's religion is false by first asserting that neither Mahomet or Tervagant will protect him in l.4801, '[o]r ne vus aiderunt Mahun ne Tervagant', and then making good this claim by killing him. His death not only marks the end of the battle, it also proves the worthlessness of the pagan religion, as well as constituting the ultimate victory that permits Horn's return to his land. These examples show how Horn's interaction with his pagan adversaries is consistently informed by a strong current of dichotomy: his antagonists are depicted by means of a combination of arrogance, mendacity and falsity of religion, which is undermined, defeated and revealed as such by Horn's own military drive, readiness for action in the name of Christianity, and claims of religious superiority that do in fact hold true. All this, of course, is not wholly surprising. Such differences are commonplace in contemporary *chanson de geste* narrative. However, what distinguishes *Horn* is that these differences are then replicated on the smaller stage of the Christian kingdoms. The hero, who throughout the greater fight against Rodmund and his allies is used to denigrate the pagan nation at large, is then used again to shore up the weaknesses of his fellow Christians in the kingdoms of Brittany and Westir. This is where the Insular romance shifts in mode and becomes more complex than the conventional monologic *chanson de geste*.

ii. Exile-and-Return II

As adumbrated above, the two exile-and-returns in *Horn* are very different in nature and could be seen to reflect the two modes of epic and *roman courtois* in the Insular text. In the first instance of the theme, Horn's exile is caused by the invasion of pagan forces from his homeland Suddene. His return is one motivated by justice and the establishment of Christian hegemony over his invaded land. The second exile-and-return revolves around Rigmel, the Breton princess who falls in love with Horn. Through Wikele's slander, Horn is banished from court, travels to

Westir as 'Gudmod', and returns having proved himself on the battlefield against pagan forces. The importance of a female character for this second exile-and-return is epitomised by the symbolic use of the new ring which Rigmel gives to Horn upon his banishment:

'Un autre en porterez, meillor al mien arvir,
 Un siet [enz] el chastun un entaillé saphir:
 Hom ki l'ad sure sei ja ne purra perir;
 N'en en feu ne en ewe mar i creindra murir,
 N'en bataille champel, nē en turnei tenir
 Mesque sul le vuille(z) chastement costeïr.
 Çoe vus pri ke·[l[portez de mei [pur] sovenir.' (ll. 2053-9)³³

Unlike at the beginning of his military career, protection is not given by God, but provided through a token of love and security from the female protagonist. The ring in *Horn* is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is important for the plot as it is the means by which Rigmel is later able to recognise Horn. Secondly, its employment here signals the shift toward a more courtly romance mode, since it is a topos found in narratives such as the versions of *Tristan*, Chrétien's *Yvain* and *Gui de Warewic*, although in the latter it is subverted. Thirdly, this passage is representative of the strong association in the second exile-and-return between Horn's military endeavours and Rigmel; here fighting in service of his lady is made part of his long-term aims of serving God and recovering his usurped land. Rigmel's ring, a symbol of *eros*, has the power to protect a man from every kind of physical threat. He need not fear death from fire, water, the battlefield or joust: 'N'en en feu ne en ewe' nor 'N'en bataille champel, nē en turnei'. What is more, it has the power to make a man invincible, he 'ne purra perir', which paradoxically echoes the power of God described earlier in the poem: 'Kar rien ne puet perir k'il vol ke seit gardez' (l. 39). The security the ring offers is added to the divine protection that Horn already enjoys, which arguably represents the two sets of discourses in the poem. Certainly, the ring indicates the new motivation that Horn now enjoys. It is also notable that the ring's power is similarly conditional. Like God's protection which depends on his will, 'k'il vol

³³["You shall wear another, a better, in my opinion, with a carved sapphire set in it. The man who has it on him can never die: he need not fear death by fire or water, nor on the field of battle nor in the joust, provided only that he is willing to keep it chastely. I beg you to wear it in memory of me."]

seit gardez', the ring only has the power to protect the hero if he lives chastely, 'Mesque sul le vuille(z) chastement costeir'. The ring as a token by itself is not enough to protect Horn from death; its power depends on Horn's own behaviour and his efforts to preserve and sustain the love between him and Rigmel after he has left. This is more explicit in Rigmel's demand that he remember her: 'Çoe vus pri ke·[l[portez de mei [pur] sovenir'. Through the ring and protection it offers to Horn if he remembers Rigmel in her absence, the relationship between his love and military success is tested and reinforced in Westir, where it is made part of his aims to defeat his pagan adversaries. In contrast to the hero's efforts to regain his land to avenge his father's murder in the first, overarching exile-and-return, the episodes relating to his second exile are more in keeping with Wace's pronouncement, 'pur amistié e pur amies | funt chevaliers chevaleries'.³⁴

The motivation offered by Rigmel for Horn's military endeavours is apparent elsewhere. Even before his exile from Brittany, Horn tells Rigmel that he carried her pennon in the battle against the pagan invaders out of love for her:

L'autrier pur vostre amur portai le penuncel –
Si sacez, meint paien en perdi sun putrel –
E l'amur entre nus vuil tuz jorz seit novel.' (ll. 1800-1)³⁵

Horn here explicitly links his success in his defence of Christendom with a token of love given to him by Rigmel. Many pagans lose their horse specifically because of it, as underlined by the position of the pronoun 'en' after the caesura. Moreover this association between the symbol of Rigmel's love and the defeat of a large-scale invasion is highlighted by the use of parenthesis and the imperative in 'sacez', flagging important information. Like the ring which is exchanged later, the pennon is used not only as a means of procuring military success but also as a kind of *memento amoris* serving to renew their love constantly, 'tuz jorz'. Moreover, new motivation that Rigmel provides for the hero is made evident by the hero's specific explanation of the battle

³⁴*Brut*, ll.10771-2. Ashe, 'Hero', p. 136.

³⁵["The other day I carried your pennon out of love for you – know that it caused many a pagan to lose his horse – and I want the love between us constantly to be kept alive."]

to his beloved, which differs from the speeches he gives to his allies and his pagan adversaries in which he announces that he will fight to prove the falsity of the pagan religion. Instead, a new concern is articulated in the dialogue between the lovers. The hero's emotional appeal for his lady's help to regain his land and defeat pagan adversaries is perhaps representative of the way lyric is said to intrude upon the epic narrative to produce romance.³⁶ His words signal the new integration of *eros* in his military endeavours:

'Mes, bele, preüz lui pur l'angele Michaël
 Qu'a sun poair m'aït d'une rien dunt l'apel,
 De purchacier mun regne, dunt chacié sui, mesel,
 Ke tient sarazin – burc, cité e chastel –
 C'il culvert reneié, fiz Kaim nun Abel,
 E par le grant le rei pus ferai vostre avel.
 Mar me dorra od vus or, argent ne vessel,
 [Fors tut sul vostre cors en un sngle mantel.]
 Amez mei leaument, joe vus serrai leël.' (ll. 1807-15)³⁷

The recovery of the hero's kingdom is posited as dependent not only on King Hunlaf's help, but on a further intermediary: Horn directly asks Rigmel to intervene on his behalf so that he may 'purchacier' his 'regne'. Complete recovery of every part and social division of the realm, here underlined by the tripartite list of 'burc, cité and chastel', becomes inextricably linked to the figure of the female protagonist. This is compounded by the fact that through Horn's demands Rigmel becomes as much a part of the process of this recovery as its reward. For it is the recovery of his kingdom that will permit Horn to indulge Rigmel's desire for him, 'E par le grant le rei pus ferai vostre avel', a condition that is adumbrated in their earlier exchange during which Horn chastises Rigmel for loving him before he has proven himself.³⁸ As such, regaining his kingdom becomes more than a matter of redressing his childhood injustice and establishing Christian hegemony. Through Rigmel it is given a more courtly dimension, as Horn overtly

³⁶ Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 134-46.

³⁷ ["But, fair lady, for St. Michael's sake, beg him to help me with all his might in something I entreat: to regain my kingdom – every town, city, and castle – from which I am an outcast, as it is held by Saracens, those renegade wretches, sons of Cain, not Abel. Then, if the king permits, I will do as you wish. No need to give me anything with you – gold, silver, or plate – only your body, in nothing but a cloak. Love me truly and I will be true to you."]

³⁸ The exquisite episodes in which Rigmel anxiously arranges for Horn to come to her apartments, is duped into trying to seduce Herland by mistake and then makes advances on Horn are found at ll. 484-1232.

acknowledges both the emotional and political value of her presence in its recovery and his own wishes to possess her after he has regained it. As if to underline this erotic dimension, the poet depicts Horn as saying, 'Fors tut sul vostre cors en un sengle mantel'. In these lines, it seems, at least on the surface, that sex is the ultimate prize, as in courtly narratives such as Chrétien's *Lancelot* or *Erec*. At this point the indulgence of his desire is made equivalent to the recovery of his patrimony, and perhaps also alludes to a further material reward that marriage to Rigmel would offer, namely, Hunlaf's kingdom, so suggesting the conflation of territory and sex as objectives for military feats.³⁹

In accordance with his perfect characterisation, Rigmel is not forgotten by Horn after he leaves Brittany, but continues, as she explicitly wishes, to be remembered by the hero and to play a fundamental part in his military success. His constancy and the additional motivation that the memory of Rigmel's love provides for Horn in full-scale battle is shown through the Westir episodes involving the ring, and especially when similar intertexts are considered. After Egfer is humiliated by the boastful Eglaf, the prince asks the hero to avenge him, appealing not only to justice, but specifically to Rigmel's love which Horn's ring represents:

'Dan Gudmod', fait li il, 'or entendez a mei!
 D'ambedous vus conjur e l'amur e la fei
 Ke vus cele devez, ki belë est, çoe crei,
 E l'anel vus duna ke vus portez el dei –
 Mut sovent l'esgardez, si l'amez bien, le vei –
 Si la pussiez nomer en besoig de turnei,
 Cum vus vengerez bien, l'orguil e [le] buffei
 Ke m'ad fait cil vassal par sun maigne desrei,
 Kar bien sai, si vulez, ke m'en frez bon agrei.' (ll. 2642-50)⁴⁰

Egfer's petition shows how Rigmel's motivational role is developed in Westir. Egfer refers to Horn's love and loyalty to his lady, 'l'amur e la fei', which he rightly recognises to be represented by the ring, so that the hero might exact vengeance from Eglaf, another antagonist

³⁹The preoccupation with new territory is also conveyed by Horn's acquisition of Ireland.

⁴⁰["'Lord Gudmod,' he said, 'now listen to me! I adjure you by the love and loyalty you owe her, who must be beautiful and who gave you the ring you wear on your finger – you often look at it so I see you love it well. As surely you hope to invoke her name in the stress of battle, you will avenge the arrogance and insult this fellow has shown me by his great insolence. For I know well that if you want to, you will staunchly support me.'"]

who is characterised by excessive 'orguil'. This is then carried out by Horn which substantiates the association between physical feats and Rigmel's function as a motivating force. Moreover, these lines also point to Horn's constancy, upon which the ring's power depends. Egfer notices that the hero very often looks at the ring, 'Mut sovent l'esgardez', which suggests that Horn has repeatedly thought of Rigmel, as she had originally stipulated. It follows that he is protected from every kind of danger, including the possibility of a defeat by his antagonists in the ensuing battle. Egfer's discussion of the proclamation of her name in battle, 'Si la pussiez nomer en besoig de turnei', adumbrates the important role that Rigmel will play in the next conflict. In this episode his explicit instructions not only underscore the relationship between warfare and love through the observations of another character, they also anticipate the ring's usefulness for full-scale battle by setting out its function in a separate episode outside military activity. Having served as a motivational force during the stone-throwing competition, the memory of Rigmel the ring offers becomes a full incitement to battle when Horn confronts Rollac in Westir:

Gudmod veit le paen, ki est forment hastez,
 Si regarde sa main e l'anel k'est gemmez,
 Ki li fu de Rigmel al departir donez:
 Dunc rest par maltalent sis coers en haut levez
 En orgoil de rankur. (ll. 3165-9)⁴¹

This overt reference to Rigmel's ring in the midst of battle demonstrates the way the female protagonist intrudes upon the sphere of the fight between Christian and 'paen' and becomes an added stimulus for martial activity. It is not justice or the falsity of the pagan religion that is the focus here, but the memory of *eros* that makes Horn's 'coers en haut levez | En orgoil de rankur'. Horn is described having 'orgoil', or pride, like his enemies, but what differentiates him from them is that his proud claims of superiority are proven right and, in this case, are related to the performance of feats for his lady. This indicates again that love becomes a motivational force for military endeavours within the second exile-and-return.

⁴¹['Gudmod saw the infidel, too hasty in his avowal, and looked at his hand and the ring, set with precious stones, given him by Rigmel at their leave-taking. Then his heart swelled with fury and angry pride.']

The successful integration of love and full-scale battle in *Horn* is made more evident when certain intertexts that focus on a lovers' ring are considered alongside. In Thomas' *Tristan*, the ring elicits a very different response in the hero:

Tristan reugarde, veit l'anel
E entre en sun pensé novel;
Le penser est grant anguisse
Qu'il ne set que faire poïsse. (ll. 396-9)⁴²

Like Horn, the hero is reminded of his lady's love when he sees the ring, 'veit l'anel' on the eve of his marriage to the second Iseut. However, far from being spurred into action, he falls into deep thought, emphasised by the close succession of polyptotic variants of 'penser', and reacts with a listless anxiety that appears to rob him of an ability to act, 'Qu'il ne set que faire poïsse'. There is a suggestion of hesitancy and inertia in his response which contrasts with the new impetus that a similar ring gives Horn, which in the latter's case is directed towards battle. The adaptation of this motif from the context of adultery, erotic desire, and conflicted views of marriage in *Tristan* into the different context of warfare against a whole host of pagan adversaries in *Horn* again reflects how the latter work amalgamates concerns for women, love, military prowess and the defence of Christendom, again suggesting a conflation of the different discourses from *chanson de geste* and *roman courtois*. Moreover, consideration of the parallel use of a ring in the *Tristan* narratives by Bérout and Thomas makes Horn's characterisation more distinctive. In all three narratives the heroine gives the hero as he departs from court, but whereas it is an adulterous Iseult who gives such a token to a guilty Tristan, in *Horn* it is exchanged between lovers who have categorically not committed adultery. The varying adaptation of this motif so emphasises the fundamental differences of the two couples' behaviour and draws more attention to the chastity in Rigmel and Horn's relationship, so reinforcing the hero's innocence and perfect characterisation.

⁴²['Tristan looked, saw the ring, and a new thought came to him; his thoughts caused him so great an anguish that he did not know what to do.'] My translation.

Similarly, if we consider the treatment of the ring in *Yvain*, Horn's perfection and loyalty to the memory of Rigmel become more distinctive. In Chrétien's text, the beloved entrusts a ring to the hero with similar powers of protection that are dependent on his remembrance of their love:

'Mais or metés en vostre doi
 Chest mien anel que je vous prest.
 [...]
 Prison ne tient ne sanc ne pert
 Nus amans verais ne loiaus,
 Nē avenir ne li puet maus,
 Mais qu'il le port et chier le tiegne
 Et de s'amie li souvienge;
 Anchois devient plus durs que fers.
 Chil vous iert escus et haubers.
 [...]
 Mais par amours le vous doin jé.' (ll. 2600-13)⁴³

Like Rigmel's ring which safeguards a steadfast lover from death, "ja ne purra perir", Yvain's gift will give him the protection equivalent to military armour, "Chil vous iert escus et haubers", if he acts as a true and loyal lover, "amans verais ne loiaus". Martial victory is again dependent on faithfulness to a lady, which is in line with the customary performance of feats for the beloved in the *roman courtois*. However, Yvain differs from Horn through his failure to comply with his beloved's instructions. He forgets his promise to return to her after a year, so forfeiting the ring, which his beloved's lady-in-waiting retrieves:

"Yvain, mout fus or oublians,
 Qu'il ne te puet resouvenir
 Que tu deüsses revenir
 A ma dame au bout de l'an
 [...]
 Ma dame, ains te mande par moi
 Que jammais a li ne reviengnes
 Ne son anel plus ne detiengnes.
 [...]
 Yvain respondre ne li puet,
 Que sens et parole li faut.
 Et la damoisele avant saut,
 Si li osta l'anel du doi. (ll. 2746-77)⁴⁴

⁴³["Now put this ring of mine upon your finger [...] no true and faithful lover, if he wears it, can be imprisoned or lose any blood, nor can any ill befall him; but whoever wears and cherishes it will remember his sweetheart and will become stronger than iron. It will be your shield and hauberk [...] but out of love I give it to you."]

This episode highlights more than Yvain's inconstancy and forgetfulness, 'mout fus or oublians', which leads to his complete rejection by the beloved, 'Que jammais a li ne reviennges'. It also suggests the extreme extent to which love forms a part of his identity. Without the ring and his lady's love the hero goes on to lose his senses, as is first indicated here by his inability to form coherent sentences, 'que sens et parole li faut'. In line with his perfect characterisation, Horn commits no such mistake, but remembers Rigmel through his own ring. Moreover, he differs from Yvain in that his identity does not solely rely on his love for a lady. As shown above, his concerns encompass more than winning the hand of his beloved and include the recovery of his patrimony and the defence of Christian kingdoms from pagan invasions. In *Horn* then, the ring motif found in other romances is inflected by the hero's distinctive characterisation and concerns that differ from the heroes described above. Like the Cid, as is shown in the next chapter, the hero is able to integrate a plurality of concerns simultaneously, although in *Horn* it is the concern for his land that seems to take priority, as is made more evident by the above comparison with *Yvain*.

Moreover, within the same narrative strand concerned with Brittany, a more widespread preoccupation with love for the performance of knightly feats, exemplified by the interaction between Rigmel and Horn, is evident in the description of the aftermath of the first battle:

Tantes dames de pris veïssiez en la rue,
 U de paile[s] roez u de cendal vestue
 Pur joïr lur amis – tiel joie en est venue
 Ke de paens ont fet le jor taunt de char crue.
 Pus cel jor ne fud mais bataille meuz ferue:
 Meinte paene en fu iloc s'amur tolue. (ll. 1718-22)⁴⁵

⁴⁴['Yvain, you were most negligent not to remember that you were to return to my lady within one year [...] through me she orders that you never again approach her and keep her ring no longer [...].'] Yvain could not answer her, for he was stunned and words failed him. The damsel stepped forward and pulled the ring from his finger.']

⁴⁵['So many noble ladies could be seen in the streets, clad in wheel-patterned brocade or silk, to welcome back their lovers, who had brought them such joy by so great a slaughter of heathen that day. Never was a battle better fought, after that day. Many a heathen woman lost her lover there.']

Compared to Suddene and even Westir, there is a stronger association between romantic love and military success in Brittany. The ladies are explicitly brought so much joy, 'tiel joie', because many 'paens' were slaughtered and made 'char crue', at the hands of their lovers. The erotic dimension in military motivation is moreover hinted at by the description of the women's appearance. Through the emphasis on their sartorial appearance, it is suggested that they have dressed to please their lovers and donned beautiful clothes 'de paile[s] roez u de cendal' to enhance their attractiveness. As such, they echo on a societal scale the way Rigmel will present herself as a reward to Horn once he has completed his own military mission to recover his land.

Such a presence of erotic love in military feats within the kingdoms of Brittany and Westir stands in strong contrast to Suddene. The only female figure that belongs to Horn's land is Samburc, his mother, whose relationship to the hero is, as to be expected, lacking in any romantic dimension. Horn has already been made king when Samburc is brought news that he is alive and addresses him in disguise:

'Reis, buer fuestes vus nez e l'ure buer trovee
Ke sains estes e sal f e k'avez la cuntree:
Si vequist vostre mere or fust mult halegree.' (ll. 4923-5)⁴⁶

Since her address acknowledging his successful recovery of 'la cuntree' comes after his return, she must only perform a function that is supplementary or adjacent to Horn's success, rather than fundamental, as is the case with many female characters in *chanson de geste*. Samburc's presence in the narrative serves as a symbolic indicator of Horn's return and correspondingly brings closure to the first exile-and-return. Their reunion is the final step in Horn's return to the land of his childhood and allows him a recuperation beyond that of the political, namely, the emotional loss he experienced as a child. With the introduction of Samburc the realm of Suddene is more emphatically shown to be a land that encompasses the higher, and perhaps monologic, ideals related to God and universal justice, which can be seen as ideals that are arguably more easily accommodated by an absolutist child world-view. Westir and Brittany, on

⁴⁶["King, blest be the day and hour of your birth, that you are safe and sound and possess the land: if your mother were alive now, she would be very happy."]

the other hand, are the spaces in which Horn reaches sexual maturity and fights for a plurality of ideals.

ii.a. Exile-and-Return II: Brittany

The second exile-and-return not only points to the plurality of motivations for Horn, it also shows how the hero is used to pinpoint certain weaknesses in the authority of those societies which he confronts. In the first exile-and-return Horn triumphs over his pagan adversaries by proving their falsity and undermining their claims through action. This function of the hero is then repeated in the second exile-and-return where Horn's behaviour and eventual victories undermine the *status quo* in both Brittany and Westir. In both realms there is an excessive reliance on words over action, which is proved to be both dangerous and wrong by Horn. In Brittany, the conflict between hero and the foreign realm is made clear in the episodes discussed below: the deliberation before action against pagan invaders; Horn's refusal to swear an oath; and the hero's two returns to Brittany from Westir and from Suddene. In the first case, Horn's reaction to the invasion and the pagans' demands is distinctly different from that of the men of Brittany:

Quant l reis l'ot oï, grains en fu e dolent.
 Les tables fet oster, e çoe delivrement,
 En ses chambres s'en vait tenir un parlement
 Od li ad amené tut le meuz de sa gent,
 E quant li sunt asis mostra lor sun talent;
 De çoe qu'il out oï demaunde loëment.
 Mes il seënt tut quoi, n'en fait nul vantement
 Ke il voille(n)t entrer en nul defendement:
 Dunc ne siet reis Hunlaf d'içoe conseillement.
 A taunt i sorvint Horn, or lur cuntinement
 A veit ke çoe est tut de sun avancement.
 Idunc vient dreit al rei e dit si faitement:
 'Sire, reis honoré, Deus vus seit tensement!
 Joe vus vei mut iré e en grante pensement:
 Pur ces fiers messages estes en dotement.
 Si fusse chevaler e usse abodment,
 Encuntr'eus defendrei ke la paien gent
 Ne deivnet cuntre vus aveir seignement,
 Ne la lei que tenum de Deu omnipotent

Ne deit pur la Mahun aveir ja fausement.' (ll.1364-83)⁴⁷

The king's reaction is largely negative. Instead of taking swift military action, he 'grains en fu e dolent', which is perhaps reminiscent of a similarly pessimistic and deliberative Charlemagne in the *Roland*. This delay in action is then underlined by his men who, despite being the best, as indicated by Hunlaf taking 'tut le meuz de sa gent', nevertheless fail to provide him with adequate advice. Instead, they simply sit there and 'seënt tut quoi'. Their inaction is underscored by their sedentary position and their total silence indicated by 'tut'. In line with this conventional deliberation, they are unwilling to take any defence, 'il voille(n)t entrer en nul defendement'. The whole scene is one of hesitancy and inaction: the men of the realm are both incapable and unwilling to take any action against the pagan aggressor. This lack of military readiness in the society is further emphasised by the reference to the king's clearing of the tables, '[l]es tables fet oster', alluding to the feast that was taking place when the pagan messengers arrived. It would seem that the people of their realm have become too caught up in their predilection for feasting and ritualistic revelry and have subsequently forgotten how to take military action. These characteristics stand in sharp contrast to Horn's own behaviour: it is suggested that military feats are at the forefront of his mind, since he sees this threat and inertia on the part of the men as an obvious opportunity for his own action: 'A veit ke çoe est tut de sun avancement'.⁴⁸ The hero displays none of the sedentary and silent behaviour of Hunlaf's men but is instead dynamic and outspoken; he does not deliberate but makes straight for the king and addresses him, 'Idunc vient dreit al rei e dit si faitement'. The swiftness of this action is underlined by the brevity of its description which is related in one single line, so differing

⁴⁷['When the king heard it he was sorrowful and dismayed. He had the tables quickly cleared and went to his own rooms to take counsel. With him he took the best of his men, and when they were seated he indicated what he wanted and asked for advice on what he had heard. But they sat quite quiet, without boasting because they did not want to undertake any defence. Then King Hunlaf did not know what to do. At that moment Horn arrived, heard how they behaved, and saw that it was entirely to his advantage. He came straight to the king and spoke as follows: 'Sire, renowned king, God protect you! I see you are very angry and preoccupied: you fear these insolent messages. If I were a knight, and armed, I would maintain by force of arms that no heathen race should lord it over you and that the creed we hold from Almighty God should never be impugned for Mahomet.']

⁴⁸Cf. the Cid and his antagonists before battle with the Moors. While hero rejoices at the opportunity for 'ganancia', the Infantes are too afraid to fight and are eventually excused from battle. See ll. 2135-8.

from the drawn-out description of the counsel scene. The form here echoes and reinforces the deliberation or lack thereof in the narrative. In addition, Horn's behaviour shows that he prioritises rather than eschews the military defence of the Christian kingdom, and is eager for any opportunity to undertake battle. In his address to the king he immediately makes reference to the importance of God and his relationship to the ruler, 'Deus vus seit tensement', and advocates the use of military force to defend the Christian kingdom, so that the pagan nation might not not overrun it, 'Ne deivent cuntre vus aveir seignement'. If he were a knight, 'chevaler', he would ensure that the Christian 'lei' is never called into question by that of Mahomet. Since the episode does then lead to the dubbing of the hero that is requested here and to Hunlaf's victory, it vindicates Horn's original justifications for battle and further denigrates the initial position taken by the king and his men.

During the oath episode, Horn is similarly used to highlight and undermine the weaknesses in the rule over Brittany. The conflict between truth, represented by Horn's position, and lies, represented by that of Wikele, is here couched in terms of action versus words. Wikele's initial victory over Horn indicates an excessive reliance on words in the kingdom, a tendency that is adumbrated in Hunlaf's choice to seek what turns out to be bad counsel, rather than take swift military action when faced with the threat of a pagan invasion. When Wikele is first introduced, he is immediately characterised by his mendacity and his responsibility for Horn's second exile: Wikele is the traitor '[p]ar qui [Horn] fud vers lo rei par mençonges mellez: | Si s'en ala servir en estranges regnez' (ll. 1823-4).⁴⁹ Furthermore, the contrast between Wikele as a figure of falsehood and Horn as one of truth is made explicit by the poet's comment that follows: 'Fel traître iert cits, pur taunt iert alignez, | Qu'il est traître e coart, çoe est tut veir provez' (ll. 1835-6).⁵⁰ By stating that Wikele's treacherous nature is 'provez', the poet uses certain language relating to truth more often characterising Horn, and proleptically indicates the

⁴⁹['Through him and his lies [Horn] was embroiled with the king and went off to serve in foreign lands.']

⁵⁰['He was an evil traitor, in this way faithful to his lineage, because he was cowardly and treacherous – this is the proven truth.']

revelation of Wikele's falsity not only through the diction in 'provez', but also through the implied contrast with Horn's own truthful behaviour. The paralleled dichotomies of false and true, words and actions are particularly evident in the fallout from Wikele's empty accusation that Horn has had sex with Rigmel in ll. 1871-1900. The difference between this episode and its counterpart in the Middle English *King Horn* points more strongly to the importance of truth in the Anglo-Norman characterisation of the hero. In the later work, Wikele's accusation does have solid grounds, which endows the narrative with a greater degree of moral ambiguity. This is not the case in the Anglo-Norman *Horn* where the hero is unrivalled in his status as a figure of truth, in addition to being a figure of action.⁵¹ The king, acting on Wikele's instruction, asks Horn to take an oath if he wishes to be exonerated from these claims, claiming that he will flatly refuse to believe Horn's protests of innocence if he does not comply with this demand: 'Par Deu,' çoe dist li reis, 'ne vus en crei neent, | Si joe meuz n'en sui cert, e çoe par jurement' (ll. 1987-8).⁵² Horn's own refusal exemplifies the way truth and action form integral parts of his characterisation:

'Dunc respondi si Horn: 'Or m'oez, rei vaillent!
 Pernez dous chevaliers ke eslirez de cent:
 Si m'en voelent prover, mei e li en defent:
 Mun dreit sai devient mei issis veraïement,
 Ja ne seront taunt pruz ke je-s dut de neet:
 Tuz les rendrai matez ci devaunt vostre gent.
 [...]
 Cil deit fere serement ki tens est si alé
 K'i[l] est vieill u est clop u il est mahaigné.
 Unc ne vi fiz de rei a qui(l) fust demaundé,
 Qu'il feïst serement, kar çoe sereit vilté.
 Taunt cum est sein del cors, s'est de rien apelé,
 Par bataille le nit: si est dreit esgardé.
 Se il faire ne-l veut, si se rende prové,
 Cum cil ki ne deit estre en la crestienté,
 Ne remaindre entre gent qu'il ne seit avilé:
 Sire rei, çoe est dreit e si est leauté.' (ll. 1927-49)⁵³

⁵¹On this difference see Pope, *King Horn*, p. 165.

⁵²["By God,' said the king, 'I won't believe a word you say unless I get better assurance, and that on oath."]

⁵³["Now listen to me, noble king! Take two knights, chosen from a hundred: if they want to find me guilty, I shall defend myself against them. However valiant they may be, I am so sure of being in the right that I have no fear of them: I shall vanquish them utterly here, before you household [...] He whose time is up, so that he's old, lame, or maimed, should swear. I never saw a king's son asked to take an oath, for it would be base. So long as

Horn deals with the issue of proof through combat both on an individual basis and a societal one. In the first case, Horn refuses to swear an oath because it is not in the custom among those of his race, 'Kar a ces dunt sui nez n'est acostument', and insists on clearing his name through judicial combat (l. 1940). Burnley sees in this the avoidance by the hero of a betrayal of the warrior culture from he hails.⁵⁴ Instead, he is portrayed as having absolute confidence in the fact that he is right, 'Mun dreit sai divent mei ssis veraïement', which he states will indubitably lead to his victory over the two best men of the realm who might challenge him, the 'dous chevaliers ke eslirez de cent'. Complete innocence will lead to complete victory, 'Tuz les rendrai matez ci devaunt vostre gent'. These lines depict a fundamental part of Horn's characterisation: victory through combat, that is through action, is certain because of the truth behind the hero's claims. Such insistence on the prioritising of martial efforts as a means of proving his innocence in relation to Wikele's false claims about Rigmel is a small-scale duplication of his more general engagement with pagans in which he uses military force to prove the emptiness of their false boasts about the superiority of their religion. In this episode there is an analogous preoccupation with physical means to prove the truth. Horn's pronouncement that he who is 'sein del cors', that is, healthy, must refute accusations 'par bataille', and that battle is the way that right is proved, 'si est dreit esgardé'. Moreover, oaths are associated with physical weakness by Horn. The only people who should be allowed to swear are those who are incapable of fighting, namely the old, the lame and the injured: he who is 'vieill u est clop u il est mahaigné'. If the man who is physically able refuses to fight, 'Se il faire ne-l veut', this may be taken as a sign of guilt and he must not remain in the Christian realm, 'ne deit estre en la crestienté'. Lack of action is therefore associated with guilt, and, moreover, with complete exclusion from the social Christian order. This in turn can be related back to the hero's general attitude towards the

he is whole in body, if he is accused of anything, he refutes it in combat: that is how the right is determined. If he won't do so, he admits his guilt like a man who shouldn't remain in Christendom or amongst people without dishonour. My lord king, this is right and according to the law."

⁵⁴Burnley, 'Hero', p. 389.

pagans. Horn uses military action to prove both the truth of his character in this instance and the truth of Christianity during other events. The oath episode is therefore a microcosmic example of the way the antagonists are characterised by unfounded claims. Moreover, Wikele's triumph in spite of his lies points to a current weakness in the authority of that Christian realm. This episode indicates how Brittany becomes a realm that cannot accommodate figures of truth and action. Horn's banishment indicates a systematic failure to prioritise military action as proof and leads to the triumph of unsubstantiated rhetoric, as epitomised by Wikele's subsequent influence throughout the land.

Horn's function as a gauge of the weaknesses in authority of those societies he confronts is apparent too in the description of Brittany after the hero's return to the kingdom from both Westir and Suddene. The banishment of Horn from the land signalled its initial failure to uphold the values that the hero epitomises, yet this failure is perpetuated even after his departure. What ensues is a kind of world-upside-down theme in which non-combative means of wielding power are endorsed. Wikele, more a figure of courtly intrigue than a warrior, goes on to gain influence over the land and Horn and his allies are reduced to roles that belie their military status, such as pilgrims and minstrels. The first character from Brittany that appears after the hero's second exile is Jocerand, Herland's son. His status as a pilgrim palmer reflects the extent to which Horn's supporters have been affected by their association with the hero and reduced in status. It would seem that Horn's own exile precipitates those of others:

'Joe sui fiz dan Herland ki vus nurri, meschin –
 Seneschal fud Hunlaf le bon rei palain.
 Wikele pur vostre amur l'ad mis a male fin;
 Chacié l'ad del país: n'ad destrier ne runcin;
 Tut ad perdu pur vus, ver e gris e hermin
 Lez serreit, s'il aveit un mantel mutunin.
 Fuiz est del país cum chaitif miserin.
 E il est senescal; a lui sunt tuit aclin
 Li home del país e siwent sun traïn.' (ll. 3691-9)⁵⁵

⁵⁵["I'm the son of lord Herland who brought you up as a boy – he was seneschal to Hunlaf, the good and noble king. Because he loved you, Wikele ill-treated him: he drove him from the land, without steed or nag. He lost everything for you, grey and white furs and ermine. He'd be happy just to have a sheepskin cloak. He fled the land like a miserable wretch. Wikele is seneschal and all the men in the land are subject to him and at his

Herland, who, as the audience is reminded, formerly enjoyed the greatest kind of favour and influence from the king as his right-hand man, '[s]eneschal fud Hunlaf', is now little more than a wandering exile. What is more, this new status is explicitly linked to the love, 'amur', he bore Horn which led to Wikele giving him a 'male fin' and banishing him 'del païs'. This becomes a third instance of the exile-and-return theme in the poem. The overarching structure of Horn's exile-and-return from Brittany thus encompasses a separate, smaller one of someone who, to an even greater extent than Horn, had previously enjoyed a position of great standing with the king of Brittany. The pathos in the description of Herland reinforces the world-upside-down theme and condemns the changes brought about by Wikele further. The former seneschal is portrayed in terms that emphasise he has been debunked: he wanders like a 'chaitif miserin', and no longer has a steed or nag, 'n'ad destrier ne runcin', or grey and white furs and ermine, 'ver e gris e hermin', that is, material objects that function as signifiers of prestige, knighthood and wealth. Their absence conveys the extent of Herland's fall from grace; this is compounded by the line, 'Lez serreit, s'il aveit un mantel mutunin.'⁵⁶ The fact that he lacks even this clothing of a lowly status which is far from being the fur of the elite, points both to his political redundancy and, pathetically, to his exposure to the elements, which also shores up his lack of status as he no longer has access to the comforts of the court. Such changes are emphasised by the reference to Wikele's new status, who, despite his lies, has nevertheless replaced Herland, 'il est senescal', and now enjoys authority over the men in the land, '[l]i home del païs [...] siwent sun traïn'.

Later descriptions of Brittany also indicate that the current condition of that society is unjust, wayward, and unable to accommodate the values epitomised by Horn. This is shown by Wikele's ascendancy to power and indicated by the realm's failure to recognise the hero, as well as the particular means by which he goes back to the kingdom. Instead of returning triumphantly to Brittany or storming the city through military force, Horn must enter in modes

command."]

⁵⁶This use of a list of things that are lacking to underscore Herland's exiled status echoes the opening lines of the *CMC*, ll. 3-5.

that are distinctly non-combative, first as a penitent palmer and then as a minstrel. His exchange of clothes with the pilgrim he meets on the way to the court, although commonplace in contemporary narratives such as *Tristan*, indicates in *Horn* that the hero must obfuscate his worth and tendency toward military action if he is to enter a land that upholds Wikele's values:

'Por la cote qu'avez avrez bliaud purprin;
L'eslavine avrai [joe], (e) vus, cest mantel hermin,
E pur [i]ces trebuz ces chaues d'osterin;
Pur cest vostre burdun cest mien amoravin;
Pur la paulme del col cest bon brant acerin' ll. 3971-5.⁵⁷

This is a clear, deliberate and symbolic exchange of clothes: the balanced phrasing and the division running down the caesurae between the pilgrim's clothes in the first hemistichs and those of Horn in the second parallel and underscore the process by which Horn leaves behind the clothes symbolising his military prowess and puts on those of a non-combative status in order to enter the kingdom. This exchange thus represents the political inadequacy of the kingdom insofar as there is manifestly no place for a hero like Horn in Brittany during this period. Nevertheless, since these changes are only superficial, there still subsists a sense of the immutable worth of the hero and his inevitable triumph. This is echoed in the language relating to his return. After his confrontation with Wikele and Modin, he continues on his way to the city:⁵⁸

Sa veie ad aquillie par dejuste le rin
Ki vient de la cité, dunt li ruit sunt bien fin ll. 4076-.⁵⁹

Read in isolation, the description does not seem significant. However, when set against the scene where Horn actually enters the city, the imagery points to the clear division between the corruption of the kingdom and Horn's own perfect and true status:

Tant ad erré dan Horn qu'a la porte est venu,

⁵⁷["In exchange for your gown you shall have a crimson tunic; I shall have your pilgrim's robe and you this ermine cloak. For these leggings, here is this silken hose, for this staff of yours, my Arab steed, for this palm-branch on your shoulder, this good steel sword."]

⁵⁸The episode in which Horn encounters Wikele and Modin shows how the antagonist's reliance on words leads him to undermine his own ideals. Horn remarks on the fact that they are swearing using 'Witegod' in l. 4013, a linguistic detail or slippage which prompts Pope to suggest that Modin and Wikele are like Anglo-French barons who reveal their English origins when drunk. Pope, *Romance of Horn*, p. 165.

⁵⁹['He set out along the stream, with is clear rivulets, that came from the city.']

Mes ne·l lessent entrer kar n'i fud coneü.
 Çoe si est une rien dunt il fund cummeüz
 E dunt li portiers ot trestut el ke saluz,
 Kar dan Horn s'apasma cum hom k'ert irascuz;
 Sus le prist bien en haut par les cheveus menuz
 [...]
 Suz le punt le jetad enz es parfunz paluz,
 Pus entra a bandun; si s'est [si] absconduz
 Enz en la grant press qu'il n'est aparceüz.
 Unkes pus icel jor n'en fud nul plai tenuz
 Fors itaunt qu'al porter sunt si ami coruz
 Pur lui traire del tai qu'il n'i fust envoluz. (ll. 4082-96)⁶⁰

Aside from providing some comic relief, the scene between the Horn and the porter serves as an indication of the unjust rule in the realm and foreshadows how Horn's eventual return will entail the overthrowing of Wikele's authority. Horn's characterisation as a figure of truth is reflected in the imagery used of his travel: the clear rivulets outside the city are described as 'bien fin', which are then contrasted with the water inside and about the city. Here the waters lie stagnant in the moat, 'parfunz paluz', which would seem to represent the putrid political rule under Wikele, an authority which is similarly based on lies and a distinct lack of transparency. As such, the land itself reflects the underlying political inadequacy of the kingdom and Horn's own association with truth.⁶¹ Such use of colour and translucency to inform the contrasting characterisation of hero and antagonist is evident later in the description of Horn's men and Modin: while the former sport strong white hauberks, 'haubers [ont] blancs e forz' in l. 4453, the latter's gleaming helmet becomes soiled with mud when Horn strikes him, 'Ke sis heaumes lusanz soillé fud de paluz' in l. 4470. This second description also exemplifies how Horn's actions reveal the mendacity and inequity of Wikele's operations, here symbolised again by the 'paluz'.

⁶⁰['Horn travelled long enough that he came to the door, but they refused him entry because he was unknown. This was something that angered him and gained the porter a quite different greeting, for lord horn approached like a man in fury, hoisted him high by the short hairs [...] He threw him over the bridge into the stagnant waters of the moat, then entered freely, so hidden amongst the great crowd that he was not noticed. No one took any more notice of the porter that day, except that his friends ran up to drag him out of the mud engulfing him.']

⁶¹The use of the land to highlight the uphold Horn's heroic status and denigrate his antagonists is perhaps linked to the particular concern for locality and the land that is part of the Insular tradition.

Furthermore, the above passage points to the failure of this society to accommodate a hero of Horn's nature through its treatment of liminal space. The hero comes to a door of a place to which he had previously had free passage, yet finds that it is closed to him, 'Mes ne-1 lessent entrer', much like the Cid. In both the *CMC* and *Horn* these scenes, which border on epic versions of *paraclausithyra*, serve as indicators of the heroes' exiled status.⁶² Unlike the Cid however, Horn succeeds in breaking down the door and humiliates the porter, who functions here not only as a representative of the city but also of its boundaries given his capacity as a gatekeeper. Accordingly, Horn's show of strength and victory over the porter, who serves as synecdoche for the realm, adumbrates the way that Horn will eventually penetrate and overcome the whole social order and norms of Brittany as they stand under Wikele's influence. In other words, the scene serves as a small-scale version of his return and its consequences. It indicates how the kingdom will be transformed from one that fails to recognise Horn both physically and symbolically to one that fully supports the hero and the qualities or policies he embodies: as here, Horn will go from being unknown in the realm, 'n'i fud coneü', and rejected by its representatives, to being recognised and celebrated universally.

The disjunction between the state of society under Wikele and Horn's values is also apparent in the hero's second and final return to Brittany. Once again, the hero has to disguise his military status in order to enter the realm, which forms another example of Horn's function as a gauge of a society's worth. In these episodes Wikele has regained power; despite the antagonist's assurances that he will no longer act treacherously in ll. 4549-4556, Wikele takes advantage of Horn's return to Suddene to take Rigmel for himself; he uses money from King Hunlaf to build a castle, fills it with provisions, and takes many knights and men-at-arms into service in ll. 5030-40. The kingdom is thus subject to Wikele's power as it was when Horn was first exiled. Similarly, Horn must enter in a non-combative mode, again signalling that society is once more unable to accommodate such a hero. This time, the hero and his men must

⁶²See ll. 31-9 in the *CMC*.

disguise themselves as minstrels in order to enter the wedding of Wikele and Rigmel, rather than, for example, storming the castle with their full military regalia on display:

Cent compaignu[n]s menat, ke mult sunt de valor.
 Harpes portent asquanz, vieles li plusor:
 Ço volt sire Horn k'il seint jugleor.
 Fors halbers unt vestuz, dunt grant er [la luur]
 E lur chapes desus de diverse color,
 Lur durs branz ceint as lez cum vassal de reddor:
 [...]
 Veient Wikele seer, al plus halt mandemant,
 Juste bele Rigmel, ki la face resplent,
 Lors s'e[n] marist dan Horn – e cel irusement.
 Les chapes sachent tost, qui lor sunt muscement,
 Par l'eire sunt chait des col(p)s li estrument,
 Car ne lur chalt quel part – nul d'els cure n'en prent.
 Es halbers sunt remis, tret sunt li brant tre[n]chent,
 Par ces tables s'en vunt servir les malement
 Tut d'el ke de mes u de mestre piement,
 Ka[r] nul n'i est atteint ke ne seit fet sanglent,
 Ke part Wikle s'avut u seit de gent. (ll. 5164-5199)⁶³

While Wikele sits on the highest dais, 'al plus halt mandemant', a position which equates to the superlative power he now wields, Horn is at court as a mere 'jugleor'. Horn must here put aside his military status in order to fit into Wikele's society, albeit temporarily, which suggests that the current social order is structured so as to suppress figures of truth and military prowess.⁶⁴ Here, as in the scene depicting the clothes exchange with the pilgrim, the sartorial appearance of the knights is brought into relief. They don cloaks of different colours, 'chapes desus de diverse color', and carry the accoutrements necessary for performance as minstrels, namely, 'harpes' and 'vieles', which become particularly significant in the revelatory scene that follows. The shedding of their minstrel clothes is swift and violent: the knights shed their cloaks 'tost',

⁶³['[Horn] took a hundred companions, full of valour. Some carried harps, most fiddles: lord Horn wanted them to seem like minstrels. They donned strong hauberks that shone brightly, and over them, cloaks of different colours. They girded their hardened blades on their sides, like doughty fighters [...] They saw Wikele sitting on the highest dais, next to lovely Rigmel with the bright face. Then Horn was angered – and furiously too. They quickly shed their cloaks, which had been their disguise. The instruments fell from their shoulders to the floor, they did not care where, nor take heed of them. They were left in their hauberks, drew their sharp swords, and went round the tables giving them bad service, quite different from dishes or dispensing the best wine, for no-one they touched escaped unbloodied, whoever held Wikele as lord or was one of his people.']

⁶⁴Wikele does not enter into combat in order to take Rigmel for himself; Hunlaf surrenders to him out of fear and, specifically, because Horn does not arrive within the allotted time in ll. 5085-5126. This constitutes another indication of the way that Brittany deteriorates without Horn, this time after he leaves to reclaim Suddene.

their instruments fall to the floor, 'Par l'eire sunt chait', indiscriminately, 'quel part'. Such harsh disregard for them, 'nul d'els cure n'en prent', reflects the way the knights reject their temporary status as agents of entertainment in order to return to their true status as agents of war; such a return is further reflected in reappearance of their hauberks and swords, which are now fully visible, 'Es halbers sunt remis, tret sunt li brant tre[n]chent'. This dramatic and engaging transformation is a symbolic representation of how the associated qualities of truth and military prowess embodied by Horn and his men inevitably break through the scene of revelry, which is itself based on the lies and treachery of Wikele. This revelation exemplifies the manner of Horn's returns in the narrative: they are inevitable and bring truth in the midst of inequity. Furthermore, the scene serves as a warning about the superficiality of entertainment and the dangers in its prioritisation. The destruction that Horn and his men wreak on this scene undermines entertainment when it is carried out by a society that has neglected to inculcate military practices as customary. This seems to be a natural consequence of the customs in earlier descriptions of Brittany; feasting and revelry were constant and prioritised over militaristic activities, as exemplified by Horn's status as a cup-bearer, rather than a knight, and the hesitancy shown by Hunlaf and his men when confronted by a military threat. It is through this later destruction of Wikele's revelry that Horn's perfect, military heroism is used to pinpoint and undermine the weaknesses in the political rule of Brittany. Such condemnation of a preference for entertainment over military action in the *status quo* is developed further in Westir.

ii.b. Exile-and-Return II: Westir

In line with his earlier characterisation, Horn continues, unsurprisingly, to act as a perfect hero in Westir and prioritise military action. Here again Horn is used as a gauge of the worth of a society, this time of Westir. He constantly laments the lack of military action in the realm. As is to be expected, his complaints fall in line with his characterisation as a figure of truth and so are ultimately justified: the pacifistic tendencies of the realm are shown to render

the kingdom vulnerable to pagan threats and put the very survival of kingdom in danger, precipitating the death of the two sons and heirs of the king, Guffer and Egfer. Moreover, the divisions between the antagonists and the hero during his longer, overarching exile-and-return from Suddene are replicated on a smaller scale within the Christian kingdom and the embedded exile-and-return between Brittany and Westir. The arrogance that informed the portrayal of his pagan adversaries resurfaces in Eglaf's depiction; moreover, Horn's triumph is again brought about by his reliance on action, which allows him to prove the worthlessness of his antagonists. Furthermore, Horn's new identity as Gudmod shows how the hero's actions will ultimately prove stronger than words, even when they are his own, as shown below. In the case of policies relating to military practices, Horn is used as a tool of social critique. He is continually frustrated by the lack of martial activities in Westir:

Tut cel an ad esté si la reäl mesnée
 Qu'il ne vunt a turnei n'a autre chevauchée
 Dunt el seit ore en pris u en seit alosée.
 Or sacez veirement tiel vie ad ennuiée
 A Gudmod le vaillant od chierë honorée,
 Kar li reis sa guerre ot par tut apaée
 E la triwe prise out qui trop aveit durée. (ll. 2526-2532)⁶⁵

Horn is irked by the customs in the land since there is no opportunity for him to prove himself and reveal his military worth; once again he finds himself in a society that cannot accommodate his qualities or recognise him. The highest representative of the realm is shown to avoid war rather than embrace it: the king ends his wars peacefully, 'li reis sa guerre ot par tut apaée', and makes a truce that is excessively long, 'a triwe prise out qui trop aveit durée'. This is the land of the Arthurian knight and peacetime leisure, rather than of Horn or the Cid. Like Brittany, Westir fails to accept a hero such as Horn. The particular strengths that most characterise him not only remain unrecognised by that society, they are virtually suppressed. As if to underline this weakness in the conventions of the land, the poet uses more evaluative language echoing Horn's

⁶⁵[The whole of that year it happened that the royal household did not go to tournaments or other military expeditions through which it could have distinguished itself or gained renown. Now you must know that such a life irked the brave Gudmod with his noble bearing. For the king had brought his wars to a peaceful end and made a truce, which had lasted a long while.]

own mentality and functioning almost as *style indirect libre* to explain that the royal household eschewed activities through which it could have distinguished itself or gained renown: 'Dunt el seit ore en pris u en seit alosée'. The resulting implication is that the court was very much without 'ore' and definitively not 'alosée'. The phrasing suggests that both Horn and the poet condemn the current state of Westir and its customs, which implicitly sets up normative standard, here contravened, in which military practice is upheld as the main method of gaining prestige.

A life lacking in military activity explicitly bores Horn, 'tiel vie ad ennuiée', a sentiment which is echoed throughout his stay in Westir, indicating the contrast between the the warlike Horn and the widespread predilection for leisure that surrounds him. Horn almost becomes fixated on the truce and the lack of opportunities for battle:

Kar il n'ad soing d'amer, einz est en grant tristur
 Pur la triwe ke est e qu'il ad taunt sojur
 Qu'il armes ne[n] usa, dunt li croüst honur,
 E dunt fust plus cheriz en la curt sun seignur. (ll. 2891-4)⁶⁶

He experiences 'grant tristur' because of this 'triwe' and he does not use his weapons, 'armes ne[n] usa' for such a long time, 'taunt sojur'. The hero is thus clearly frustrated at having to operate in a society which does not value his particular skills and in which he cannot realise his full identity. Because of his perfect status, Horn's reaction must equate to a condemnation of such practices in the realm.⁶⁷ This is also evident in the use of the subjunctive in 'croüst' and 'fust' that indicates that his honour would have grown and he would have been more praised at court. Such use of the subjunctive simultaneously holds up an alternate reality where he could play out his heroism in full yet undercuts this supposition by indicating it is fundamentally unreal. The alternate reality and values which pertain to Horn are revealed as being merely illusory in this land. Moreover, the reference to his disregard for love, 'Kar il n'ad soing d'amer', functions as more than an indication of his loyalty to Rigmel; there is a suggestion that he will

⁶⁶['For he cared nothing for love but instead was very dejected about the truce and the length of time his weapons, which should have increased his renown and esteem at his lord's court, lay idle.']

⁶⁷Further examples of the lack of military action in Westir are found in ll. 2533-4 and 2679-83.

not typically adhere to the activities in the pursuit of love that are more often associated with figures such as Lancelot or Erec. Once more it seems that Horn finds himself in a realm analogous to the land of the Arthurian knight, a domain in which he participates only to the extent that it does not compromise his militaristic character and efforts to prove himself in full-scale war. His negative reactions represent the limits of the integration of *roman courtois* discourse in *Horn*: although he is motivated by Rigmel's love in his battles, he is not prepared to end engagement in full-scale battles for his patrimony, the land and God. Accordingly, the prioritisation of peace in Westir that Horn condemns is shown to fail as a policy. Guffer and Egfer, the king's sons and perpetuators of the royal line, both die in battle against the pagans. Horn, on the other hand, is victorious, avenges Egfer, and conducts Guffer's body back to this family. Egfer's words before he dies indicate the extent to which Horn's position is vindicated and recognised:

'Si joe on bien vus fis, bien l'avrez remeri,
 Quant si m'avez ocis mun mortel enemi,
 Ki la plaië me fist par ki joe sui peri.
 Or murrai plus suëf: Deu me face merci!
 Une rien vus reuier: ne me lessez ici,
 E un frer Guffer enportez autresi:
 Mun pere, bien le sai, avrez meuz a ami.' (ll. 3518-24)⁶⁸

A number of events point to the failure of the peace-keeping policy in Westir. The death of the brothers, who are young, powerful representatives of that land and heirs of the king, must indicate the dangers to the very existence and continuity of the kingdom that such a policy poses. The princes' failure to display great military prowess as would befit young knights in Suddene is symptomatic of the realm's inadequacy to meet the military standards to overcome any threat from without. Moreover, the new influence that Horn gains after this battle, adumbrated by Egfer's prediction that his father will cherish him more, 'Mun pere, bien le sai, avrez meuz a ami', shows that the values that Horn embodies are ultimately recognised by the

⁶⁸["If I ever was good to you, you have repaid me indeed, by this killing my mortal enemy, who gave me my death-blow. Now I shall die more peacefully: God have mercy on me! One thing I ask of you. Do not leave me here, and carry my brother Guffer back too. My father, I know well, will cherish you the more."]

king, the royal household, and the realm. Horn, the perfect hero and outsider, is thereby employed once again as a corrective gauge of the worth of other Christian societies, and not solely of the pagan nation.

Moreover, Horn's prowess and tendency toward action is evident not only in war, but also in the peacetime activities in which he takes part. This may constitute a further example of the revelatory tendency in Horn's characterisation: his actions often seem to break out and reveal his worth whatever the circumstances, surpassing even the force of his own words. In the peacetime activities in Westir, the hero's antagonists are once more characterised by their boastfulness, while Horn displays humility and proves their inferiority through his feats, rather than his words. This is exemplified by the stone-throwing episode in which Horn humiliates Eglaf: after the latter's first throw, the antagonist begins to brag exorbitantly about it, and goes around with arrogant boasts: he '*fait grant gorgerie | E mut s'e[n] vet vauntant par grant sorquiderie*' in ll. 2594-5. Horn does not meet this challenge with words but with action; he is willing to play, if anyone asked him, in order to cut the man's arrogance down to size, he '*[o]r jetast volentiers pur veintre l'estutie | Ke cil vet demenant, si i est ki l'en prie*' in ll. 2598-9. This dichotomy between the varying reliance on words and action is repeated after Eglaf's second throw which beats Horn's first. While Eglaf becomes very boastful once again, '*mut durement vanté*', Horn remains quiet, not saying a word, '*Gudmod fud en pes: un mot n'i ad suné*', in ll. 2627-8. The tautology here underscores the hero's silence and upholds his characterisation as a man of action whose silence does not detract from his physical prowess, but throws this into relief. Horn's inevitable victory over Eglaf informs the overarching argument throughout the poem of the value and power of action over words, the latter often being depicted as unstable and liable to be proved wrong by action.

The combined tendencies of silence and action displayed by Horn in Westir are found in other activities such as hunting, hawking and chess-playing. The hero's skills are distinctly superior to those of the nobles around him, yet he never falls into the way of boasting:

En riviere e en bois est lur delitement
 Pur tolir lur ennui e la vunt mut sovent.
 En çoe mustre Gudmod sun grant afaitement,
 Dunt l'enseigna Herland e bien e mestrement,
 Que tuz ceus de la curt venqui lointinement;
 Mes pur çoe ne feist nul feiz vaument. (ll. 2682-87)⁶⁹

The hero's combination of superlative skill or action with humility is particularly brought out here by the emphasis on 'lointinement' and 'vaument' resulting from their postponement to a rhyming position and the periodic structure of the last line. 'Mes pur çoe ne feist' indicates a level of unconformity, again highlighting the differences between Horn's individual worldview and the customs of the land; it is suggested that Horn is somehow different because he does not behave 'vaument' after winning 'lointinement' in hunting and hawking. This description conveys the singularity of his behaviour and form part of his role as a humble outsider, perfect hero, social gauge, and man of action. This kind of depiction becomes more pronounced in the scene where chess is played, another peacetime activity. The conventions of the court would seem to allow observers of the game to give advice freely, 'Kar cil onc giu nen ot od tut lur enseigner | Ke li autre li funt, ki seënt cummuner'; in contrast, Horn, in line with his characteristic disinclination to rely on words, is the only one who does not do this, 'Fors Gudmod', in ll. 2729-31.⁷⁰ During his own game with Lenburc Horn goes further than simply not speaking by actively forbidding everyone else from saying anything while he plays:

Mes itant lur ad dit: 'Seignurs, en pes seëz!
 D'enseigner mei del giu ne vus entremetez!
 N'est pas afaitement, bien vuil que lo sacez:
 Nostre costume n'est, ne-l funt la u fui nez.'
 'Par fei,' çoe dient tui, 'çoe vus iert gräauntez.
 Tui nus tendrum en pes, bien verrom que ferez.' (ll. 2752-7)⁷¹

⁶⁹["They took their pleasure in hunting and hawking, to relieve boredom, and went out frequently. In these sports Gudmod showed his excellent training which Herland had well and skilfully given him, so that he far surpassed all those of the court. But he never boasted about it."]

⁷⁰["[For] there was not one game in which the others did not all advise him together, except Gudmod."]

⁷¹["But he did say this much: 'My lords, pray keep quiet! Don't other to teach me the game! I want you to know that wouldn't be a civil deed. It's not our custom, where I was born.' 'Upon our honour,' they all said, 'we agree. We'll all keep quiet and see what you do.'"]

Horn's explicit order that they be quiet and his explanation that verbal interference of this sort is not the custom in his homeland, 'Nostre costume n'est, ne-l funt la u fui nez', indicates the kind of characteristics that are prized in Suddene and he consistently displays. Horn's exhortation substantiates his tendency to reject words as a means of meeting challenges. Moreover, his disdain becomes explicit through the evaluative judgment he articulates to the others about the use of words: 'N'est pas afaitement, bien vuil que lo sacez'. The fact that the spectators then take Horn's cue and adhere to his own custom is a subtle adumbration of Horn's eventual implementation of his own native policies throughout both Westir and Brittany. Even within this episode there are other signs to suggest this: Horn's victory against the previously undefeated Lenburc substantiates the hero's original position and different conventions. There is one further indication of the conflicting worldviews of the hero and his hosts in the scene. The court's penchant for chess is ironically symbolic of the lack of a militaristic culture. The royal household only play at war, rather than realise it, as Horn would wish. Once more, Horn's emphatic preference for action leads him to prove the worth of his own customs and highlight the weaknesses of other realms, especially when these stem from a prioritisation of words and an excessive tendency toward peace.

Horn's characterisation as a man of action reaches a climax in the superb harp-playing scene. This episode forms the last in a series of more detailed depictions of peacetime activities in which Horn proves his worth through his actions: he undercuts Eglaf in the stone-throwing scene, beats Lenburc at chess, and here surpasses the princess in music-playing. However, this episode is more significant than the rest. Here his actions not only prove his musical superiority, but his very identity. Upon hearing his lay Lenburc remarks that Gudmod must be Horn:

Damaisel Lenburc ne se poet plus celer
 N'en deïst sun talent, qui-l voillë escuter!
 'Ohi Deus! Reis del ciel, ki nus venis salver,
 Ki purreit en cest monde itiel home truver?
 Ja siet il tuz les sens ke l'em poet remembrer
 E de nul ne se veut qu'il en sace vaunter.
 Çoe est Horn, cum joe crei, dunt l'en sout taunt parler –

Si se ceile pur nus, ne se veit demuster,
 Ke conoistre ne deussum pur lui honurer
 U n'est pas hom mortel: nul ne-l poet ressembler:
 Del ciel est descendu pur la gent espïer.' (ll. 2846-56)⁷²

It would seem that hero's actions are so powerful that they cause Lenburc to recognise that the man before her is Horn himself, 'Çoe est Horn'. They are, moreover, shown to be inherently linked to his identity; Lenburc emphasises his singularity, 'nul ne-l poet ressembler', when she contemplates him playing. His actions thus undermine even the words which he himself speaks, which in this case relate to the assurances he gives upon arrival in Westir that he is Gudmod, a lowly knight (ll. 2251-67, 2330-56). At this point the poet states that he did not speak entirely truthfully, 'il li respundi, mes neënt tut verté', which would seem to contradict the Horn's otherwise consistent characterisation as a figure of truth (l. 2335). However, as Ashe points out, 'Thomas upholds the fiction of his hero's change of name and in so doing he effaces the potential difficulty of Horn's speaking falsehood'.⁷³ More than this, however, the name change indicates the ultimate failure of words to obfuscate an obvious truth. There is a suggestion that despite even Thomas' bestowal of a new name, Gudmod will eventually be recognised by the other characters as Horn, just as he continues to be by the audience, because his actions and integrity form such an essential part of his identity that it cannot be otherwise. There is a sense then that no disguise, linguistic or otherwise, can prevent the revelation of Horn's identity as a figure of truth and nature as a man of deeds, not of words. The result is a curious inversion of Wikele's own predicament: just as Wikele's own words betray him, so do Horn's actions betray the hero and reveal his true identity.⁷⁴

Exile-and-return informs *Horn* in a fundamental way, not only in terms of the plot, but in the characterisation of the protagonist as a figure of truth, action and divine favour whose

⁷²['Lady Lenburc could no longer refrain from saying what she wished, whoever might be listening: 'O God, heavenly King and Redeemer, could such a man be found anywhere else in this world? Already he possesses all known accomplishments and wishes to boast of none of them. It must be Horn, I believe, the talk of everyone. If he hides it from us, it's because he doesn't want to make himself known, so as not to be recognised and honoured, or else it's no mortal man. No one resembles him; he has come down from heaven to look at mankind.']

⁷³Ashe, *Fiction*, p. 148.

⁷⁴See Wikele's use of 'Witegod' in l. 4013.

victory, revelation of identity and establishment of the values which he embodies are inevitable and universal. Moreover, the duplication of the theme allows for the exploration of different systems of motivation, whether based on the ideals of God or romantic love, which are in *Horn* are compatible, and thus attests to the singularity of earlier Insular romance in that these works accommodate and modify certain features of *chanson de geste* and Continental romance to produce a narrative that celebrates the English hero and, by implication, the English land. As a hero, Horn is hard to beat: he is both a warrior and a lover, enjoys divine favour and female attention (sometimes, it seems, in equal measure), inevitably wins every battle whether large or small, proves the superiority of his kingdom and customs over every other realm in the narrative, and acts as a man of action, not a bureaucrat. What is more, through his constant references to his homeland and its customs, Horn becomes a metonymy for the land of Suddene, perhaps a proto-English realm, as opposed to Brittany and Westir, and subsequently projects onto that land all those values and characteristics peculiar to his Insular mode of heroism. In this way, *Horn* possibly celebrates contemporary English identity and the English land.⁷⁵ Moreover, through exile-and-return it consolidates and safeguards the superiority and authority of England in past, present and future: through the permeation and internalisation of this theme, the superiority of English rule is upheld in the audience's present, as Horn's victory over every realm and its customs is not only inevitable but also shown to be part of a longer process through the explicit references to the continuation of his success by his son, Hadermod. Lastly, the authority of Horn's realm is safeguarded even in the future through exile-and-return and its extrapolation: hereafter, any political loss may be interpreted and rationalised as merely temporary and wholly unjust. The perfect hero of the English land will inevitably redress the injustice and recover the land, as did Horn before him. In other words, the romance proposes a timeless victory for the elite of England: it was, is and will be inevitable. The work's political

⁷⁵On English identity and Insular exile-and-return narratives see Ashe, "Exile-and-return".

potential is evident in the creation of a perfect, multifaceted Insular hero, whose worth and singular identity can be inevitably recognised and celebrated universally.

2. EXILE-AND-RETURN AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY IN THE *CANTAR DE MIO CID*

The early thirteenth-century *Cantar de Mio Cid* has been the subject of considerable scholarship, not least because of the important position it occupies in the Spanish literary canon and national imagination.¹ The poem celebrates the same qualities needed for conquest and settlement as the *Romance of Horn* through the fictional representation of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, a warrior of outstanding military ability, who died only a century earlier in 1099 after a long career in the service of Muslim and Christian kings.² The late twelfth century was witness to a flourishing of Christian works relating to the Cid, as Díaz was known, including the panegyric *Carmen Campidoctoris* and the biographical *Historia Roderici*.³ Compared to earlier Arabic accounts of the Cid's exploits by Ibn Bassam and Ibn 'Alqama, these Latin works offer generally positive depictions of the warrior, although they do not refrain from including more ambiguous episodes, such as his ruthless raids into Christian territories in which his characterisation is more egoistic and gratuitously violent.⁴ This fortunate range of extant works on the Cid allows for comparisons that elucidate the specific concerns of the *CMC* more clearly.⁵ As many scholars have noted, the hero of the poem is a very different kind of Cid from the historical Rodrigo, who appears to have been

¹For a summary of the debate concerning the date of composition see *Cantar de Mio Cid*, ed. by Alberto Montaner Frutos (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, Círculo de Lectores, 2007), pp. LXX-LXXIX. See also Alan Deyermond, 'Tendencies in *Mio Cid* Scholarship, 1943-1973' in *"Mio Cid" Studies*, ed. by Alan Deyermond (London: Tamesis, 1977), pp. 13-41 (pp. 18-19).

²For a biographical account of the Cid that includes and compares Muslim and Christian literary and historical sources see Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for the Cid* (London: Hutchinson, 1989). For a summary of the arguments made by Dutch Arabist Reinhardt Dozy about the Cid's rebel status and Ramón Menéndez Pidal's famous response see pp. 200-204.

³There has been much debate over the dating of these two works. Until recently, it was held that the production of Cidian material had occurred over the course of a century, beginning with the composition of the *Carmen Campidoctoris* within the Cid's own lifetime. It has now been argued that these works were all produced in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and that the *Carmen* is likely to have been based on the *Historia*. For a summary see *Carmen Campidoctoris: o, poema latino del Campeador*, ed. by Alberto Montaner and Ángel Escobar (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal España Nuevo Milenio, 2001) pp. 77-119 (esp. 117-119). This, of course, approximates the Latin works to the *CMC* itself, and suggests a greater probability of intertextuality. Hereafter *Historia* and *Carmen*.

⁴For example, *Historia Roderici*, 50.

⁵For a succinct comparison of the *Historia* and the *CMC* see Simon Barton, 'Reinventing the Hero: The Poetic Portrayal of Rodrigo Díaz, the Cid, in its Political Context' in *Textos épicos castellanos: problemas de edición y crítica*, ed. by D. G. Pattison (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2000), pp. 65-78 (p. 67).

more of an entrepreneur and independent fighter, than the virtually flawless Christian knight bent on proving his unswerving loyalty to his lord, king Alfonso VI, depicted in the *CMC*.⁶ This distinct representation has been linked varyingly to long-term tendencies and individual events around the time of the poem's composition, including the purported rise in Crusading spirit evidenced, for example, by the establishment of Spanish military orders, the increasing pressure on Christian territories by the Almohads, as epitomised by Alfonso VIII's defeat at the Battle of Alarcos in 1195, the related insecurity and waning population in the frontier areas, the apparent ease with which Castilian aristocracy defected to the Leonese court, and the Battle of Las Navas in 1212.⁷ The vernacular poem's creation of an inspiring, perfect hero, skilled at both conquest and settlement, could be seen as a response to the exigencies of a period and region in which knighthood was a relatively accessible status, and a renewed zeal for battle, a strong sense of duty to king and Christendom, and a Castilian military force capable of the expansion and consolidation of territory would be highly valued.⁸ It is likely too that the hero's somewhat ascetic and uncompromisingly Christian characterisation was influenced by the model of knighthood offered by the Spanish military orders – perhaps even through the poet's direct contact with these communities – which would approximate

⁶The views of modern historians have tended towards the revisionist, with many challenging the idealised image of the warrior described by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his seminal work: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1969). See Fletcher, *Quest*, and Linehan, 'Cid'. Linehan also maintains that 'the Cid's story, in history as in legend, was a tale of successive exile and return determined by the state of his relationship with the king'. Linehan, 'Cid', p. 28. Simon Barton shows that there was a shift in the Cid's representation in the last stages of his career. Using his 1098 charter of endowment of the cathedral church at Valencia, Barton argues that the Cid was portrayed, under Cluniac influence and as part of the 'Europeanisation' of Iberia, as God's instrument and protector of Christian territory against the threat of Islam. Simon Barton, 'The Cid, Cluny, and the Medieval Spanish Reconquista', *The English Historical Review*, 126 (2011), 517-543. Shorter discussions of the differences between the Cid of the poem and of the histories, as well as contemporary legal conventions, are found throughout María Eugenia Lacarra, *El Poema de Mio Cid: realidad histórica y ideología* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1980).

⁷See Mackay, *Spain*, pp. 33-50; Fletcher, *Quest*, pp. 194-5; Barton, 'Reinventing', pp. 69-78. The struggle for power between Lara and Castro families has also been discussed the possible reason for poem's portrayal of hero and the Beni-Gómez and Ordóñez antagonists. Lacarra, 'Poema', pp. 141-157. On the work's relationship to Las Navas see Harney, 'Propaganda'. The poem's treatment of the Cid's relationship to the king has also been linked to the late twelfth-century views of *señor natural*. See Francisco Bautista, "'Como a señor natural': interpretaciones políticas del *Cantar de mio Cid*", *Olivar*, 8.10 (2007), 173-184.

⁸These fulfilment of these needs would lead to victory at the Battle of Las Navas in 1212 at which a united Christian Iberian force were supported by 70,000 French, Provençal and Italian knights and soldiers. Mackay, *Spain*, pp. 33-35. Until then the Almohads had frequently attacked the Toledan region, which made the area too dangerous to appeal to settlers. The constant ebb and flow of Christian territorial gains give rise to urban military orders and opened up the possibility for poorer men of lower lineage to become knights. González Jiménez, 'Frontier', pp. 54-63.

the *CMC* hero to the protagonists of European popular works that were more didactic or religious in tone, such as *Gui de Warewic* or *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*.⁹

The composition of a narrative that would meet these political needs is likely to have presented certain literary demands on its author. The poet appears to exploit a number of different literary influences to fashion a composite, exemplary figure of conquest in the vernacular that would appeal across wide range of audiences. Like Anglo-Norman writers, the *Cid* poet borrows and reworks tropes from a host of literary traditions, including continental French works, hagiography, and Biblical material, to create a legitimising narrative about conquest for a local audience.¹⁰ Moreover, these literary choices seem to be motivated by an effort to mitigate the more ambiguous interpretations of the *Cid*'s exploits, perhaps present in oral tradition and certainly evident in the *Historia* and *Carmen*. Among these influences, perhaps the most significant is the adoption of continental French influences: the form and concerns of *chansons de geste* are fused with the heroic motivations of the *roman courtois*, giving a hero who is simultaneously a skilled warrior,

⁹The Spanish Order of Santiago, founded in 1170, was a 'conscious imitation' of the Templars. In conjunction with the Orders of Calatrava and Alcántara, established in 1158 and 1176 respectively, this religious body was invaluable in resisting the Almohade threat and maintaining control over frontier areas. Mackay, *Spain*, p. 32; González Jiménez, 'Frontier', p. 61. Critics have also suggested the influence of hagiographic material on the *Cid*'s characterisation. See Carlos Alvar and Manuel Alvar, *Épica Medieval Española* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991), pp. 52-54. Cf. Barton's argument that portrayal of the king-vassal relationship in the *CMC* is didactic. Barton, 'Reinventing', p. 78. On the use of religious exempla in romance see Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, pp. 177-192. Some works in this vein appear to have been popular throughout Western Europe. The late twelfth-century Anglo-Latin *Tractatus de Purgatorio de Sancti Patricii* gave rise to the Old French translation, *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz*, and the later Spanish version, the *Purgatorio de San Patricio*, which appeared towards the end of the thirteenth century. See Robert Easting, 'The Date and Dedication of the *Tractatus De Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', *Speculum* 53. 4 (Oct., 1978), pp. 778-783; Atkinson Jenkins, *L'Espurgatoire*, pp. 1-6; Deyermond, *Historia*, p. 171. The later Middle English version, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, is found with *Guy of Warwick* in the fourteenth-century Auchinleck Manuscript, which suggests that they were read for similar reasons, namely their spiritual teaching.

¹⁰Scholarly discussion of the influences on the *CMC* is vast and wide-ranging. For a recent summary of work on the relationship between the *chanson de geste* and the *CMC* see Justel Vicente, 'La épica francesa'. On approaching the question of French influence see Hook, 'Old French Epic'. On the possible influence of chivalric romance see Lawrance, 'Chivalry'. See also E. Michael Gerli, 'Liminal Junctures: Courtly Codes in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*', in *Oral Tradition and Hispanic Literature: Essays in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, ed. by Mishael M. Caspi (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 257-270. On hagiography see Alvar and Alvar, *Épica*, pp. 52-54. See also Colbert I. Nepaulsingh, 'The Afrenta de Corpes and the Martyrological Tradition', *Hispanic Review*, 51.2 (Spring, 1983), 205-221. On folk influences see Thomas Montgomery, *Medieval Spanish Epic: Mythic Roots and Ritual Language* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998). On the resemblance of the *CMC* to different literary forms see Thomas Hart, 'Characterisation and Plot Structure in the *Poema de Mio Cid*', in *"Mio Cid" Studies*, ed. by Deyermond, pp. 63-72 (pp. 71-2). On the composition of the work for a more specifically local audience of townspeople from Burgos see Francisco Rico, 'Estudio Preliminar', in *Cantar*, ed. by Montaner, pp. XI-XLIII.

loyal vassal, and loving husband and father. It is this ability to integrate a plurality of concerns that renders the Spanish protagonist akin to the Anglo-Norman Horn. In both works there is a conflation of the military and courtly concerns that are traditionally regarded as separate features of epic and romance. Moreover, the military and the courtly are both subsumed under an expansionist drive in *Horn* and the *CMC*. As expected, the characteristic full-scale battles of epic promote conquest. However, even the intimate and personal concern for love and women, typically found in romance, is adapted to support the defence and consolidation of Christian territory in the *CMC*, the latter of which was especially difficult in a frontier society where a conquest would entail a decline in population.¹¹ In combining military and courtly qualities the *CMC* departs from other representations of the Cid, such as the *Carmen* and *Historia*, and indeed from other European epics with which it is traditionally aligned. Instead, it appears closer in tone to Insular romances, as some scholars have noted.¹² Moreover, on account of its proximity to its historical subject, the *CMC* exhibits a stronger preoccupation with locality and historicity than even Anglo-Norman works.¹³ This chapter examines three features in the Spanish epic

¹¹Both works differ from continental French works in this. The 'monologic masculinity' of French epic or *chanson de geste* is typically contrasted importance of women in the the *roman courtois* and their role mediators of male bonds. See Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, pp. 22-70. Cf. Kay, *Political Fictions*. The *CMC* appears to reflect both these characteristics at different points in the poem. Compare, for example, the Cid's relationship with Álvar Fáñez, and the importance of the marriages of the Cid's daughters for the Cid's relations with the king, the Infantes, and the royal households of Spain. On the former see Geraldine Hazbun, 'Más avremos adelant: Minaya Álvar Fáñez and the Heroic Vision in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 88.4 (2011), 463-496. On the process of reconquest and the problems of repopulation see Mackay, *Spain*, pp. 37-9; Barton, *Aristocracy*, pp. 101-3.

¹²Jeremy Lawrance draws a direct comparison between the *CMC* and the Anglo-Norman *Horn*, arguing that the Castilian epic no longer belongs with *Beowulf* or the *Chanson de Roland*, but should instead be viewed in conjunction with the transitional poems of overlapping genre such as the Provençal *Girart de Roussillon* and said Insular work. Lawrance, 'Chivalry', p. 56. Cf. Joseph J. Duggan, 'The Manuscript Corpus of Medieval Romance Epic', in *Alexander*, ed. by Noble, pp. 29-42 (p. 34). The distinctive character of the Castilian epic has been discussed by several scholars. Many note the inflection or rejection of traditional epic tropes. See Alan Deyermond, 'The Close of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*: Epic Tradition and Individual Variation', in *Alexander*, ed. by Noble, pp. 11-18; Diego Catalán, 'El *Mio Cid* y su intencionalidad historica', in *Oral Tradition*, ed. by Caspi, pp. 111-162 (pp. 118-9); Cristina González, 'El conflicto entre el heroe y el rey en el *Poema de Mio Cid* y en el *Libro del Cavallero Zifar*', in *Studies on Medieval Spanish Literature in Honor of Charles F. Fraker*, ed. by Mercedes Vaquerez and Alan Deyermond (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), pp. 173-182; David Hook, 'El *Cantar de Mio Cid* y el contexto Europeo', *Olivar* 8.10 (2007), 313-325. More specific similarities between *Beowulf* and the *CMC* are discussed in Alfonso Boix Jovaní, 'Combates verbales en el *Cantar de mio Cid*', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 85.4 (2008), 409-419.

¹³On the historicity and locality in Anglo-Norman works see Ashe, 'Hero', pp. 141-145; Field, 'Romance'. Much

that have previously been seen as characteristic of Insular romance during this period: namely, exile-and-return; the characterisation of the protagonist as a 'perfect hero'; and his ability to integrate a plurality of concerns. As in *Horn*, these related features form part of a wider debate within the economy of the narrative about the kinds of policies that best serve the defence and expansion of a Christian kingdom. The hero's exile-and-return and its aftermath measure the gradual transformation of society from a kingdom that fails to accommodate the Cid and his qualities to one that embraces them wholly to the exclusion of all other standards of behaviour.

As in Insular romance, it is the world, rather than the hero, that develops during the course of the Spanish narrative.¹⁴ Exile-and-return in *Horn* and the *CMC* provides a framework in which a perfect hero acts as a gauge of society and competing policies are evaluated. In the *CMC* the military dynamism and capacity for conquest embodied by the Cid are pitted against the power of court intrigue and superior noble blood advanced by his adversaries, count García Ordóñez and the Infantes of Carrión, who marry his daughters by will of the king. Like *Horn*, the Cid corrects a flawed society that does not recognise the importance of warrior skills and military dynamism through an active demonstration in battle of their (monetary) value, although in the Spanish case it is the domestic, rather than the foreign, realm that is transformed.¹⁵

scholarship on the *CMC* and on medieval Spanish epic in general has been concerned with the strong historicity and locality of the texts, in part because the early historicist work of the renowned hispanomedievalist Ramón Menéndez Pidal set the tone for much of the scholarly output thereafter. See Menéndez Pidal, *España*, first published in 1929. For representative examples of the debate between historicist and aesthetic approaches to the *CMC* see Leo Spitzer, 'Sobre el carácter histórico del *Cantar de Mio Cid*', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica* 2.2 (Apr. - Jun., 1948), 105-117; Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 'Poesía e historia en el "Mio Cid". El Problema de la épica española', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica*, 3.2 (Apr. - Jun., 1949), 113-129; David Hook, 'The Conquest of Valencia in "Cantar de Mio Cid"', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 50.2 (1973) 120-6; Lacarra, 'Poema'; Joseph Duggan, *The "Cantar de Mio Cid": Poetic Creation in Its Economic and Social Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁴On the Insular hero as a figure of perfection in contradistinction to continental counterparts, see Ashe, 'Hero'. A parallel argument for the Spanish work is made by Thomas Hart who maintains that the Cid's trajectory is distinctly different from the quest myth, which 'typically presents the education of the protagonist. He is often a young man who has many things to learn, as in the chivalric romances of Chrétien de Troyes [...] The Cid, however, seems to learn very little in the course of the poem [...] The action of the poem is irreversible, not because the Cid has been changed by his contact with the world but because by his own actions he has changed that world'. Hart, 'Characterisation', pp. 69-70.

¹⁵The emphasis in the *CMC* on money or 'ganancias' to be won in battle has been discussed at length. See

Addressing previous scholarship that has regarded the Cid's honour or the king-vassal relationship as the central conflict in the narrative, this chapter maintains instead that what is found at the core of the poem is a political debate about two competing examples of knightly service for the king.¹⁶ The different standards of behaviour exhibited by the hero and the antagonists represent two opposing forms of knighthood, although generally these need not be incompatible approaches *per se*.¹⁷ In fact, the whole narrative may be read as a hypothetical exploration, or symbolic warning, of the societal consequences that would result from the implementation of the combative and non-combative policies alternately embodied by the protagonist and antagonists. The results of the king's personal, or micropolitical, interaction with the Cid and the Beni-Gómez faction suggest the macropolitical consequences for Christian kingdoms were either warfare or alternative forms of influence, such as court intrigue, exclusively endorsed. As shown below, women play a fundamental role in this debate. The difference in the two standards of knightly behaviour is informed by the contrasting attitudes towards women adopted by the hero and

Duggan, *Cantar*. Scholars often note that this concern is unusual for an epic. Historians have linked this emphasis on money to the poem's function as a call-to-arms in a frontier society that favoured individual enterprise. Mackay, *Spain*, pp. 33-38.

¹⁶The importance of the Cid's honour in the narrative has been discussed by several scholars. See Alan Deyermond, *El "Cantar de Mio Cid" y la épica medieval española* (Barcelona: Sirmio, 1987), pp. 26-9; Gustavo Correa, 'El tema de la honra en el Poema del Cid', *Hispanic Review*, 20.3 (Jun., 1953), 185-199; Milija Pavlović, 'Three Aspects of Honour in the *Poema de Mio Cid*', in *Textos*, ed. by Pattison, pp. 99-116; on the relationship between the king and vassal see María Eugenia Lacarra, 'La representación del rey Alfonso en el *Poema de mio Cid* desde la ira regia hasta el perdón real', in *Studies*, ed. by Vaquero and Deyermond, pp. 183-195; González, 'El conflicto'; Edmund de Chasca, 'The King-Vassal Relationship in El Poema de Mio Cid', *Hispanic Review*, 21.3 (Jul., 1953), 183-192; Aristobulo Pardo, 'La imagen del rey en el *Cantar de Mio Cid*', in *Romance epic: Essays on a Medieval literary genre*, ed. by Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), pp. 213-25; Roger Walker, 'The Role of the King and the Poet's Intentions in the *Poema de Mio Cid*', in *Medieval Hispanic studies presented to Rita Hamilton*, ed. by A. D. Deyermond (London: Tamesis, 1976), pp. 257-66; Geoffrey West, 'The Cid and Alfonso VI Revisited: characterization in the Poema de mio Cid', in *Al que en buen hora nació: Essays on the Spanish Epic and Ballad in Honour of Colin Smith*, ed. by Brian Powell and Geoffrey West (Liverpool: University Press, 1996), pp. 161-69.

¹⁷The contrastive characterisation of the Cid and his antagonists has been discussed by several scholars. See Thomas Hart, 'The Infantes de Carrión', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 33 (1956), 17-24; Thomas Montgomery, 'The Rhetoric of Solidarity', *Modern Language Notes*, 102:2, Hispanic Issue (Mar., 1987), 191-205; Ulrich Leo, 'La "Afrenta de Corpes"', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 13.3-4 (Jul. - Dec., 1959), 291-304 (esp. 299). Part of this contrast relies on their failure to show the same kind of 'manliness' that displayed and associated with military prowess by the hero and prescribed by the poem. See Harney, 'Propaganda', pp. 85-6. Although the Cid does not use secrecy and cunning in the same exclusive way as the Infantes, he does reveal his talent as a politician off the battlefield when he exhibits his formidable rhetorical skills and control over the court in Toledo (ll. 3318-3521).

his antagonists, which suggests the underlying influence of *roman courtois* conventions. As mentioned above, the Cid resembles the Insular hero in his ability to fight for a number of concerns: he uses his military skills not only to procure wealth for his men and gifts for his king, but also to serve and protect his wife and daughters. The Infantes, in contrast, see their wives only as vicarious objects for their own ends: first, as a means of sharing in the Cid's new wealth through marriage, since they have no military ability to win rich spoils themselves; and second, as a means of exacting revenge from the Cid and his men, by attacking them in the Afrenta at Corpes. As in the Westir episodes of *Horn*, women do not form a separate concern for the hero, but are in fact integral to the heroic standard of knighthood expounded by the poem, namely one that is conducive to conquest and settlement. The consequences of supporting the opposing standard are made evident by the disastrous events of the Afrenta at Corpes, which is a direct result of the king's decision to support the antagonists. Symbolically, the violence suffered by the innocent Sol and Elvira may be read as a warning about the dangers in implementing non-combative policies, much like the deaths of Egfer and Guffer in *Horn* indicate the consequences of failing to cultivate martial practices in Westir.

The debate between these two standards of behaviour is framed in the first half of the narrative by exile-and-return, which represents the gradual transferral of royal support from one faction, and the policy it represents, to another.¹⁸ The Cid's initial exile indicates the extent to which the hero and his qualities are no longer accommodated by Castilian society: his warrior qualities are discredited by his enemies and rejected by the king. While in exile the Cid proves the value of his military skills by leading his men so successfully in battle, 'esto [ferir] fazen los sos de voluntad e de grado', that he wins great spoils and new territories, and intimidates potential challengers to his military supremacy, 'non teme guerra,

¹⁸The structure of the *CMC* is generally accepted as bipartite. See Deyerdmond, 'La estructura', p. 27.

sabet, a nulla part' (ll. 1005, 865).¹⁹ The king can no longer ignore the value of his military skills and subsequently forgives the hero, indicating the increasing recognition of the aggressive martial policy he represents.²⁰ Like Horn, the Cid's main source of power resides not so much in words, but in deeds.²¹ Inversely, the model of knightly service offered by the antagonists is initially valued by the king, yet increasingly rejected.²² As discussed below, this opposing standard is associated with court intrigue, mendacity, military ineptitude, vanity, a jealous regard for their lineage, and a self-interested attitude toward women.²³ Moreover, like Wikele in *Horn*, these antagonists appear to prefer words over deeds, as a means of exerting influence.²⁴ Even at the outset, the unnamed 'malos enemigos', who wield sufficient power so as to contrive the Cid's exile, are soon identified as 'malos mestureros', which suggests that, like Wikele, their primary means of discrediting the hero in the king's eyes resides in false words (ll. 9, 267). The Cid, on the other hand, defeats his domestic enemies through military force, as well as rhetorical skill, during the Toledo court scene and subsequent judicial combats. Nevertheless, the rejection of the antagonists by the king and vindication of the Cid is a drawn-out affair that moves beyond the exile-and-return of the first part and is only completed at the very end of the narrative. This could suggest a duplication of exile-and-return, as in *Horn*, with the second, true 'return' of the hero and his

¹⁹Citations of the *CMC* are taken from *Cantar de Mio Cid*, ed. by Alberto Montaner (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, Círculo de Lectores, 2007).

²⁰The three embassies to the king which are led by Alvar Fáñez Minaya take place after the conquest of Alcocer and after the conquest and defence of Valencia in ll. 870-899, 1316-84 and 1815-1915 respectively.

²¹However, in the second part the Cid's skills as a politician and orator are more prominent. See Geoffrey West, 'King and vassal in History and Poetry: a contrast between the *Historia Roderici* and the *Poema de Mio Cid*', in *"Mio Cid" Studies*, ed. by Deyermond, pp. 195-208.

²²The causal relationship between the increase in the Cid's honour and a decrease in that of the antagonists is recognised by the Infantes themselves: "En la ondra que él ha nos seremos abiltados [...] por esto que él faze nós avremos embargo" (ll. 1862-5).

²³Thomas Montgomery argues that the progression of the Infantes through the narrative is directly contrary to the heroic pattern. They remain untested for much of the poem and when they are at last confronted with these tests, they fail to prove themselves. Montgomery, *Roots*, pp. 47-50. Furthermore, this characterisation of the Infantes shows their similarity to Wikele of *Horn* who almost marries Rigmel, despite his reliance on political intrigue to wield influence over the kingdom, and his lack of proven military ability. Note also that the normative heroic model in the Anglo-Norman romance positions worth before marriage.

²⁴The characterisation of the antagonists in the *CMC* is similar to that of Wikele and the pagans in *Horn*. Like the 'malos mestureros', Wikele wields enough influence at court over the King of Brittany to contrive Horn's banishment. His power comes from political manoeuvres rather than military prowess, in contradistinction to the hero. In this way the relationship between Horn and Wikele is analogous to that between the Cid and his court antagonists.

qualities to the centre of power occurring only in the last lines of the poem. A more compelling argument, however, is that the trajectory of the antagonists is a parallel inversion of 'exile-and-return', which is supported by their final ousting from the centre of power at the end of the narrative. Although the king begins to distance himself from the antagonists in favour of the Cid halfway through the poem, even telling García Ordoñez "mijor me sirve que vós" (l. 1349), he continues to prioritise their interests and implicitly endorse their proclivity for court intrigue by granting the request made by the Infantes of Carrión to marry the Cid's daughters. The king only rejects their service in full after the dire consequences of supporting the Infantes are graphically revealed by the Afrenta at Corpes.²⁵ It is then that he gives his exclusive support to the Cid and supports his warrior qualities, stating that he is the best knight in all of his lands, "que en nuestras tierras non ha tan buen varón" (l. 3510).²⁶ The struggle for royal recognition between the Cid and the Infantes therefore appears to encompass the complete length of the narrative, which corroborates the earlier proposition that the poem is at heart a debate about the relative merits of different kinds of knightly service, in which exile-and-return plays a fundamental part, and perhaps not so different from a mirror of princes. This chapter examines the gradual transferral of royal support from the Infantes to the Cid, and the resulting transformation of society into a realm in which combative, rather than non-combative, policies are most prized.

²⁵Compare the contrast between Horn and the representatives of ruling elite in Brittany and Westir who fail to promote a warrior culture. The relationship between the hero and his antagonists in the *CMC* has been seen as the polarity around which the poem is based. See Hart, 'Infantes', p. 17.

²⁶Hart argues that the story ends with the integration into one society of all the discordant elements who have opposed each other in it. The Infantes are not excluded from society but their position is from then on be very different. Hart, 'Characterisation', p. 71. Alfonso does not represent the ideal monarch, but appears first as a misguided ruler who learns to see the error of his ways and choose the better form of knighthood, in contrast to certain arguments in scholarship. Some scholars argue that King Alfonso is less than perfect, yet improves substantially over the course of the poem. See Walker, 'Role'; De Chasca, 'King-Vassal Relationship'; González, 'El conflicto', p. 178. Others have maintained that Alfonso appears as an ideal monarch and have challenged the above readings as misguided or anachronistic. See Lacarra, 'La representación' pp. 192-5; Pardo, 'La imagen'. Others interpret the conflict in the poem not in terms of whether or not king and vassal play his respective role adequately, but as the result of an imperfect king-vassal relationship: 'El vasallo es bueno, el rey es bueno (siempre lo llama así el poeta); lo que falta es la adecuada relación de buen vasallo a buen señor, por imperfección de la vida humana', Spitzer, 'Carácter', p. 110.

i. Exile

The exile-and-return narrative in the first half of the poem charts the movement from the initial rejection of the Cid to his first – albeit partial – recognition by Alfonso VI. Read symbolically, this trajectory gauges the change in the king's attitude from a total refusal to acknowledge the Cid's skills towards a more favourable view of the combative qualities he demonstrates in exile. His initial lack of recognition is established by the first two episodes. Although the opening scene depicting the Cid's departure has been the subject of much scholarship, I include it for discussion with a different focus.²⁷ The passage establishes the hero's exile, yet also hints at a return to his former status, and indicates the Cid's rejection in several ways:

De los sos ojos tan fuertemiente llorando,
tornava la cabeça e estávolos catando.
Vio puertas abiertas e uços sin cañados,
alcándaras vazías, sin pieles e sin mantos,
e sin falcones e sin adtores mudados.
Sospiró mio Cid, ca mucho avié grandes cuidados
Fabló mio Cid bien e tan mesurado:
–¡Grado a ti, Señor, Padre que estás en alto!
¡Esto me an buelto mios enemigos malos!– (Il.1-9)²⁸

The Cid's exile and potential return are made clear through references to loss, presented in physical, political and psychological terms²⁹. For example, there is a clear focus on the emptiness of the home. Loss of property is emphasised by the enumeration of several material goods that are now missing from the empty 'alcándaras', or 'perches', and reinforced by the anaphora and polysyndeton used in their description: 'sin pieles e sin mantos, | e sin

²⁷This scene has been discussed in relation to the debate about the lost first leaf of the manuscript. The imagery in these lines has also been considered. Joaquín Casaldueiro, 'El Cid echado de tierra', in *Estudios de literatura española*, ed. by Joaquín Casaldueiro (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1962), pp. 28-58, (p. 30). Alan Deyermond and David Hook, 'Doors and Cloaks: Two Image-Patterns in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*', *Modern Language Review*, 94:2 (1979), 336-377 (p. 366). David Hook, 'The opening *laisse* of the *Poema de Mio Cid*', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 53:4 (1979), 490-501. Scholars, including David Hook in the latter work, have discussed the contemporary connotations of the objects listed here as missing. See Jan A. Nelson, 'Initial Imagery in the *PMC*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1973), 382-86 (pp. 382-85).

²⁸['Weeping bitterly, the tears streaming from his eyes, he turned his head and beheld the empty house: doors left open, shutters without padlocks, empty racks without furs or cloaks, perches with no falcons or molted hawks.'] All translations of the *CMC* are taken from *The Epic of the Cid with Related Texts*, ed. and tr. Michael Harney (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011).

²⁹On the psychological dimension of the Cid's exile see also Theresa Ann Sears, "*Echado de tierra*": *Exile and Psychopolitical Landscape in the Poema de mio Cid* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1998).

falcones e sin adtores mudados'. These multiple references to objects produce a double, ironic effect, creating the impression of a profusion of objects that is simultaneously undercut through the repetition of the 'sin' that indicates the very lack of these possessions.³⁰ This double effect of a presence and absence is replicated on a political level through the symbolism in these possessions, which are not without significance. The furs, garments, falcons and molten hawks are all signs of wealth and prestige; their absence therefore suggests a corresponding loss of political status.³¹ Paradoxically however, this description also offers the first indication of the Cid's military qualities. Given that within the economy of the poem, wealth is associated with success in war, the absent mass of these objects implies that the hero's earlier, extratextual behaviour must have been sufficiently combative to procure such rich possessions. He will regain similar goods – and his former status – if he is able to replicate his earlier behaviour wherever it can be accommodated, namely in exile and outside the parameters of the kingdom. Through this emphasis on the absent objects, the passage presents the hero as merely stripped of proof of his worth, rather than of worth itself, and suggests potential for recovery.³² The Cid's current loss of political status is further

³⁰Some hispanomedievalists have drawn attention to the similarity between this episode and scenes describing missing objects from the past in Old English poetry, especially *The Ruin*. See Alan Deyermond, 'El *Cantar de Mio Cid* y la épica anglosajona', in *Sonando*, ed. by Montaner, pp. 217-226 (p. 221). However, *The Ruin* appears to deal with the remnants of whole civilisations, most likely Roman ruins, rather than the vestiges of individual success. It would be more fruitful to compare this scene to certain parts of *The Wanderer*, although such an investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis. See, for example:

Warað hine wrælāst, nāles wunden gold,
ferðloca frēorig, nāles foldan blæd;
gemon hē seleseccgas and sincþege,
hū hine on geoguð his goldwine
wenede tō wiste; wyn eal gedrēas. (ll. 32-36)

[The path of exile attends him, not twisted gold, a mournful spirit, not earthly prosperity. He remembers the hall-warriors and the receiving of treasure, how in his youth his gold-friend entertained him at feasting. Joy has all disappeared.] Translation taken from Robert E. Diamond, *Old English Grammar and Reader* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970). For a comparison of the scene at Cardeña with *Deor* see Boix Jovaní, 'Aspectos', p. 17.

³¹Hook argues that such references are part of the literary conventions used to describe nobles. See Hook, 'Opening', pp. 494-6. Cf. *Horn* (ll. 3691-9). Herland's loss of his seneschal position to the antagonist Wikele is described in similar sartorial terms. He loses grey and white furs and ermine, and even sheepskin coat would be welcome to him: 'Tut ad perdu pur vus, ver e gris e hermin | Lez serreit, s'il aveit un mantel mutunin' (ll. 3695-6).

³²In line with this Luis Galván argues that loss of honour has nothing to do with the hero's exile in the *CMC*. It is not the king who gives or takes honour from the Cid, but rather that the hero gains honour on the battlefield. Luis Galván, 'A todos alcanza ondra: consideraciones sobre la honra y la relación del Cid y el rey en el *Cantar de Mio Cid*', in *Sonando*, ed. by Montaner, pp. 19-34 (p. 28). This argument suggests that

indicated by the physical descriptions of the open and unchained doors. Far from suggesting freedom, the 'puertas abiertas' and 'uços sin cañados' indicate a lack of security and show the loss of authority experienced by the Cid. The hero is no longer able to exert control over his own domestic sphere, a failing that is later replicated in the Afrenta at Corpes, during which he is unable to protect his daughters from the aggression of his sons-in-law. The loss of control suggested by the doors is substantiated by the penetrating view of the bare interior of the building, described through the Cid's perspective, 'vio'. His view into the inside of his empty property reflects the intrusive reach of the law and underscores the radical extent of his punishment. This focus on the interior therefore substantiates the idea of exile, since loss is shown to have affected the very core of the domestic sphere, suggesting that the Cid now lacks any true sense of a home.

Loss is also evoked through emotional descriptions. This is most evident in the Cid's moving response to his situation. The flowing tears, 'de los sos ojos tan fuertementre llorando' and sighing, 'sospiró', suggest a drastic change in circumstance. However, his response to loss is conveyed in far more subtle ways. For example, his movements and line of vision underscore his pain. He looks back at the desolate building as he moves away: 'tornava la cabeça e estávolos catando'. The iterative imperfect and the imperfect continuous in this verse add to the impression of his emotional distress, by showing that his actions are repeated and drawn-out. Instead of leaving swiftly, he seems to move slowly from the building, unwilling to let go and trying repeatedly, it would seem, to catch one last glance of his property. This unwilling departure from his property suggests a parallel unwillingness to

the Cid never loses the ability to gain honour – which is won on the battlefield – and so remains unchanged at a fundamental level at the moment of exile, as underpinned by the imagery in this passage, and throughout the rest of the narrative. Note that the potential for recovery connoted by the emphasis on the absence of objects parallels the potential for vengeance in *Horn* in ll. 3-39. See p. 22 of thesis. The absence of such paraphernalia in the rest of the poem has been seen as a tacit criticism of the practice, linked to contemporary ecclesiastical arguments against knights hunting. See Hector Fuentes, 'Sin falcones y sin adtores mudados': la cetrería en el *Cantar de mio Cid*, *Olivar* 8.10 (2007), 157-170. Fuentes also argues that the absence of falcons and hawks marks the end of a period of leisure for the Cid; now in exile, he must again engage in battle. This dichotomy is analogous with the contrast between warfare and the hunting, games and music of peacetime in *Westir* so deplored by the hero in *Horn*.

break with his past. The psychological undertones of these movements are reinforced by the repetition of verbs of seeing and the corresponding shift in focalisation to the hero. The tableau of absent objects and unchained doors is introduced with 'vio', after the description of Cid's gaze, which offers a view for the audience that is mediated through the hero's line of sight.³³ This focalisation creates empathy and gives rise to a stronger sense of injustice at the Cid's loss.³⁴ Moreover, his memory is almost visualised by the audience, not unlike a cinematographical flashback. It is as if the audience, in positing the significance of these absent objects for the hero, is given an insight into the Cid's recollection of his past glories. The extent of the Cid's loss in this episode indicates a *status quo* in which his 'enemigos malos' hold enough influence with the king to contrive his banishment, whereas the Cid and his lucrative military skills, adumbrated through the reference to his lost riches, are completely rejected. It is the antagonists, rather than the hero, who hold exclusive favour with the king.

Whereas the king's rejection of the Cid and his standard of behaviour is conveyed through symbolism in the opening scene, the subsequent episode establishes his exclusion in more explicit terms, namely through the description of the royal decree and its effects.³⁵ After his departure, the Cid travels to Burgos where, unusually, he receives no hospitality from the townspeople. A royal order detailing the terms of the Cid's banishment and the

³³The visualisation here is not dissimilar to the device of ecphrasis. Although this term is now only used to refer to literary representation of works of art, in Classical tradition it was used to denote any poetic or rhetorical description, including landscape, buildings and battles. Andrew Laird, 'Sounding Out Ecphrasis: Art and Text in Catullus 64', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 83 (1993), 18-30 (p. 18). Cf. the pathetic survey made by Aeneas in the *Aeneid* I. ll. 446-493 of Juno's temple at Carthage. Scholars have argued for other similarities between these Latin and Spanish epic works. See, for example, Arnold Weiss, 'The "Poem of Mio Cid" and "The Aeneid": Two National Epics', *The Classical Journal*, 69.4 (1974), 340-347.

³⁴On empathy and psychology in ecphrasis from a Classical perspective see Don Fowler, *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 69-73. Scholars have argued that this initial scene serves as a *captatio benevolentiae* which directs the sympathy of the audience towards the hero. Montaner, *Cantar*, p. 303. Peter E. Dunn, 'Theme and Myth in the *Poema de Mio Cid*', *Romania*, 83 (1962), 348-369 (pp. 349-51). On sympathy in the *CMC* see Alberto Montaner, 'El Cid: mito y símbolo', *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar"*, 27 (1987), 121-340, (p. 183).

³⁵The letter and its contents was famously interpreted as evidence for the written, rather than oral, composition of the *CMC*, and for its creation by a poet from a strong legal background. See P. E. Russell, 'Some Problems of Diplomatic in the "Cantar de Mio Cid" and Their Implications', *Modern Language Review*, 47.3 (1952), 340-39.

harsh punishments for those who would harbour the exile is soon revealed as the cause:

Conbidarle ien de grado, mas ninguno non osava:
 el rey don Alfonso tanto avié la grand saña.
 Antes de la noche, en Burgos d'él entró su carta
 con grand recabdo e fuertementre sellada:
 que a mio Cid Ruy Díaz que nadi no·l' diessen posada,
 e aquel que ge la diesse sopiesse vera palabra,
 que perderié los averes e más los ojos de la cara,
 e aun demás los cuerpos e las almas.
 Grande duelo avién las yentes cristianas,
 ascóndense de mio Cid, ca non l'osan dezir nada
 El Campeador adeliñó a su posada,
 así commo llegó a la puerta, fallóla bien cerrada. (ll. 21-29)³⁶

The passage underscores the exclusion of the Cid by the king, first adumbrated in the opening scene, and establishes his rejection by Burgos townspeople, who appear as representatives of Castilian society at large. Any expectation on his part of receiving help from them is quickly debunked. Although they support him and would welcome him 'de grado', the terms of the king's edict have had such a force as to terrify them into hiding from the hero, 'ascóndense de mio Cid'.³⁷ This fear spreads through the whole society of Burgos: not one, 'ninguno', dares to welcome him into their home. Even the door of his usual lodging is closed to him, 'fallóla bien cerrada'.³⁸ Their fear is emphasised by the syntax and structure in these lines: there is no direct negation of their helping him; instead, the choice of conditional mood in 'conbidarle ien', 'would welcome', simultaneously indicates their real desire to help him and the impossible realisation of such a wish. This longing for happier yet unreal circumstances, namely if the king had not issued a terrifying decree, heightens the pathos of the Cid's social exclusion, while also underscoring the king's displeasure. This

³⁶['Gladly would they offer him hospitality. But no one dared: such was the wrath of King Alfonso. Before nightfall, the royal decree had been proclaimed in Burgos, with great solemnity and formally sealed: that none shall give shelter to My Cid Ruy Díaz, and to anyone who might dare do so, be it most certainly known, that both their property and the very eyes in their heads would be forfeit – yea, even their very bodies and souls. Great were the lamentations among the Christian folk; they hid from My Cid, for none dared speak a word to him. The Campeador headed toward his [*posada*]. Arriving at the door, he discovered it all locked up.']

³⁷The support of the townspeople for the hero is made clear in the preceding line: '–¡Dios, qué buen vassallo, si oviesse buen señor!–' (l. 20). ['God, what an excellent vassal, if he only had a good lord!'] The townspeople's perception of the hero as a good vassal is made particularly patent through the exclamatory tone. I do not include it here for discussion, since the interpretation of the line has already been the subject of much debate. For a summary see Montaner, *Cantar*, pp. 316-18.

³⁸See Deyermond and Hook, 'Doors', p. 266.

pathos is further supported by the structural rise and fall of the line: the first half builds up a positive, if unfulfilled, possibility with 'conbidarle ien', before the 'mas' of the second half and possible fall in intonation reveal the grim reality of the Cid's isolation. The townspeople's reluctant refusal to help is then explicitly linked to the king's decree: his 'grand saña', that is, his *ira regis* or a personal kind of anger, is revealed to be the cause behind their unwilling rejection of their beloved warrior.³⁹ As such, the exclusion of the Cid at the hands of the Burgos townspeople can be seen as a small-scale example of a wider macropolitical change in Castilian society instigated by King Alfonso. The current policies espoused by the king create a prevailing political climate which does not accommodate the Cid. This official rejection of the hero is made more explicit by the description of the letter itself and its contents, which suggest distance between the hero and the king. It is officious, having arrived 'con grand recabdo', and with the royal seal, 'fuertemiente sellada', indicating the king's authority and its current use against the Cid. The imposing seal with its connotations of privileged information, in conjunction with the Cid's own ignorance of its contents, reflects how the very source of that letter is currently inaccessible to the hero. Moreover, the diction in 'fuertemiente sellada' is mirrored by the earlier description of the closed door of his lodging, 'bien cerrada'; this parallel reflects the extent of the king's imposition of his will on the kingdom, namely that the Cid be excluded from its every part. The inaccessibility of the king for the Cid – as for the reader or audience – is also conveyed through the indirect discourse of the letter which presents Alfonso at one remove. This political estrangement is then reinforced by the explicit contents of the letter. The list of punishments for supporting the Cid is long, exacting and excessive: transgressors would their lose possessions, eyes, lives and souls, 'perderié los averes e más los ojos de la cara, | e aun demás los cuerpos e las almas'. The use of polysyndeton in 'e' underscores the

³⁹ On the king's anger see Montaner, *Cantar*, p. 7. The king's personal response is discussed by Walker, who argues that the king is characterised by his coldness at the outset of the narrative. See Walker, 'Role', p. 258. Lacarra disagrees, maintaining instead that the Alfonso acts as a prudent and politic monarch. Lacarra, 'La representación', p. 192.

multiplicity of these penalties and, in conjunction with 'más', shows that each one is incrementally worse. This extreme nature of this list is underscored by the climax introduced by 'aun demás' and the caesura that follows it: there is a sense that transgressors would *even* lose their lives and souls, as if losing their possessions and eyes wasn't enough. The pause before the final and worst punishments are related compounds the dramatic impact of list, as it allows the full force of their severity to resound. In this second episode the higher, royal policy rejecting the Cid is shown to permeate the lower levels of society, to the extent that the whole kingdom becomes a place which no longer accepts the hero.

ii. The Hero

The military ability of the Cid to win wealth and prestige on the battlefield, first adumbrated in the opening scene, is proved through the series of battles that the Cid wins in exile. These victories and the resulting spoils show the value of the protagonist's military skills to the king, who comes to recognise the heroic standard of behaviour that these comprise. The Cid's outstanding victories in exile also suggest that such martial ability can only be realised in full outside the social parameters of the Castilian kingdom, which in turn points to the current failure of society to endorse a warrior mentality.⁴⁰ The space of exile becomes a testing – or rather, proving – ground of military valour and warrior identity.⁴¹ It is in exile – and perhaps only in exile – that the Cid is able to demonstrate the full extent of his capacity for conquest, since survival in the wilderness depends on military skill, as he tells Álvaro Fáñez in ll. 834-5: "Por lanças e por espadas avevmos de guarir, | si non, en esta tierra angosta non podriemos bivar." This depiction of exile as a basis for conquest may reflect the

⁴⁰The Cid signals their departure from societal boundaries when he tells his men that they have left the official Christian realm: 'partiemos de la linpia cristianidad' (l. 1116).

⁴¹Some consider the first part of the poem to be based on the mythic tradition of testing the hero. See Thomas R. Hart, 'Hierarchical Patterns in the *CMC*', *Romanic Review*, 53 (1962), 162-73. While I agree that the Cid has to undergo several tests, or battles, in order to recover his fortune and prove his loyalty to the king by means of material gifts, such tests only seem to confirm his worth rather than show for the first time. As a married warrior who by the beginning of the narrative had already done enough to warrant him expensive cloaks, furs and indeed a family, his subsequent tests are a foregone conclusion differing from those of Erec, Bernardo de Carpio or even Gui, namely younger knights who must undergo initial tests to establish their worth for the first time.

contemporary concern with expansion or consolidation of frontier territories, as mentioned above. It is significant that the Cid not only survives, but thrives outside the limits of Alfonso's kingdom. As shown in the following two examples, exile allows the hero to exert pressure on the king from the outside, by offering hard evidence of his skills in the form of spoils, which force the king to acknowledge the value in the Cid's activities, at least to a certain degree. The first passage shows the reaction of the king to the second embassy, during which Álvar Fáñez presents him with gifts from the spoils of the victory at Valencia, the Cid's most important victory and subsequent place of settlement. Exile is presented as a difficult yet opportune space in which the Cid can demonstrate the full extent of his military power:

'Echástesle de tierra, non ha la vuestra amor;
 maguer en tierra aena, él bien faze lo so:
 ganada á a Xérica e a Onda por nombre,
 priso a Almenar e a Murviedro, que es miyor,
 assí fizo Cebolla e adelant Castejón
 e Peña Cadiella, que es una peña fuert;
 con aquestas todas de Valencia es señor.'
 [...]
 Alço la mano diestra, el rey se santigó:
 –De tan fieras ganancias commo á fechas el Campeador,
 sí me vala Sant Esidro, plazme de coraçón
 e plázem' de las nuevas que faze el Campeador
 recibo estos cavallos que m'enbía de don.– (ll. 1325-31, 1340-4)⁴²

The second embassy presents the first substantial signs of change at the centre of power.⁴³

The king is no longer the distant figure of the royal edict, but is both pleased by the material gains and reacts positively to the news of the Cid's growing success in exile. His physical

⁴²["You cast him out from the land, and he remains in disgrace with you. Although in a strange country, he does the best he can: he has conquered Jérica, and the place called Onda; he has also taken Almenara and Murviedro, an even bigger place, and likewise Cebolla, and Castejón, further on, and Benicadell, an impregnable height. Along with all these places, he is also now lord of Valencia.' [...] Raising his right hand, the king crossed himself: 'Concerning these great spoils the Campeador has won – Saint Isidore preserve me! – I rejoice in my heart, and rejoice as well at the Campeador's exploits. I hereby accept these horses he sends me as a gift."]

⁴³The portrayal of the king in the second embassy builds on his earlier appearance during the first embassy in ll. 870- 897. A comparison of the two episodes shows that there is already a discernible change in the king's attitude towards the Cid and his representative between the first and second embassies. The second royal reception of Minaya Álvar Fáñez is both longer and warmer than the second. In the first embassy, the king only appears for a few lines, his responses seem clipped and he tells Minaya that it is too early to forgive the Cid, 'Mucho es mañana, | omne airado, que de señor non ha gracia, | por acogello a cabo de tres semanas.' Cf. Lacarra, 'La representación', p. 188.

presence is immediate, 'alço la mano diestra', and his words are related through direct discourse, rather than indirect. He welcomes the gifts, stating that he is pleased at heart by the large bounty, 'de tan fieras ganancias [...] plazme de coraçon', and also pleased, 'e plázem', by the news, 'nuevas', of the Cid's series of conquests. The king's positive reaction suggests that he approves of the growing list of victories that has culminated in the conquest of Valencia. This new attitude towards the Cid and his ability is substantiated by the two uses of 'Campeador' in close succession. Here the king appears to acknowledge the value of his martial activities through repeated employment of his military sobriquet, which, given its widespread currency, suggests that the king has now adopted a popular view of the hero that endorses his military attributes. This in turn indicates the emerging alignment of warrior, king and realm, and the transformation of society into one which universally celebrates military conquest. The new immediacy and warmth of the king's attitude, contrasting with the distant and wrathful tyrant projected by the official letter, is presented here as a direct consequence of the Cid's spoils, and suggests that his warrior standard of behaviour has begun to rise in the king's estimation.⁴⁴

The second embassy of battle spoils sets out another important dimension of the Cid's standard of behaviour, namely, the extent to which women form part of the hero's motivation for his military exploits. His concern for his female relatives is evident as early as the episode in Cardeña. Before going into exile, he explicitly states his wish to serve his beloved: "Plega a Dios e a Sancta María | que [...] vós, mugier ondrada, de mí seades servida" (ll. 281-284). Moreover, the second embassy makes the hero's integration of differing concerns even clearer. Displaying loyalty to the king is not the sole motivation behind the gifts. Rather, the spoils are part of a more complex negotiation through which Álvaro Fáñez obtains a royal concession allowing the Cid to be reunited with his wife and daughters:

⁴⁴A warmer reaction is similarly evident in l. 1368 where Alfonso smiles upon the hero's representative: 'sonrisós' el rey'.

"Merced vos pide el Cid, si vos cayesse en sabor,
 por su mugier doña Ximena e sus fijas amas a dos,
 saldrién del monsterio do elle las dexó
 e irién pora Valencia al buen Campeador."
 Essora dixo el rey: "Plazme de coraçón." (ll. 1351-5)⁴⁵

The transactions of the second embassy show the extent to which military activity, loyalty to the king, and exploits in the service of women form a set of heroic values that are mutually reinforcing: the war spoils offered to the king in loyal service allow the Cid to be reunited with his wife and daughters. The relationship between women and conquest is made most apparent by the fact that it is Cid's most emblematic victory, the conquest of Valencia, that is directly linked to the restoration of his family.⁴⁶ Moreover, the success of his request to the king reflects the official recognition of these concerns, not only in themselves, but also as related motivations. Later, the hero's enemies display the very opposite behaviour: the integrated concerns for conquest and the protection of women stand in contrast to the standard of behaviour exhibited by his enemies, as discussed below. The integration of military drive and a preoccupation for the women in the heroic ideal is made even more apparent by the events that follow the king's compliance with the Cid's request to be reunited with his family. In a scene with echoes of the games and tournaments in a *roman courtois* the Cid performs military feats for his family upon their arrival in Valencia:

A la puerta de Valencia, dó fuesse en so salvo,
 delante su mugier e sus fijas querié tener las armas.
 [...]
 ensiéllanle a Bavioca, cuberturas le echavan,
 Mio Cid salió sobr'él e armas de fuste tomava.
 Por nombre el caballo Bavioca cavalga,
 fizo un corrida, ésta fue tan estraña,
 quando ovo corrido, todos se maravillavan,
 d'és día se preció Bavioca en quant grant fue Espanna. (ll. 1576-91)⁴⁷

⁴⁵["The Cid begs a favour of you, if it please your majesty, on behalf of his wife, Doña Jimena, and of his two daughters. He begs that they might leave the monastery where he left them and go join the good Campeador in Valencia.' Immediately the king answered: 'Granted, with all my heart.'] Ironically, the king also states that he will ensure they are protected from all shame, harm or dishonour in ll. 1356-7. He, of course, does the opposite in arranging their marriages to the Infantes of Carrión.

⁴⁶Lacarra notes that *ira regis* would have also entailed a loss of *patriae potestad*. The king's decision to allow the Cid's family to return to him is a concession that indicates a movement towards a lifting of that *ira regis*. See Lacarra, 'La representación', p. 184.

⁴⁷[In front of the main gate of Valencia, where he would be safe from attack, he was determined to perform a

The courtly conventions underlying this passage have not gone unnoticed by scholars.⁴⁸ The Cid enthusiastically takes up arms in front of his wife and daughters, 'delante su mugier e sus fijas querié tener las armas', in a manner reminiscent of a knight performing feats in a tourney to win his lady's favour. It is significant that much attention is given to his equestrian skills during a scene that is so strongly focussed on the presence of female characters. This close association between the fundamental skills of a knight and the honouring of women suggests that part of the Spanish hero's characterisation, like that in *Horn*, involves displaying the kind of behaviour typically found in chivalric romance, as epitomised by Wace: 'pur amistié e pur amies | funt chevaliers chevaleries'.⁴⁹ As if to signal the importance of women for his military drive, the Cid performs an exceptional display of his horsemanship at the very moment that his family arrives. He rides his horse Babieca in such an extraordinary way, 'ésta [corrida] fue tan estraña', that he amazes all those present, 'todos se maravillavan', a reaction which adumbrates the eventual universal recognition of his standard of behaviour. Moreover, the description of Babieca's subsequent widespread fame underscores the exceptional nature of this event, 'd'és día se preció Baviéca en quant grant fue Espanna'. Babieca's newfound reputation throughout the whole of Spain is owed to this one particular display in celebration of the Cid's wife and daughters, which exemplifies the strong relationship between service for women and the performance of chivalric feats.

The integration of courtly tropes becomes especially obvious if we compare the *CMC* with the portrayal of the Cid's family in *Historia* and *Carmen*. Although comparisons

display of arms for his wife and daughters [...] When they had saddled and caparisoned Babieca, My Cid rode out, taking wooden jousting weapons with him. Mounted on the horse called Babieca, the Cid galloped over a stretch of ground, with such marvellous speed that from that day on Babieca's worth was known throughout the length and breadth of Spain.]

⁴⁸See Lawrance, 'Chivalry'; Gerli, 'Liminal Junctures'; Clara Pascual-Argente, "A guisa de varón': Masculinity and Genre in the *Poema de mio Cid*", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 90 (2013), 539-556. Drawing on Simon Gaunt's work, the latter argues that the generic ambiguity of the poem is reflected in the ambivalent gender of the antagonists; the poem engages in dialogue with courtly romance to construct a 'new masculinity' for the hero in which the homosocial relationship between knight and king is nevertheless prioritised over that between knight and beloved. However, the hero's military efforts for his wife in the *CMC* represent an expansionist drive that encompasses more than the Cid's concern for the king.

⁴⁹*Brut*, ll.10771-2.

of such a kind tend to be made with a view to establishing influence, I include these passages because the texts serve to highlight specific concerns of the *CMC*, whether directly related or not.⁵⁰ The straightforward narrative and plain style of the biography gives no special attention to the Cid's wife, as might be expected from a historical text, and mentions Jimena only six times, including one reference to her role in safeguarding Valencia after the Cid's death.⁵¹ Moreover, the return of the Cid's family is presented flatly, and without any hint of the celebratory performance found in the *CMC*:

Rex autem uehementer contra illos iratus suam excond[i]ctionem licet iustissimam non solum ei accipere uerum etiam benigne audire noluit. Verumptamen et uxorem et liberos ad eum redire permisit. (34. 36-9)⁵²

His family is simply allowed to 'ad eum redire'. Moreover, the biography mentions only children, 'liberos', rather than daughters, which suggests that a deliberate emphasis has been placed on women by the *CMC* poet.⁵³ The only point in the *Historia* at which the Cid's attitude begins to resemble his behaviour in the poem is in his emotive claim of unjust treatment addressed to Alfonso VI in a letter:

Sine merito, sine ratione et absque omni culpa abstulit mihi meum honorem et captiuauit meam uxorem, tam magnum et crudelissimum michi fecit desonorem! (35. 77-9).⁵⁴

Although his words about the separation from his wife appear heartfelt, 'tam magnum et crudelissimum [...] desonorem', his reference to Jimena is nevertheless short and verges on insignificant, when compared to the attention he pays her in the *CMC*.⁵⁵ Moreover, his outrage here is caused in equal measure by his loss of honour, 'abstulit mihi meum

⁵⁰Notwithstanding, it is likely that the poet would have heard some versions of the Cid's deeds that resembled those of the *Historia* or *Carmen*.

⁵¹See *Historia* 6, 34, 35, 75.

⁵²*Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti*, trans. by E. Falque Rey, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII: Part 1*, ed. by Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), pp. 1-98. [However, the king, who was extremely angry with them, not only refused to accept their claim, despite it being highly justified, but did not even wish to hear it out of courtesy. Nevertheless, he allowed his wife and children to return to him.] All translations of the *Historia* are my own.

⁵³Cf. Carolyn Bluestine, 'The Role of Women in the *Poema de mio Cid*', *Romance Notes*, 18 (1978), 404-09. Bluestine points to the poet's omission of the Cid's son as evidence for the special significance of women in the *CMC*.

⁵⁴[With no warrant or reason or any fault on my part he took my honour from me and imprisoned my wife, so great and most cruel dishonour did he do me!]

⁵⁵He also mentions her earlier, albeit with similar phrasing: 'tam sine rationem meam uxorem captiuauit' (35. 73).

honorem', making the treatment of Jimena just one of his grievances, even at the point when he expresses the most concern about his wife. Of course, the hyperbole in this section may also be a rhetorical strategy to exaggerate the sense of injustice at his treatment by Alfonso. Indeed, the repeated use and juxtaposition of first person singular pronouns and adjectives, such as 'mihi' 'meum', 'meam', and 'michi' give the impression that the Cid is overplaying his outrage, which is only in part related to Jimena. The *Carmen* goes further and includes no references to the Cid's wife or family, despite its more literary nature. Although the Sapphic strophes used in this ode are typical of Christian hymns in the tradition of Prudentius, the *Carmen* is much more secular in tone, as the opening two strophes show.⁵⁶ Here the Cid is inserted into the pageant of Classical heroes:

Gesta bellorum possumus referre
Paris et Pyrrhi necnon et Eneae,
multi poetae plurima in laude
que conscripsere.

Sed paganorum quid iuuabunt acta,
dum iam villescant vetustate multa?
Modo canamus Roderici nova
principis bella. (ll. 1-8).⁵⁷

The Cid is presented as a hero for our time, a 'princeps' performing new deeds, or 'nova bella', with the same martial prowess that was enjoyed by the famous warriors of antiquity. This topos appears again in a later part of the poem where the Cid is depicted as superior even to the heroes of the Trojan war: 'Paris vel hector meliores illo | nunquam fuere in Troiano bello' (ll. 126-7). The secular and Classical presentation of the Cid and his military triumphs in this ode offers little in the way of Christian undertones, in contrast with the *Cantar* or the hymns of Prudentius. Instead, the poem appears closer to the

⁵⁶On the verse form, Classical influence, genre, and the erudition of the poet, see Montaner and Escobar, *Carmen*, pp. 121-2, 143-155.

⁵⁷Quotations are taken from *Carmen*, ed. by Montaner and Escobar. ['We could tell tales of the glorious deeds of Paris, Pyrrhus, and Aeneas. But these have already been recounted with great praise by many poets – what then would be the point? To what avail would we sing such deeds of pagans, since they have now lost all meaning, owing to their extreme antiquity? Let us now therefore sing instead the new wars of the great commander, Rodrigo.'] Translations are taken from *Epic*, ed. by Harney.

original tradition of panegyric in Horace or Pindar.⁵⁸ As such, this Cid seems to operate in the world of Classical victors and warriors, as found in both panegyric and epic, where homosocial bonds take precedence over interaction with women.⁵⁹ Accordingly, the *Carmen* makes no reference to Jimena at all, making the strong role that women play in the epic of the *CMC* all the more striking. Such comparisons with the Latin works underscore the blend in the *CMC* of the military and the courtly elements that are seen as characteristics of epic and romance respectively. In the vernacular poem women and military prowess are not separate concerns, as in the *Historia* and *Carmen*. For the vernacular Cid, women are not simply present, they are very much part of his military activities. His depiction as a knight in service of women suggests the reappropriation of a different kind of literary influence by the *CMC*, namely the *roman courtois*.

Two further scenes of the *CMC* show the important role that Jimena and the daughters play in the Cid's military motivation. First, the Cid leads the women up the tower from where they are able to survey the whole of Valencia:

Adeliñó Mio Cid con ellas al alcáçar,
allá las subié en el más alto lugar.
Ojos vellidos catan a todas partes,
miran Valencia cómo yaze la cibdad
e del otra parte a ojo han el mar,
miran la huerta, espessa es e grand;
alçan las manos por a Dios rrogar
d'esta ganancia cómo es buena e grand. (ll. 1610-17).⁶⁰

The use of teichoscopy in the *CMC* to emphasise the role of women has been discussed in previous scholarship.⁶¹ A more interesting feature is the specific focalisation of the scene

⁵⁸For a recent analysis of the relationship between these two Classical authors see Tom Phillips, 'Between Pindar and Sappho: Horace Od. 4.2.9-12', *Mnemosyne*, 67.3 (2014), 466-74.

⁵⁹Cf. the changes between the *Aeneid* and the *Roman d'Eneas*. On this see Gaunt, 'Epic to Romance'; Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, pp. 22-70.

⁶⁰['My Cid took them with him into the citadel. There he took them up to the very top of the highest tower. From that vantage point, shining eyes looked all around. They saw how Valencia lay around them on one side, and beheld on the other the blue expanse of the sea. They saw the broad, luxuriant croplands of the Huerta, and lifted up their hands in prayer, thanking God for a prize so rich and great.']

⁶¹Lawrance includes this instance of teichoscopy in his discussion on the distinctiveness of the *CMC* as a medieval Spanish epic. See Lawrance, 'Chivalry', pp. 53-4. On teichoscopy in the *CMC* and its manifestation in the *Iliad* and French *chanson de geste*, see Pamela Díaz, 'Ticoscopia cidiana y visión épica' in *Sonando*, ed. by Montaner, pp. 67-85. See also Louise Haywood, 'Symbolic Space and Landscape in the

through the female characters, and the parallel this forms with the opening passage. Here the primary role that women play in mediating the landscape for the audience is made clear by the lengthy and numerous references to their line of sight: a description of their eyes and extensive gaze encompasses a whole verse, 'ojos vellidos catan a todas partes', and verbs of seeing are repeated, 'catan', 'miran', 'miran'. The whole expanse of the newly-conquered city of Valencia is introduced to the audience through the women. Moreover, the objects mediated through their view underscore the considerable size of the Cid's conquest. The city stretches out in front of them, 'yaze la cibdad', and, if we follow their eyeline, expands out all the way to the sea, 'del otra parte a ojo han el mar'. The new territory also appears fertile, making it an even worthier prize: 'miran la huerta, espessa es e grand'. This twofold description suggests the prospective cultivation of rich crops in the new land, which in turn shows the Cid's capacity not only for conquest, but for settlement. This potential for populating and cultivating the land is substantiated by the arrival of his family, representing the cornerstone of society, which appears as the final stage of his establishment of a home. The association between settlement and women is further supported by the focalisation discussed above, through which the image of arable land merges with the female viewpoint. This structural association represents the importance of women for the successful population of new territories and survival of a community. In this vein, the women's prayer of thanksgiving for the conquest of Muslim Valencia, 'alçan las manos por a Dios rrogar | d'esta ganancia cómo es buena e grand', arguably reflects the current drive for the expansion and consolidation of Christian territory threatened by Almohad aggression and in which waning manpower and problems in repopulation were endemic.⁶² Within the economy of the narrative, the structural integration of female characters and new territory shows the inextricable relationship between military feats and women for the hero. Conquest is undertaken to please his wife and daughters, and

Poema de mio Cid in "*Problems*", ed. by Deyermond, pp. 105-129.

⁶²Mackay, *Spain*, pp. 38-9; González Jiménez, 'Frontier', pp. 54-61.

achieved for their long-lasting benefit. Moreover, it is not only his family that benefits from his conquests. The relationship between Christian conquest, women, and settlement represented in microcosm through the Cid's intimate interaction with his wife and daughters is fully replicated on a public scale when the ladies-in-waiting are given dowries from the spoils of the defence of Valencia against king Yúcef of Morocco, in order to marry his men: "quiérolas casar con de aquestos mios vassalos; | a cada una d'ellas doles dozientos marcos" (ll. 1765-6).⁶³ This too shows how settlement is presented as an important derivative of military victories in the *CMC*, and indicates that the hero is equally concerned with gaining new territory as he is with repopulating it, in that he ensures that the land will be filled by the descendants of his supporters. In addition, the focalisation by the women in the passage indicates the extent to which the Cid's circumstances have changed, if its employment is compared to its use in the opening scene discussed above. In the earlier episode the absence of objects symbolising wealth and prestige are mediated through the eyes of a solitary hero bereft of his family. The later episode shows the opposite: not only does his family mediate the view, the objects pictured are physically present and stand as direct evidence of his capacity for lucrative conquest and his current status as 'señor' of Valencia (l. 1331). It appears that part of the structural and symbolic function of female characters in this passage is to indicate the remarkable extent of the Cid's recovery. The hero's extraordinary conquest is depicted through them, as well as something for them. Moreover, the Cid's exile-and-return is mirrored and underscored by the women's own trajectory, given that both parties move from painful separation to this joyful reunion in Valencia.

The importance of women for the hero's military endeavours is epitomised by the subsequent episode relating the Moorish attempt to recapture Valencia. In a scene that echoes the earlier depiction of the panoramic view of the city, the Cid takes his wife and

⁶³["I want to marry [the ladies-in-waiting] to my vassals; to each of them I give two hundred marks."] I have revised Harney's translation.

daughters up to the tower, not so as to show off Valencia, but to show off his fighting skills:

'Venido m' es delicio de tierras d'allent mar,
 entraré en las armas, non lo podré dexar;
 mis fijas e mi mugier verme an lidiar,
 en estas tierras ajenas verán las moradas cómmo se fazen,
 afarto verán por los ojos cómmo se gana el pan.'
 Su mugier e sus fijas subiólas al alcácer,
 alçavan los ojos, tiendas vieron fincar.
 '¿Qué's esto, Cid, sí el Criador vos salve?'
 '¡Ya mugier ondrada, non ayades pesar!
 Riqueza es que nos acrece maravillosa e grand'
 á poco que viniestes, presend vos quieren dar,
 por casar son vuestras fijas, adúzenvos axuvar.'
 [...]
 'Mugier, sed en este palaçio, e, si quisiéredes, en el alcácer,
 non ayades pavor porque me veades lidiar:
 con la merçed de Dios e de Santa María madre,
 crécem' el coraçón porque estades delant;
 ¡Con Dios aquesta lid yo la he de arrancar!' (ll. 1639-1656)⁶⁴

Like Lavine in the *Roman d'Eneas* who watches the traditionally epic figure of Eneas from a tower, the women of the *CMC* are placed in the 'alcácer' or palace tower in order to see the hero fight.⁶⁵ Once again, the Cid shows a joyful desire to display his military skills to his wife and daughters. However, in contrast to his earlier displays that were purely celebratory, they are now essential for survival, 'cómo se gana el pan', and the defence of the new home, which suggests a more serious relationship between performance of feats for women and the defence of the domestic realm.⁶⁶ The presence of his family in a properly martial context also allows the Cid to explain the benefits of battle to the women. In response to their fear, '¿Qué's esto?', he presents the Moorish threat as a gift of

⁶⁴["A piece of good luck now comes my way, from the lands beyond the sea. I must now take up arms, I have no choice. Now my wife and daughters will see me fight, and see how we win a place for ourselves here in these foreign lands, and see for themselves, with their own eyes, how our bread is won.' He took his wife and daughters up into the citadel. Lifting up their eyes, they saw all the tents set up. 'What is all this, Cid, the Creator be with you?' 'There, there, my beloved wife! Don't worry! All this means more wealth for us, a marvellous fortune – no sooner do you arrive, then these infidels show up to give you a present! Your daughters are now of marrying age – now, here come these fellows, providing us the dowry! [...] Now then, my wife, stay in this palace, or even up here in the citadel If you like. Don't be afraid at seeing me in combat. By God's favour, and that of Holy Mary, our mother, my heart now soars because you are here with me. With God's help I am bound to win this fight.']

⁶⁵ll. 8130-3.

⁶⁶The hero rejoices that his family will understand his military way of life, stating, as shown above, that 'afarto verán por los ojos cómmo se gana el pan'. This reflects a pragmatic view of battle that is perhaps symptomatic of contemporary frontier society. Cf. González Jiménez, 'Frontier', pp. 54-56.

extraordinary wealth, a 'presend' and 'Riqueza maravillosa e grand', and as something that will benefit the daughters specifically, namely by providing for their dowries, 'por casar son vuestras fijas adúzenvos axuvar'. This dialogue between the Cid and the women allows for an explicit exposition of the hero's view of battle as something to be undertaken for women and their benefit. As in the *Couronnement de Louis* where Charlemagne's address to Louis outlines the proper behaviour for a king, the Cid vocalises the normative behaviour for a knight in a passage that serves as a kind of miniature mirror of princes.⁶⁷ The relationship between battle and women is further substantiated through the new object of the women's view. As in the panoramic description of Valencia, there is a clear emphasis on the female perspective, shown by the various references to their sight, 'verme', 'verán', 'verán', 'ojos', 'vieron', 'veades'. However, this time it is not the results of conquest, nor reenactments of military feats, that are offered to the women, as in the two earlier passages. Rather, it is the very real process of conquest that is acted out in front of them. This again shows the significant motivation for military feats provided by women, which is then epitomised by the Cid's statement that his courage rises specifically because of Jimena's presence, "crécem' el coraçón porque estades delante". This is not unlike Horn's mid-battle reaction to Rigmel's ring and the ensuing memory of her love that spurs him on to defeat the pagan enemy, except that the *CMC* integrates the two concerns even more closely, by showing that the women are fully present at the battle.⁶⁸ Like *Horn*, the Spanish poem integrates aspects of courtly behaviour in the warrior's characterisation, but moves beyond the purely celebratory displays reminiscent of the peacetime tournaments in *romans courtois*, by presenting two succeeding, yet different examples of military performance for women. The second time is within a specifically wartime, rather than peacetime, context.

⁶⁷See ll. 62-86; 150-213. Comparisons have been drawn between the *Couronnement de Louis* and the *CMC*; Spitzer examines the prayers offered by Guillaume and Jimena. See Leo Spitzer, 'Zu den Gebeten im 'Couronnement Louis' und im 'Cantar de Mio Cid', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 56.3/4 (1932), 196-209.

⁶⁸See *Horn* ll. 3165-9.

This suggests a subtle conflation of epic and romance tropes during this episode: on the one hand, the Spanish hero fights off the pagan adversary so often found in *chanson de geste*, yet manages to do this with the simple ease and pleasure of a knight in a *roman courtois* engaged in the service of his lady. The *CMC* exploits and adapts both to create a vision of Castilian heroic identity that meets the higher demands of the Christian realm and the more personal demands of a lover. In addition, the scene shows the overlap between the military defence of territory and the protection of women in the heroic standard of behaviour, two integrated concerns which are blatantly flouted by his antagonists.

iii. The Antagonists

The antagonists offer an opposing standard of behaviour to the Cid in almost every respect. They are cowardly and deceitful, prefer court intrigue to battle as a means of wielding power, and display a contrasting attitude towards women. The poet establishes the moral ambiguity of these traits through their presentation as typical characteristics of the enemies of the Cid, the normative figure in the narrative. As such, the antagonists serve as the opposing exemplum, presenting a kind of inverse mirror of princes on how not to behave. At the beginning of the poem, the Cid is banished and it is the unnamed 'malos mestureros' who have the upper hand at court, suggesting that the *status quo* is not one that is amenable to the hero and his qualities. As the Cid proves the value of his military skills to the king, the explicit figures of the Infantes of Carrión and Count García Ordóñez suffer a corresponding decrease in status. Notwithstanding, they continue to hold favour with the king even after the Cid conquers a number of territories, including Valencia, and secures a royal pardon. The rest of the poem relates the consequences of the king's decision to support the antagonists in their petition to marry the Cid's daughter. This part of the narrative is much more centred on the antagonists, and based around the testing of the

contrasting policy they represent, which is essentially non-combative. Instead of proving their worth and earning prestige on the battlefield, the antagonists circumvent the normative channels of gaining recognition – in both *Horn* and the *CMC* – and look to other, non-combative means of retaining their influence, such as administrative dealings and intrigue. Like Wikele in *Horn*, they use underhand methods to marry female relatives of powerful men, without first having been tested in warfare, in order to enjoy prestige by association and avoid, as it were, getting their hands dirty in the business of war. The lion episode in the third *cantar* exemplifies their characteristic cowardice. In contrast to the hero and his men, the Infantes react to the lion that appears at the Cid's palace in Valencia with great fear, 'tanto' or 'grant' 'pavor' (ll. 2287, 2290). During their residence in the Cid's household they also reveal an unmistakable distaste for war. The prospect of battle fills them with apprehension in l. 2317, 'mas, sabed, de cuer les pesa a los ifantes de Carrión', leading them to flee the battlefield, which again stands in contrast to the joyous anticipation of the Cid and his supporters. Their characteristic tendency towards deceit is shown in a related scene, in which they accept the Cid's praise for their supposed valour in battle and falsely boast of their non-existent deeds in ll. 2527-31. The hero's men smile, knowing that the Infantes were nowhere near the battlefield at the time of the action: 'Vassallos de mio Cid seyénse sonrisando [...] mas non fallavan y a Diego ni a Ferrando' (ll. 2532-4).⁶⁹ This political cover-up suggests that manipulating words or telling lies is the default manoeuvre used by the Infantes to preserve their political standing with a superior. In this case, they lie about their military success, which simultaneously underscores their lack of martial skill and reliance on false words.

As is evident in the above examples, the depictions of the Infantes do not tend to show the non-combative traits of the antagonists in isolation, but present these as interrelated aspects of their characterisation. The episode of the defence of Valencia is a case

⁶⁹['All the Cid's vassals smiled at one another [...] and no-one remembered seeing Diego or Fernando anywhere in the fray.']

in point. It presents a catalogue of the Infantes' mutually reinforcing characteristics:

Alegrávas' el Cid e todos sus varones,
que les crece la ganancia, grado al Criador;
mas, sabed, de cuer les pesa a los ifantes de Carrión,
ca veyén tantas tiendas de moros de que non avién sabor.
Amos hermanos apart salidos son:
'Catamos la ganancia e la pérdida no.
Ya en esta batalla a entrar abremos nós,
esto es aguisado por non ver Carrión,
bidas remandrán fijas del Campeador.' (ll. 2315-23).⁷⁰

These lines comprise a miniature portrait of the antagonists. The passage shows the different aspects of the Infantes' standard of behaviour that contrast with the hero's qualities, namely, cowardice, mendacity, selfishness, vanity, and immaturity. The Infantes can think of nothing but their own security when the Moors arrive. The sight of the enemy camp and the anticipation of battle is a cause of anxiety, 'de cuer les pesa', and far from appealing to them, 'de que non avién sabor'. This fearful reaction then prompts them to display secrecy, another typical characteristic. They leave by themselves to speak together alone, 'amos hermanos apart salidos son', rather than join in with the communal rejoicing of the Cid and his supporters, 'alegrávas' el Cid e todos sus varones', which establishes a connection between secrecy and cowardice. The difference in their attitudes towards warfare is also made apparent by the Cid's interpretation of the Moorish threat as an opportunity for material gains, or 'ganancia'. The subjunctive is particularly significant: 'que les crece' indicates that, for the Cid and his men, their material goods are already increasing, even before the battle has begun. Victory over the Moors is a foregone conclusion and the spoils as good as theirs. In contrast, the Infantes only see the battle as a potential loss. Although they are happy to partake of the Cid's wealth and material gains by way of their marriages, 'Catamos la ganancia', they are not prepared to go through the very process

⁷⁰[The Cid and all his men were overjoyed to see this chance for more plunder that the Creator was sending their way. But the [Infantes] of Carrión were sick at heart, you can be sure, dismayed at the sight of all those Moorish tents. The two brothers went off to one side to confer: "We've been looking at what we stood to gain, not what we stand to lose. Now there's no way we can avoid fighting in this battle. It's as if made to order for us never to see Carrión again – the Cid's daughters are going to be left widows."]

produces these gains, namely war. In other words, the Infantes desire only the end and not the means of martial activity, in contrast to the Cid. In stating that they will be obligated, "abremos nós", to participate, "en esta batalla a entrar", they seem to consider such fighting to be an onerous duty, rather than source of joy. Moreover, from their perspective battle brings the possibility of death, rather than the opportunity for more riches. They maintain that arrival of war means that they will never again see their homeland again, 'esto es aguisado por non ver Carrión'. The diction here not only suggests their mortal fear of military activity, it also seems to reflect their habitual dealings in intrigue. Somewhat irrationally, to them the battle appears to be specifically contrived, "esto es aguisado", to prevent them from seeing Carrión. It is as if their own excessive reliance on underhand political manoeuvres leads them to see shady dealings even in places where they do not exist. Moreover, this line of reasoning suggests that the Infantes take this Moorish arrival as a personal affront, when in reality the enemy has encamped to retake Valencia and fight the Cid. Their reasoning is a self-centred interpretation of events, which shows their concern with private, rather than public, affairs, and also reflects a distorted sense of reality which is shown to be typical elsewhere.⁷¹ The immediate reference to Carrión, their original homeland and space of childhood, reflects this same self-centredness.

Furthermore, the Infantes' concern with returning to their place of origin indicates an excessive preoccupation with their homeland, suggesting an inward or retractive tendency, as well as an excessive self-concern. In contrast, the Cid is never characterised by a desire to return to his birthplace or former residence, but actively goes about establishing a new home once his old one has been lost, which is in line with his pragmatism and expansionist drive.⁷² Recalling the homeland also suggests that they associate military activity with death, as if

⁷¹Duggan discerns a certain confusion in the antagonists' understanding of the relationship between inner worth and reputation which is similar to their views here. Duggan, *Cantar*, pp. 38-9.

⁷²Although the Cid is in exile, he is able to establish a new 'homeland' for himself and his family in Valencia. In other words, he is not constrained by the home of his childhood. This reference to the space of childhood could also be seen to uphold the characterisation of the Infantes as immature and untried young men. As discussed below, their trajectory is interpreted by some as a kind of failed or inverted initiation rite. See Montgomery, *Roots*, pp. 47-50.

the prospect of battle induces the kind of mortal fear that causes them to cling to what is most familiar. Such an association is also evident in their reference to their wives, who they say will be left widows, 'bidas remandrán', if they were to go into battle. Later, this apparent concern is revealed as a false excuse for not going into battle by the ease with which they decide to attack and abandon them.⁷³ Furthermore, in picturing their wives as widows, they seem to romanticise their own death in a self-indulgent fantasy, almost picturing their own funeral, which suggests an almost childish desire for the pity and attention of others. Similarly, their reference to the loss that the daughters would suffer if they died underscores their own exaggerated sense of self-importance, the excessiveness of which is made even more evident by the ironic consequences of the actual dissolution of these unions later in the poem: the daughters' loss of their first husbands leads directly to superior alliances with the royal families of Navarre and Aragón. The Infantes' reaction in this passage thus exemplifies their characterisation as egocentric, cowardly and immature figures who use false arguments, even to each other, and show a hypocritical regard for their wives. This last trait is exemplified by the Afrenta at Corpes in ll. 2712-48. Although a full discussion of this scene is beyond the scope of this chapter, a few lines from the episode gives a sense of its harrowing violence and the perverseness of the Infantes' behaviour:

Limpia salíe la sangre sobre los ciclatones,
 [...]
 sangrientas an las camisas e todos los ciclatones.
 Cansados son de ferir ellos amos a dos,
 ensayándo' amos cuál dará mejores colpes.
 Ya non pueden hablar don Elvira e doña Sol,
 Por muertas las dexaron en el robredo de Corpes. (ll. 2739-48)⁷⁴

Rather than exert themselves on the battlefield, the Infantes channel their strength into abusing the innocent figures of the Cid's daughters. Both the violence and the pathos of the

⁷³See ll. 2540-56. A false concern for the daughters is also apparent in the way that the Infantes make love to the daughters the very night before they abuse them: 'con sus mugieres en braços demuéstranles amor, | ¡mal ge lo cunplieron cuando salíe el sol!' (ll. 2703-4).

⁷⁴['The girls' pure blood flowed, staining their snow-white shifts [...] the girls' undershirts and shifts were soon blood-drenched. Both [Infantes] quickly grew tires of lashing, as each tried to outdo the other in dealing out blows. Doña Elvira and Doña Sol could no longer speak. There they were left for dead, there in the Oakgrove of Corpes.']

scene are hyperbolic and underscores the Infantes' complete failure to adopt the normative, heroic concern for women. Their physical attack results in the girls' blood, described as 'linpía' connoting their purity, soaking through their undergarments 'sangrientas an las camisas e todos los ciclatones'. The Infantes also compete as to who can give the best beating, 'cuál dará mejores golpes', which indicates their complete failure to understand what constitutes an appropriate contest of physical strength or skill. In a move that shows the complete contrast with the Cid's own attitude, they leave the women for dead, 'por muertas las dexaron', after they appear to lose consciousness, 'non pueden hablar'. The whole scene characterises the Infantes as cowardly and treacherous figures who fail to perform military feats *for* women, and instead act out parodic versions of these on the very people they should protect. This in turn undermines the royal decision to advance these marriages in the first place. The Infantes' behaviour symbolises the iniquitous results of the king's endorsement of their standard of behaviour.

iv. Return and Transformation of Society

The debate between the two standards of knightly behaviour is only concluded after the Afrenta de Corpes, when the king finally understands the full extent of the antagonists' iniquity and subsequently confers his exclusive endorsement on the Cid. Before that, the narrative relates the ongoing competition between the two factions and the vacillation of the king. Alfonso's behaviour is exemplified by the episode of the third embassy in which he officially retracts his *ira regis*. The scene constitutes a turning point in the narrative at which the Cid is reintegrated into society. However, this return from exile is only partial. Despite the ever-increasing regard of the king for the Cid, the 'malos enemigos' continue to be members of the royal entourage and to hold influence. In this episode the diverging opinions at court indicate that the debate between these two competing ideals is still ongoing at the centre of power, although it is clear that the Cid is beginning to win the

argument:

Dixo el rey don Alfonso: 'Recíbolos de grado.
 Gradéscolo a mio Cid, que tal don me ha enbiado;
 aún vea el ora que de mí sea pagado.'
 Esto plogo a muchos e besáronle las manos;
 pesó al conde don García e mal era irado,
 con diez de sos parientes aparte davan salto:
 '¡Maravilla es del Cid, que su ondra crece tanto!
 En la ondra que él ha nos seremos abiltados;
 por tan biltadamientre vencer reyes del campo,
 commo si los fallasse muertos aduzirse los cavallos,
 por esto que él faze nós avremos enbargo.' (ll. 1855-1865)⁷⁵

The successful conquests of the Cid and the bounty of his gifts are such that the king hints that he will soon forgive him, 'aún vea el ora que de mí sea pagado', which shows a recognition of his model of service. This public gratitude to the Cid for his gifts, 'Gradéscolo a mio Cid', produces similar approbation in many of his entourage: 'Esto plogo a muchos e besáronle las manos'. Nevertheless, this angers the 'enemigos' who remain present at court, which suggests that the Cid has not yet won exclusive and universal support. García Ordóñez is displeased by the king's strong show of support for the Cid, 'pesó al conde', whose disdain is substantiated by the tautological addition of 'mal' 'irado' in the same line. Moreover, the moral connotations of 'mal' perhaps adds to his characterisation as one of the Cid's 'malos enemigos', and suggests that such anger at the Cid's exploits is morally dubious.⁷⁶ Suggestions of their iniquity are supported by his speech. The count claims that the Cid's conquests are something wicked and refuses to accept these as a reason to praise the hero. Instead, he argues that the Cid defeated kings on the battlefield in a villainous way, 'biltadamientre'. There is also a morbid tone and an exaggerated sense of wanton violence

⁷⁵['King Alfonso replied: 'I accept them gladly, and thank the Cid for sending me so fine a gift. May the hour soon come when I may return the favour.' Many were pleased to see this, and kissed Minaya's hands. But it greatly troubled Count García, who was thoroughly vexed. He went aside to confer with ten of his kinsmen: 'Isn't it amazing to see how the Cid's honour just keeps growing and growing! The more his glory increases, the more we are put to shame. By winning some absurd victory over a few kings on the battlefield, and leading a bunch of horses back here, as if he found their riders all lying around dead! All these so-called deeds spell trouble for us.']

⁷⁶Compare with the argument advanced by Judith Weiss that the morpheme 'mal' in 'Malbroin' substantiates the character's portrayal as a wicked pagan antagonist in *Horn*. Weiss, *French of England*, p. 45.

found in his assertion that the hero seizes horses as if the owners were dead, 'comme si los fallasse muertos'. This viewpoint is symptomatic of the general, negative attitude towards warfare the antagonists hold. From their perspective the Cid is not viewed as a glorious and devout knight, but is depicted as a villainous and rapacious plunderer.⁷⁷ This is not altogether untrue of the historical Cid. Both the *Historia* and the *Carmen* describe his violent raids into Christian territories, and specifically through lands under Alfonso VI's jurisdiction and García Ordóñez' protection, which echo the *CMC* descriptions of the Cid acting 'bildatamientre':

[...] intrauit terras de Calagurra et de Nagera, *qui erant in regno regis Aldefonsi et sub eiusdem imperio*. Tunc autem uiriliter debellando et Aluerith et Lucronium cepit. *Ingentem nimirum atque mestabilem et ualde lacrimabilem predam, et dirum et impium atque uastum inremediabili flamma incendium per omnes terras illas seuissime et inmisericorditer fecit. Dira itaque [et] impia depredatione omnem terram prefatam deuastauit et destruxit eiusque diuitiis et peccuniis atque omnibus eius spoliis eam omnino denudauit et penes se cuncta habuit. [...] Calagurre namque et omni regioni, quam Rodericus depredatus fuerat, per manum regis Aldefonsi Garsias comes Roderici inimicus tunc dominatur. Propter comitis inimicitiam et propter eius dedecus prefatam terram Rodericus flamma ignis incendit eamque fere destruxit atque deuastauit.* (50. 2-10, 35-39)⁷⁸

Such a portrayal is a far cry from the representation of the Cid in the *CMC*, at least from the narrator's perspective. The author of the *Historia*, on the other hand, does not shy away from describing the violence with which Rodrigo attacked lands under the king's control. Much of the diction, polyptoton, and repetition of tautological phrasing in this passage show the extreme ruthlessness and the moral ambiguity of his actions: 'mestabilem' 'lacrimabilem', 'dirum', 'impium', 'seuissime', 'dira', 'impia', 'destruxit', and 'deuastauit'. The *CMC*, however, only allows such opinions to rise to the surface in the narrative when they are voiced by the

⁷⁷Cf. *CMC* II. 1345-9.

⁷⁸[...he entered the lands of Calahorra and Nájera, *which were in the kingdom of king Alfonso and under his authority*. Then he took hold of both Alberite and Logroño by subduing them powerfully. *Indeed, he won huge spoil[s] inducing misery and tears, and made a fierce, unholy and monstrous fire with unquenchable flame[s] through all those lands in a savage and merciless way. And he destroyed and laid all the aforementioned land to waste with cruel and wicked pillaging, and stripped it entirely of its riches and money and all of its spoils, and took everything as his property [...]* For at that time, count Garcia, Rodrigo's enemy, ruled through King Alfonso's hand over Calahorra and all of the region which Rodrigo had plundered. On account of the count's enmity and his vice, *Rodrigo set alight said land with flame[s] of fire, and almost destroyed and devastated it.*] My translation and italics. Compare with ll. 77-84. of the *Carmen*. For a discussion of the use of 'uiriliter' in the *Historia* and its implications for the *CMC* and its portrayal of 'manliness' and military prowess, see Harney, 'Propaganda', pp. 82-86.

antagonists. This appears to be an effort by the poet to control the plurality of narratives relating to Rodrigo presumably in circulation, whether orally or otherwise, and present a 'clean' version of events. The poet mitigates the negative traits associated with the historical Cid by restricting their appearance to the words of marginal, increasingly denigrated figures who are ultimately condemned. Within the economy of the narrative, the view of the Cid that the antagonists articulate underscores their own mendacity, since their interpretation is evidently wrong when read alongside the portrayal of the Cid and his military deeds. Paradoxically, their words heighten the hero's standing: an insinuation that his behaviour is villainous cannot be seen as reliable or truthful, if it comes from his 'enemigo malo'. Similarly, claims that the hero acted wickedly, 'biltadamientre', ironically underscores their own wickedness.⁷⁹ This reaction contrasts with the king's more generous reaction, which again shows a departure from the *Historia*, and indicates the growing rift between Alfonso and the Cid's antagonists. These changes are also conveyed through the physical movement in this passage. García Ordóñez moves away, 'aparte', with his own supporters, 'sos parientes', from the main action, now focussed on the hero and the rich spoils of war, which symbolises the new political distance between Alfonso and the enemy faction. Their movement to the periphery shows that the Cid and his standard of behaviour now have the effect of marginalising them, and points proleptically to their complete displacement by the hero from the king's favour. This loss of status is acknowledged to be the explicit result of the Cid's actions: "por esto que él faze nós avremos enbargo". As the hero demonstrates his value to the king through military victories, the usefulness of the antagonists becomes less

⁷⁹The two contrasting perspectives on the Cid's behaviour within the poem are somewhat analogous to the two views of knighthood that were prevalent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; in his *De Laude Novae Militae* Bernard de Clairvaux argues for a move from a secular mode of knighthood that was necessarily acquisitive, lascivious and rampant, to one that was ascetic and spiritually salutary because it was performed in the service of God. The 'canalisation of martial energy' in Maurice Keen's terms that the Church directed towards the Crusades is almost mimicked by the poem itself: the historical Cid's mercenary violence documented in both Latin and Arabic sources is channelled and reworked by the early thirteenth-century *CMC* into a more sober and devout kind of knighthood performed in service of God, his men, the king, and his family. The earlier conception of knighthood does resurface in the poem but this discourse is voiced by the antagonists and so mitigated. The changing historical and literary image of the Cid therefore becomes a locus in which the changing views of knighthood are reflected. Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 47.

evident, which even they recognise, but this is not yet enough to empty the court of his enemies or prompt the king to drop his support for them altogether.

The limited recognition of the Cid in the third embassy is epitomised by the decision of the king to favour the hero and his antagonists simultaneously. The king's vacillating attitude suggests that both the Cid and his enemies hold ambiguous positions, and that royal policy concerning the two standards of behaviour remains inconclusive. At the very moment that he decides to forgive the Cid, he complies with the Infantes' request that they marry the hero's daughters, in spite of his reservations:

Una grant ora el rey pensó e comidió
 –Yo eché de tierra al buen Campeador,
 e faziendo yo a él mal e él a mí grand pro,
 del casamiento non sé si s'abra sabor;
 mas, pus bós lo queredes, entremos en la razón.– (ll. 1890-93)⁸⁰

Royal favour now seems to be divided between the two factions. The king hesitates, 'Una grant ora el rey pensó e comidió', before he replies to the Infantes' request, which indicates his growing reluctance to heed the suggestions of the representatives of a non-combative policy. This deliberation is underscored by the virtual tautology in 'pensó e comidió' which draws out the line and almost suggests that the king is playing for time. Alfonso's hesitancy is also emphasised through the phrase 'una grant ora'.⁸¹ The use of a phrase which itself sounds slow and plodding, instead of an equivalent yet shorter expression such as 'mucho', decreases the pace in this line and again reflects the deliberation of the king. The slowness is reinforced by the caesura which appears to echo the delay of the king. Moreover, the verb in the sentence is postponed until the second hemistich line which makes the audience wait for the syntactic resolution and the meaning of the line until after the caesura. This again underpins the vacillation in royal policy at

⁸⁰["I sent the good Campeador into exile. I did him great harm, while he has never done anything but right by me. I don't know if he will approve of this match. But since you request it, let us take the matter under consideration."]

⁸¹The description of the Cid's reaction to this same petition uses almost identical phrases. See ll. 1931-40. This reinforces the closer alignment of the king to the Cid at this point, which is, nevertheless, not sufficient as to override his tendency to prioritise the Infantes' interests over those of the Cid.

this point. On the one hand, Alfonso appears to recognise the value of the qualities embodied by the hero: despite the hardship, the Cid did him 'grand pro'. The king also shows a certain amount of regret about his decision to exile the Cid. A sense of personal culpability is evoked through the repeated use of the emphatic pronoun in 'Yo eché de tierra' and 'e faziendo yo'. Regret about this decision and a corresponding recognition of the hero is also suggested by the phrase 'e faziendo yo a él mal e él a mí grand pro'. Here the Cid's exile appears as a mistake: the king did the hero 'mal' in rejecting him. Arguably, this repudiation of the Cid is given an additional moral dimension through the connotations of 'buen' in the king's reference to the hero and his own admission of doing 'mal' which follows closely in the next line. In these lines Alfonso revises his past view of the Cid, reevaluates his own behaviour towards him, and comes to a new appreciation in political and moral terms of the knightly service offered by the Cid. However, this does not appear to be sufficient to override the wishes of the Infantes. He admits that he does not know whether the Cid will want these marriages, 'non sé si s'abra sabor', and agrees to start negotiations because the Infantes wish it, 'pus bós lo queredes'. The king continues therefore to prioritise the antagonists and what they offer, albeit to a lesser extent. The royal favour shown towards the Infantes is emphasised by the use of parenthesis in 'pus bós lo queredes', which slows down the line and makes the phrase stand out from the rest of the verse, and adds a jarring, stilted quality that suggests the king's uncertainty. Similarly, the diction in 'mas' informs his deliberation. Its employment in the last line of the king's speech indicates the ultimate incompatibility of the Cid's interests and those of the Infantes. Indeed, the whole passage is fraught with a general unsettledness arising from the conflicting interests of the various characters who are competing for recognition and favour. Alfonso here recognises his own past behaviour as deficient, sees the hero in a new light, and yet also tries to satisfy the wishes of the Infantes. This inconsistency suggests that the debate about which model of knightly service is most deserving of exclusive royal

favour has not yet resolved.

When confronted with the Infantes' actions in the Afrenta at Corpes, the king is forced to acknowledge the unworthiness of this former favourites, in much the same way that the Cid's own actions in the first part caused the monarch to recognise the worthiness of the exiled hero. The king regrets his endorsement of the Infantes and his earlier compliance with their wishes, when news of the attack is brought to him by Muño Gustioz. The Cid's messenger reminds the king that the marriages took place because he wanted them, "alto fue el casamiento, ca lo quisiestes vós" (l. 2940) and asks that the king arrange for the Infantes to be brought to justice before an assembly or court, 'que ge los levedes a vistas o a juntas o a cortes' (l. 2949). Moreover, he argues that the king's responsibility for the marriages means that he has been even more dishonoured than the Cid by their outcome, 'tienes' por deondrado, mas la vuestra es mayor' (l. 2950). Finally, the petition for justice ends with an appeal to the king's own prudence or sense of justice, 'e que vos pese, rey, commo sodes sabidor' (l. 2951).⁸² What is being asked of the king is a complete volte-face in his attitude towards the Infantes and the model of service they represent. It also demands a specific emotional response, 'que vos pese', or a rejection of the favouritism that the Infantes had enjoyed until now. Most importantly, the message calls for the full weight of justice to be brought upon the Infantes, in much the same way that the Cid was subject to the force of the law at the outset of the narrative. The king accepts these arguments and acknowledges the fallibility of his earlier political stance. His general disgust at the events and compliance with the wishes of the Cid, and not those of the Infantes, shows his increasing tendency towards a policy which celebrates the hero and the qualities he embodies in an exclusive manner:

El rey una grand ora calló e comidió:
 'Verdad te digo yo que me pesa de coraçon
 e verdad dizes en esto tú, Muño Gustioz,

⁸²'Sabidor' may interpreted as 'prudent' or 'judicious'. However it also carries legal connotations and may denote expertise in matters of law. See Montaner, *Cantar*, p. 178.

ca yo casé sus fijas que fuesse a su pro;
 ¡siquier el casamiento fecho non fuesse oy!
 Entre yo e mio Cid pésanos de coraçon,
 ayudarlé a derecho, sí·n' salve el Criador,
 lo que non cuidava fer de toda esta sazón.' (ll. 2953-60)⁸³

The king undergoes a final revelation concerning the Infantes' true unworthiness and acknowledges his own error in advancing their interests. The silent reflection before he speaks, 'una grand ora calló e comidió', suggests the difficult deliberation that precedes acknowledgement of past wrongs.⁸⁴ An open acceptance of his responsibility for the marriages then follows, 'verdad dizes [...] ca yo casé sus fijas'. Moreover, he now implicitly retracts his previously held view of the marriages, when he alludes to his earlier reasoning, 'que fuesse a su pro'. The use of a result clause here points to the original weakness of this argument: he arranged this 'so that it be to his advantage'. The imperfect subjunctive underscores the original fallibility of the king's policy, since it highlights that his expectation was never fulfilled and indicates that the desired outcome was never certain. The implicit retraction is made explicit by the voicing of his regret, '¡siquier el casamiento fecho non fuesse oy!', in which the exclamatory form adds pathos to the king's words and suggests the anguish with which he realises the full consequences of these marriages. This regret is compounded by the pluperfect subjunctive in the optative phrase, 'fecho non fuesse', which simultaneously indicates his desire that this had never happened and alludes to the impossibility of undoing his decision.⁸⁵ The inclusion of 'oy' could also

⁸³['For a full hour the king fell silent, pondering the matter. 'In truth, I tell you, it grieves me in my heart. And you say truly, you, Muño Gustioz, when you remind me that it was I who married the Cid's daughters to the [Infantes] of Carrión. I meant well, and thought it would be an advantageous match for both parties. If only that marriage had never been arranged! The whole affair breaks my own heart as much as it does My Cid's. I will see that he obtains satisfaction, God preserve me!']

⁸⁴This line forms a nice counterpart to the earlier hesitancy shown by the king in consenting to the Infantes' proposal.

⁸⁵There are several instances of this employment of the past subjunctive in optative clauses to support heroic characterisation. Compare the above example with one of the most debated instances of this syntactic structure spoken by the people of Burgos: '–¡Dios qué buen vassallo, si oviesse buen señor!–' (l. 20). The public sympathy here may be aligned – somewhat ironically – with the king's language here which is similarly emotive and reflects a like concern for the hero's interests. See also the narratorial intervention in the Afrenta at Corpes episode which condemns the attack and alludes to the hero's supreme power: '¡Cuál ventura serié ésta, sí ploguiesse al Criador, | que assomasse essora el Cid Campeador!' (ll. 2741-2). This is repeated in a shortened form in l. 2753. We may compare the king's words with the Infantes' own regret

be significant: it would seem that the king now recognises the long-term consequences of his earlier policy which are affecting the kingdom even now. Such a response to the news of the beatings would indicate that the king makes a direct link between his previous decision to favour the Infantes and the later attack. Moreover, the reference to time in 'oy' marks the differences between his past and present political positions more strongly and substantiates the impression of a royal volte-face that pervades this passage. Furthermore, the regret in the king's speech is matched by further suggestions of a strong emotional response. In contrast to initial representation of the king as a distant figure, Alfonso is now a warm and attentive protector whose emotional reaction appears to be in line with that of the hero. The king states that the news grieves him, 'que me pesa de coraçon'. This royal alignment with the Cid's own interests is then reiterated in a more forceful manner by Alfonso himself: 'Entre yo e mio Cid pésanos de coraçon'. The use of the first person plural by the king in 'pésanos' conveys the idea that they both share in the same pain; the reference to himself and the Cid in close succession within the first hemistich similarly parallels their new closeness. The interests of the Cid are presented by the king as being almost identical to his own, which contrasts with his earlier neglect of the hero's wishes in favour of those of the Infantes. This close association signals the movement towards the exclusive royal preference of the Cid that is concluded by his legal vindication in the Toledo *vistas* and the defeat of the Infantes in the judicial combats.⁸⁶

The changing positions of the hero and the antagonists are shown at the Toledo court scene, at which the king mobilises his legal power for the Cid against the Infantes, and grants the judicial combats that secure the full vindication of the Cid and the defeat of his enemies. The material representations of both the hero and the Infantes at this point reflect

concerning their actions which is described before the judicial combats. This is presented using the indicative which creates a less ambiguous or emotional impression: 'Ya se van repintiendo ifantes de Carrión [...] no lo querrién aver fecho por cuanto ha en Carrión' (l. 3568-70).

⁸⁶The reaction to the Afrenta within successive personal and legal frameworks mirrors the initial portrayals of the Cid. His exile is similarly established in terms which are first personal (opening scene) and then legal (Burgos scene). It may be argued that such a presentation of these themes is a more effective – and affective – means of engaging the listener or reader and appealing to a wider audience.

their respective increasing and decreasing status. As in the opening scene, material objects symbolise current power. As the Cid arrives at the court the narrative dwells on a long description of his sumptuous appearance, which underscores the superb military ability required to obtain such riches.⁸⁷ Moreover, it counters the very first description of the hero in ll. 3-5 in which he appears as stripped of all possessions, including rich furs and cloaks. A few lines from passage exemplify how his appearance reflects his accumulation of wealth and recovery from his initial dispossession:

No·s' detiene por nada el que en buen ora nació,
 calças de buen paño en sus camas metió,
 sobr'ellas unos çapatos que a grant huebra son;
 vistió camisa de rançal, tan blanca commo el sol,
 con oro e con plata todas las presas son,
 al puño bien están, ca él se lo mandó;
 sobr'ella un brial primo de ciclatón,
 obrado es con oro, parecen por o son;
 sobr'esto una piel vermeja, las bandas d'oro son
 siempre la viste mio Cid el Campeador. (ll. 3084-93)⁸⁸

The wealth of the Cid in this passage is unequivocal. Everything he wears is of the highest quality, as is made evident by the abundance of positive adjectives, repeated references to precious metals, and allusions to careful craftsmanship. His stockings are made from good woven material, 'buen paño'. His shoes have been finely worked with carvings and are 'a grant huebra'. Similar care has been lavished on his tunic which is embroidered with gold, 'obrado es con oro'. Such attention to detail is also evident in the description of his shirt, which the Cid has had made to his instructions, 'él se lo mandó'. This bespoke tailoring not only reflects his wealth, it also points to the great control he exerts over his material possessions, a power which he had once lacked. There are further manifestations of his

⁸⁷David Hook argues that this passage might be informed by the contemporary rhetorical conventions employed in the description of women's clothes and appearance, which were often erotic, as well as scenes of battle preparation. David Hook, 'Acción, descripción, y narración en el *Cantar de Mio Cid* en el contexto de la epopeya europea' in *Sonando*, ed. by Montaner, pp. 191-216 (pp. 211-3).

⁸⁸['Nor did the man born in a lucky hour waste any time. On his legs he wore breeches of finest cloth, and over them shoes of the finest workmanship. He donned a costly linen shirt, as shiny-white as the sun, with all the fastenings of gold and silver, and the cuffs fitting just right, for he had had them made to order. Over it he wore a finely made silk tunic of gold-laced brocade – up and down the length of the garment, the golden threads worked into the fabric shone brightly. Over all this he wore a scarlet cape fringed with gold – the one My Cid always wore.']

wealth in references to rich materials. Gold and silver appear in several pieces of clothing, which are made 'con oro e con plata', 'con oro', and 'd'oro'. He is also clothed in a 'piel vermeja', a burgundy fur or perhaps velvet, and wears a tunic of exquisite silk, 'primo de ciclatón'. However, this portrayal of the hero conveys more than a overwhelming impression of his wealth. The hero also seems to appear in dazzling brightness, almost evoking a divine vision and adding a moral dimension to his characterisation through the connotations of innocence and purity often borne by light imagery. In addition to the brightness which may be inferred from inclusion of gold and silver in his appearance, his shirt produces an impression of brilliance, as it appears to be as white as the sun, 'tan blanca como el sol'. Similarly, the gold embroidery which covers his cloak is said to glimmer, 'parecen por o son'. There is an overwhelming resplendence, which eradicates all previous reminiscences of dispossession and exile and underscores the hero's purity. Such innocence is found in two further places in this sartorial description. The reference to silk in 'primo de ciclatón' is potentially reminiscent of his daughters' own silk tunics in Afrenta scene. Here there is an insistence on the girls' flimsy 'camisas' and 'ciclatones' – mention is made of these no less than three times in ll. 2721, 2738-9, and 2744 – which draws attention to their innocent vulnerability and heightens the depravity of the Infantes' actions. Arguably then, the later reference to silk in the Cid's appearance may evoke its association with innocence in an earlier scene and bring to mind the attack itself, which in turn would consolidate the Cid's portrayal as the innocent injured party and support his call for justice. Finally, this innocence is maintained through the narratorial comment that the Cid always dressed like this, 'siempre la viste mio Cid el Campeador', although the opposite was implied in the opening lines. Rather than undermine the hero, however, through allusion to his earlier loss, the use of 'siempre' paradoxically serves to create a normative description. This is how the Cid does, should, and should always have dressed. This comment in support of the Cid additionally creates a longer narrative arch between his triumph here and the extra-textual point in his

trajectory before his loss of similar material goods. Through particular attention to his appearance and material wealth the final long description of the Cid informs his characterisation as a perfect, immutable and blameless hero, and shows that society has now changed to such a degree that he can now appear in all his true glory and be fully accommodated.

Correspondingly, the loss of status which the Infantes undergo in the court scene is also portrayed in material terms. The recognition of their unworthiness is here given an official dimension through the legal demands that the Cid makes in a public meeting arranged by the king himself. The first two of these charges are related to the return of material goods, namely two prized swords and the monetary gifts bestowed by the hero upon his sons-in-law. The Cid calls for their return, arguing that this is a just consequence of the Infantes' treatment of his daughters.

'Esto les demando a infantes de Carrión:
[...]
yo bien los quería d'alma e de coraçón,
diles dos espadas, a Colada e a Tizón,
(estás yo las gané a guisa de varón)
que s'ondrassen con ellas e sirviessen a vós.

[...]
Sacaron las espadas Colada e Tizón,
pusiéronlas en mano del rey so señor.
Saca las espadadas e relumbra toda la cort
las maçanas e los arriazes todos d'oro son,
maravillánse d'ellas todos los omnes buenos de la cort.

(ll. 3148, 3152-5, 3175-9)⁸⁹

Material objects are used to mark out the political standing of the characters in the scene, as in the episode relating the Cid's arrival at court. In this instance, the successful return of the prized swords indicates legal endorsement of the hero's position and public condemnation of the Infantes' actions. The support from the court is made explicit by the statement that the

⁸⁹['This is the claim I bring against the [Infantes] of Carrión [...] I gave them the swords Colada and Tizón. These I fairly won, in manly fashion, and meant that with them they should do themselves honour and better serve you.' [...] They produced the two swords, Colada and Tizón, and handed them over to the king, their lord. As the king drew them from their scabbards, their brightness shone forth throughout the court, for their pommels and hilt-bars were of gold. All the noblemen gathered there were amazed at the sight.']

judges unanimously accepted the Cid's charge, 'Tod esto es razón' (l. 3159). Moreover, these swords perform a symbolic function. They stand as tokens of the Cid's own martial victories – he makes it clear here that he won these, 'las gané', in his capacity as a knight, 'a guisa de varón' – and represent the Cid's chosen means of performing service and achieving success, namely warfare. His reasons then for giving the Infantes these weapons are correspondingly significant: he hoped that they too would adhere to this model and use them to gain honour, 'que s'ondrassen con ellas, and serve the king, 'sirviessen a vós', in the same way he did. The Cid's request that they be returned signals the failure by the Infantes to meet this standard.

Moreover, the swords are described in terms that strengthen their association with the Cid and reflect both his wealth and perfection. As in the above episode relating his sartorial appearance, the hero's martial possessions are resplendent and exquisite. The pommels, 'maçanas', and the cross-guards, 'arriazes', are completely made of gold, 'todos d'oro son'. In the hands of the king the swords exude such a dazzling brightness that he lights up the whole court, 'relumbra toda la cort', and sparks wonder in all good men who are present, 'maravillánse d'ellas todos los omnes buenos de la cort'. It is those who are good, it would seem, who truly appreciate their great value, in contrast to the antagonists. It is also possible to interpret the king's drawing of the weapon as a symbolic salute to the values it embodies, namely military service, and read this as a sign of his exclusive endorsement of the Cid and of the total and widespread transformation of society in the way that the light pervades the whole of the court. This emphasis on brightness carries further significance. As noted above, it substantiates the Cid's characterisation as a perfect hero through its connotations of good and innocence. Correspondingly, it suggests the Infantes' own imperfection since they are no longer allowed to possess such resplendent weapons as they have not proved themselves in battle. This is substantiated by the subsequent bestowal of the swords on two characters who are typically identified as warriors. The Cid hands the swords over to Pedro Bermúdez and Martín Antolínez whom he deems superior possessors, telling the former that the sword has

gained a better lord, 'mejora en señor' (l. 3190), and the latter that he is sure to win great honour and merit through its use, 'con ella ganaredes grand prez e grand valor' (ll. 3197b). The Cid's men later go on to prove the hero right in his assessment – in contrast to the Infantes who fail him – by exploiting the swords' potential to defeat his antagonists in the judicial combats.⁹⁰ Here too there is an emphasis on light. Colada is so bright and clear, 'tanto es linpia e clara', that it lights up the whole battlefield, 'relumbra todo el campo' (l. 3649). The depiction of the swords and their legal transfer represents the official acknowledgment of the superior military standard upheld by the Cid and his men, as well as a corresponding recognition of the Infantes' failure to meet that same standard. Moreover, the return of these material goods in the court episode offers further significance. It is notable that the Infantes are not simply stripped of their own goods or money. They are in fact required to give back objects which originally belonged to the hero, which creates the impression that these were never truly theirs. Consequently, the reinstatement of these possessions does more than represent the Cid's victory over the Infantes. It points to the perfection that characterises the Cid, by suggesting that only the hero and his men were, and could ever be, worthy enough to possess those objects which were temporarily given to the Infantes. As such, the transferal of these goods supports the overarching theme of heroic loss and recovery – and of exile-and-return – by presenting a microcosmic parallel in which symbolic, heroic objects are temporarily lost and then rightfully returned to the hero.

The official triumph of the Cid and his standard of behaviour over that of the Infantes is represented by the judicial combats. In these later episodes, the revelation of the Infantes' unworthiness reaches a climax. The charges of cowardice, mendacity and treachery levelled at the antagonists by the Cid's men in ll. 3313-3352, 3361-71, 3382-89 are not empty words or mere instruments of intrigue, like those employed by the original slanderers of the Cid. The hero's supporters go on to prove the truth of these charges – relating to the Infantes'

⁹⁰See ll. 3642-5 and ll. 3657-8 especially.

wayward and deceitful attitudes towards the lion, the battlefield, and their wives – through successful action on the judicial battlefield. In this behaviour the Cid's men resemble the hero of *Horn*, who similarly proves the treachery of his antagonists through action rather than words.⁹¹ The importance of deeds over words is acknowledged by the king himself at this point, which indicates the new prioritisation of the Cid's qualities at the centre of power. In response to the Infantes' frantic pleas before the combats, the king tells them to go out and fight like the Cid's men:

'Levad e salid al campo, ifantes de Carrión,
huebos vos es que lidiades a guisa de varones,
que nada non mancará por los del Campeador.
Si del campo bien salides, grand ondra avredes vós,
e si fuéredes vencidos, non rebtedes a nós,
ca todos los saben que lo buscastes vós. (ll. 3562-7)⁹²

The king urges the Infantes to display the kind of behaviour which is a defining trait of the Cid and his men, namely military drive. His recognition of military skill as a political weapon is made evident by the exhortation that the Infantes rise and go out onto the battlefield, 'Levad e salid al campo'. Moreover, he states that it is necessary – not just desirable – for them to fight like men, 'huebos vos es que lidiades a guisa de varones', which similarly shows the importance he now ascribes to military ability. Furthermore, he implies that the Infantes should act more like the Cid's men, who will deploy all of their martial resources in these combats, 'que nada non mancará por los del Campeador'. It is the military standard of behaviour upheld by the Cid's men that the king now presents as the normative model for the Infantes. The debate between the two competing models of service is therefore almost resolved by this stage. Lastly, the king is shown to anticipate the Infantes' defeat by stating that they should not blame him, 'non rebtedes a nós', if they are beaten, 'si fuéredes vencidos', because everyone knows that it is their own fault, 'ca todos los saben que lo

⁹¹ See pp. 16-18 in thesis.

⁹² ["Rise and sally into the field, [Infantes] of Carrión. Now you must fight like men, for you can be sure the Cid's champions will give it their all. If things go well for you in this combat, you will have won great honour for yourselves. If you are beaten, don't blame us, for everybody knows you brought this on yourselves."]

buscastes vós'. Their defeat appears to be a foregone conclusion even in Alfonso's view, which adumbrates the complete proof of their guilt in the judicial combats and their final displacement from their former positions of power.

The ultimate rejection of the Infantes' attitude to warfare is also made evident through the description of the judicial combats themselves. There is an emphasis on the violence in these struggles, which, if read in isolation, may be simply seen as part of the conventions pertaining to battle descriptions. However, this emphasis becomes more significant when these combats are read alongside the earlier episode of the Afrenta, which is the only other scene in the narrative in which the Infantes exert themselves physically and show any capacity for force. The later combat scenes may be interpreted as a form of corrective redress for the Afrenta in like terms, and as such add to the gradual overturning of the positions of the Infantes and the Cid in the poem. In the attack on the daughters, the Infantes compete with each other to the point of exhaustion as to who can give the better blows: 'Casandos son de ferir | ensádos' amos cuál dará mejores golpes' (ll. 2745-6). As discussed above, what is presented here is a kind of mock competition in which defenceless women are the object of violence and the opponents are not tested in any meaningful way. The attack here appears to be more of game, in which young men play at being warriors by practising on defenceless women, rather than truly testing themselves on the battlefield. By comparing this to their later behaviour on the battlefield, we see that the wife-beatings are the only kind of 'combat' that the Infantes are capable of winning. When forced to compete against proven warriors, they lose. The judicial combats may be interpreted as corrective counterparts to the deviance of the Afrenta, given the employment of similar terms in both sections. For example, in the earlier scene, there are repeated references to the spurs and saddle straps which the Infantes use to inflict pain on their wives. They first take them these out: 'Espuelas tienen calçadas los malos traidores, | en mano preden las cinchas fuertes e duradores'. They then use them to beat the daughters mercilessly and cut through their flesh,

as discussed above:

essora les conpieçan a dar los ifantes de Carrión,
 con las cinchas corredizas májanlas tan sin sabor;
 con las espuelas agudas, don ellas an mal sabor,
 ronpién las camisas e las carnes a ellas amas a dós.
 Linpia salió la sangre sobre los ciclatones. (ll. 2735-9)⁹³

The 'victory' that the Infantes earn here is revealed as false by the description of their defeat in the first judicial combat, which is similarly bloody and employs like terms. As such, the later episode is presented as the normative response to the perversion in the earlier one. In addition to the legal redress it provides, the way in which Pedro Bermúdez defeats Fernando González on the judicial battle appears to undo the antagonist's previous behaviour at the Afrenta in an additionally symbolic and parallel manner:

Ferrán Gonçález a Pero Vermúez el escudo·l' passó,
 prísol' en vazío, en carne no·l' tomó,
 bien en dos logares el astil le quebró.
 Firme estido Pero Vermúez, por esso no s'encamó
 [...]
 el belmez con la camisa e con la guarnizón
 de dentro en la carne una mano ge la metió
 por la boca afuera la sángrel' salió,
 quebráronle las cinchas, ninguna nol' ovo pro,
 por la copla del cavallo en tierra lo echó. (ll. 3626-40)⁹⁴

Fernando fails to deliver Pedro Bermúdez a single blow, in contrast to the very real beating he gives his wife. Earlier, he is able to slash through her clothes and skin; with his brother they 'ronpién las camisas e las carnes'. However, the blow he aims at the Cid's supporter cuts through empty air, 'prísol' en vazío', and does not reach his flesh, 'en carne no·l' tomó'. Instead, he himself receives blows that cut deep into his skin and mangle his clothes. Pedro Bermúdez strikes the Infante with his lance in such a way that he embeds his tunic and

⁹³['The [Infantes] began there and then to beat them with the buckled straps – how horribly they hurt them! Hacking at them with their sharp spurs, the [Infantes] inflicted still deeper pain, rending undershirt and flesh alike. The girls' pure blood flowed, staining their snow-white shirts.']

⁹⁴['Fernando González pierced right through Pedro's shield, but the stroke missed, and the flesh remained unscathed, while Fernando's lance was shattered in two. Pedro Bermúdez sat up straight in the saddle, keeping his balance [...] His shirt and padded tunic, and some of the iron mesh, were driven by the impact a full hand's -breath into his body. Blood spewed from his mouth, as the saddle girths gave way – they were all useless to him now – and he was driven over the horse's croup and hurled into the ground.']

mailcoat, 'el belmez con la camisa e con la guarnizón', a whole hand into his flesh, 'de dentro en la carne una mano ge la metió'. This goes beyond the graphic violence of the girls' blood-soaked tunics, 'sangrientas an las camisas' (l. 2744). The violence which the Infante endures may therefore be seen as a corrective and overriding inversion of the violence that he himself inflicted earlier. Similarly, the depiction of saddle straps in this episode draws attention to their proper use and reveals the true powerlessness of the Infante in normative combat. The saddle straps on his horse, accoutrements which he had earlier used to beat his wife, now snap, 'quebráronle las cinchas', and no longer hold anything up, 'ninguna nol' ovo pro'. The breaking of these straps which had previously been used as weapons by the Infante symbolises the final breaking or effacement of his earlier power. This leads to him falling off his horse, 'en tierra lo echó', which reveals his extensive lack of power within a real testing ground of military prowess. In contrast, Pedro Bermúdez stays firmly on his horse, 'Firme estido Pero Vermúdez, por esso no s'encamó', and also delivers the right blows. As such, the scene not only underscores the falsity and deviancy of the Infante's previous 'success' in the Afrenta by comparing it with his failure in real combat, it highlights his military inadequacy further by presenting a contrasting, normative model for success in physical combat in Pedro Bermúdez. Lastly, the corrective element of this scene is also discernible in the nature of the wound sustained by the Infante. Pedro Bermúdez's blow causes blood to gush out of his mouth, 'por la boca afuera la sángrel' salió'. The significance of this becomes clearer if the general portrayal of the antagonists as men of words, rather than of deeds, is brought to mind, and especially if this description of the wound is read alongside the earlier charge made by the Cid's supporter. Pedro Bermúdez accuses Fernando of lying in l. 3313, 'Mientes, Ferrando, de cuanto dicho has', and insults him in l. 3328 by calling him a tongue without hands, 'lengua sin manos'. Such charges serve as reminders of their characteristic propensity to rely solely on words as a means of exerting.⁹⁵ The victorious blow with which the Cid's

⁹⁵Martín Antolínez makes a similar charge to Diego González in ll. 3362 when he calls him a mouth without

nephew follows this charge therefore symbolises the ultimate triumph of men of action over men of words, as the very source of the Infante's power – his mouth – is choked and covered in blood as a result of Pedro Bermúdez's forceful blow.

The exile-and-return structure of the *CMC* provides a stage on which two different kinds of knightly service may be tested and their political worth debated. The initial exile of the hero symbolises the failure of society and its leader to recognise the protagonist and his militaristic qualities. Paradoxically, it is the space of exile which allows the hero to prove the worth of these qualities – and the usefulness of his particular service to the king – through the concrete material gains which his military victories outside of the kingdom afford. As such, the space of exile in the *CMC* can be seen to function as a space of regeneration, or a *tabula rasa*, in which the Cid's identity may not only be displayed to the full, but can also be tested again and again without any loss to its integrity. The ability of the heroic identity to survive intact and, moreover, to flourish outside of the sanctioned realm of the kingdom and consolidate new territories arguably stands as a literary representation of the concern for the protection and expansion of territory that characterised the Christian kingdoms of Iberia at the time of the poem's composition. In the *CMC* exile is the necessary device that allows for the full representation of a Spanish heroism, whose place is not within palace walls, but on the battleground outside Christian kingdoms and in the frontier lands. The celebration of his victories on the judicial battlefield entails a corresponding condemnation of figures who fail to display any of the qualities necessary for conquest. Fundamentally, it is the question of what is politically expedient for expansionism that is found at the heart of the debate about the two competing models of knightly service embodied by the Cid and the Infantes. Like Horn who cannot be accommodated by the feasting society of Brittany or the hunting and chess-playing customs of Westir, the Cid belongs to the world of warfare outside the court,

truth, '¡Call, alevoso, boca sin verdad!'. This mendacity in the antagonists is also pointed out by Muño Gustioz in ll. 3386-7 who argues that Asur González never tells the truth, 'Non dizes verdad', and is false to all, 'falso a todos e más el Criador'.

rather than to the intrigues of palace relations and the tournaments of the Arthurian knight. The Infantes, on the other hand, provide the foil to this Spanish heroism and display the very opposite behaviour and values that are needed for political expansion, such as cowardice, intrigue, a preoccupation with landed wealth and lineage, and a preference for the inner sphere of the palace as their space of operation. Their royal favour and ensuing events of the Afrenta suggests that the king supports, at least initially, the model of service which would not only fail to expand the kingdom, but which puts its survival most at risk, just as analogous policies in Westir lead to a pagan invasion and the death of the two young princes and representatives of the royal line. Although the *CMC* offers no such depiction of a successful invasion from the enemy, the scene at the Afrenta may be read as a symbolic warning about the consequences of endorsing the model of service offered by the Infantes. The Infantes attack the very symbols of home territory and the motivations behind the Cid's military enterprise. Although within a domestic setting, their actions are not so dissimilar to the convention of the abuse and rape of women in the context of war and enemy invasion. The episode at the Afrenta can therefore be interpreted as a microcosm of the large-scale consequences of adopting a non-militaristic policy. The horrific violence committed against the daughters, as representatives of the necessary partners for settlement and the continuity of a community, symbolises the danger posed to the kingdom and its perpetuation, when non-combative policies are espoused by its ruler. This episode becomes one of the key arguments in the debate between the two competing models of knighthood through its allusion to the disastrous macropolitical consequences of the central authority's neglect of the policies embodied by the Spanish hero, and as such perhaps serves as an extra-textual commentary on the importance of maintaining an aggressive foreign policy.

One final point is to be made about the particular kind of heroism represented by the Cid of the *CMC*. His function as the positive and celebratory representation of an expansionist drive also becomes more apparent when the poem is compared to earlier

historical sources in Arabic. Here the representation of Rodrigo is similar to the views of the Cid as an egotistical plunderer, upheld by his literary antagonists and articulated in the *Historia*, as discussed above. The early twelfth century chronicle by Ibn Bassam, translated by Harney as *The Treasury of the Excellencies of the Spaniards*, incorporates a letter from one Abu Tahir, who, according to the historian, was witness to the conquest of Valencia by Rodrigo. Here the Cid is depicted as a tyrant and a greedy plunderer who ravaged the beautiful recesses of the city and led his men to kill the innocent, beautiful women of Valencia. Abu Tahir describes him as the 'tyrant campeador' or 'الطاغية الكنييطور' and dog of the Galician people,' ⁹⁶ 'أَكْلَبُ الجلائفة تسمى برذريق'. His invasion of Valencia is portrayed as a profane violation of the beautiful and sacred places of the city, which are described as surpassing the suns and moons in appearance: *فَرُبَّ ذروة عَزَّ قَد طالما بلدت الامانى والنفوس دونها ويست*: ⁹⁷ *الاقمار والشموس من ان تكونها قد*. These examples seem to conform to the expectations of a source relating the conquest of Valencia from a Islamic perspective. As in some parts of the *Historia*, the interpretations of the Cid's exploits shown here are not dissimilar from the viewpoints of the *CMC* antagonists when they argue that the Cid acted wickedly and egotistically.⁹⁸ Again, the voicing of such opinions through the mouth of the antagonists is perhaps a means of limiting and undermining what seems to have been an Iberian view of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar found in both Christian and Muslim circles during the twelfth century and earlier. Furthermore, this Arabic source also provides the means to realise the symbolic potential of the Afrenta episode further, if the latter is read alongside Abu Tahir's account of the Cid's conquest of Valencia. The combination of the descriptions of the beautiful interior

⁹⁶*Le Cid, d'après de nouveaux documents*, ed. and trans. by Reinhart Dozy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1860), pp. VI and X.

⁹⁷Dozy, *Le Cid*, pp. XIII. For an English translation see Harney, *Epic*, pp. 109-113. ['Rodrigo desired more eagerly than ever to take possession of Valencia. He seized upon that city the way a creditor seizes upon a debtor; he loved it the way lovers love the places where they have tasted love's pleasures. He cut off the city's food supply, killed many of her defenders, caused her all manner of woe, and showed himself to her from every hilltop. How many superb locales – that one could scarcely dream of visiting, places that moon and stars could not hope to rival in their beauty – did that tyrant not overwhelm and profane to their innermost recesses?']

⁹⁸Il. 1864, 1346-7.

of the city, Rodrigo's violence towards the young Muslim women of Valencia, and their own portrayal as appealing figures whose bright appearance and beauty is envied by the sun and the moon, serve to create a more literary and pathetic representation of a Moorish defeat at the hands of a Christian invader:

وربّ وجا كانت تدميا الدرّ وتحسدا لكشمس والبدر، ويتغاير عليا المرجان والدر قد اصبع نريّة لزجاجا نعلا لاقدام⁹⁹
اراذل اعلاجا

The description in this Iberian source of a Christian invasion in terms of the violence suffered by alluring women opens up the possible interpretation of the Infantes' abuse of their beautiful wives as a similar, if inflected, representation of invasion. When read alongside the Arabic history, the Afrenta episode is made more of a key argument in the debate between competing models of service and the dangers of non-combative policies through its use of imagery similar to that found in representations of invasion and the ensuing violence against women. In addition, the similarities between the description of the Cid's behaviour in the Arabic history and that displayed by the Infantes in the Spanish poem suggest the potential intertextuality of these texts, as well as the Latin ones, and the careful selection and manipulation of stories relating to Rodrigo Díaz by the *CMC* poet to construct the perfect, military hero who serves his king, God, family, and men – and by extension Christian society itself – and who is able to protect and expand that Christian territory with inevitable success. By the end of the poem the literary hero of the *CMC* seems exert pressure on society beyond the text itself. Through the final lines which relate how the Cid integrated his own warrior bloodline into the royal households of Spain, the Cid of the *CMC*, in an analogous way to Horn, serves promote a specific view of Castile, and to some extent Christian Spain, and offer a literary vision of that society as one with an intrinsic, unchanging military identity that a thirteenth-century audience could celebrate, claim as

⁹⁹['How many [...] girls – their blushing, milk-washed cheeks envied by sun and moon for their beauty; their teeth, like pearls in their mouths, rivaling coral itself for their whiteness – were wedded to his spear-points, crushed beneath the feet of his swaggering mercenaries!']

their own, and use to bolster their own expansionist drive and identity.

3. *GUI DE WAREWIC* AND DIDACTIC ROMANCE

The composition of *Gui de Warewic* in the early thirteenth century could be seen to herald, in terms used by Rosalind Field and Judith Weiss, the 'second generation' of Anglo-Norman romances, into which authors freely incorporated motifs from earlier narratives, such as Gaimar's *Estoire*, the *Romance of Horn*, and *Boeve de Haumtone*, and confidently exploited the authority and gravitas with which the translations of Latin histories and *romans d'antiquité* had originally imbued the vernacular.¹ The wide range of influences in *Gui* such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, the *chanson de geste*, Chrétien de Troyes, and hagiography has long been acknowledged, with scholars paying particular attention to the exemplary and penitential nature of the tale arising from the interplay between hagiographic material and romance.² In this vein, the relationship between *Gui* and the *Life of St Alexis* has been closely examined, most notably by David Klausner and Susan Crane.³ The hybrid result of

¹Waldef is seen to provide the bridge between these two generations. On this point see Rosalind Field, 'Waldef and the Matter with/of England', in *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation*, ed. by Judith Weiss, Jennifer Fellows, and Morgan Dickson (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 25-39, (pp. 30-1). Peter Damian-Grint argues that vernacular historians were able to present vernacular texts as having an *auctoritas* similar to that of their Latin originals; this allowed for the emergence of free-standing vernacular literature which was also authoritative. See Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular History* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp. 30-1. See also Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 61.

²Alfred Ewert first noted the possible influences on *Gui* of *chansons de geste* such as *le Moniage Guillaume* as well as *Horn* and *Amis et Amile*. See *Gui*, ed. by Ewert, I, p. viii. This 'magpie' tendency to borrow from many different places has been acknowledged in subsequent scholarship. See M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 167. The influences of Chrétien's *Yvain* and *Erec* in particular have been noted in Judith Weiss, *Boeve de Haumtone and Gui de Warewic: Two Anglo-Norman Romances* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), p. 14. See also Judith Weiss, 'Insular Beginnings: Anglo-Norman Romance' in *A Companion to Romance: From Classical to Contemporary*, ed. by Corinne Saunders (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 26-44 (p. 37); Judith Weiss, 'The Exploitation of Ideas of Pilgrimage and Sainthood in *Gui de Warewic*', in *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance*, ed. by Laura Ashe, Ivana Djordjević and Judith Weiss (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 43-65 (p. 43). For the interplay between hagiography and romance see Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, pp. 162-7; Hanspeter Schlep, *Exemplarische Romanze in Mittelenglischen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 133-149; Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1969), esp. pp. 120-2, 220-227; Andrea Hopkins, *Sinful Knights*.

³Crane, *Insular Romance*; David Klausner, 'Didacticism and Drama in *Guy of Warwick*', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 6 (1975), 103-19. See also Susan Crane Dannebaum, 'Guy of Warwick and the Question of Exemplary Romance', *Genre*, 17 (1984), 351-41. While I acknowledge the differences between the Anglo-Norman version of *Gui* and the later Middle English versions, including that of the Auchinleck manuscript, for the purposes of my argument about certain general trends in the *Gui/Guy* story, I have referred to scholarship which addresses the Middle English version when the discussion can also be equally applied to the original Anglo-Norman work.

these converging influences has produced in *Gui* a text which is distinct in its ethos and which has, perhaps not surprisingly, produced studies that focus on the problematic categorisation and apparent lack of unity in the poem.⁴ As I will argue, *Gui* can be seen to work against the self-consciously pleasurable function of literature and ideal of courtly love announced in works such as the romances of Chrétien de Troyes and to promote in its place a didactic portrayal of a protagonist who eschews a life of arms fought for his lady in order to set out on a penitential pilgrimage as a *miles Christi*, a transformation that leads him to defend Christendom and England single-handedly in judicial combats and, ultimately, to become a hermit.⁵ To a certain extent then, *Gui* continues the Anglo-Norman tradition, distinct from those of continental works, of heroes in romance who defend their land, fight for their dynastic rights, and restore justice in the realm, yet it goes further than that in its reconfiguration of elements from earlier Anglo-Norman romances and other genres.⁶ In using hagiographic material it also takes up a strong didactic, moral ethos, much more akin to the earlier vernacular histories, with which it articulates a direct challenge to the preoccupation in courtly romance with pleasure and *eros*.⁷ *Gui* is distinct in proposing within the same narrative structure two alternative motivations for knightly feats where the

⁴A perceived lack of coherence and structural integrity is a common objection to *Gui*. To take a recent example, Weiss argues that the *Gui* author ignores narrative consistency to highlight the hero's sanctity. See Weiss, 'Exploitation', pp. 43, 48, 55. This is discussed in more detail below.

⁵Schlep argues that in the second half Guy takes up the model of the *miles Christi*. See Schelp, *Romanze*, pp. 137-8.

⁶Indeed, despite his eventual retreat into the eremitic life, Gui does father a son, Reinbrun. This acts, however, as a kind of compensatory device which allows the author to push at the limits of conventional Anglo-Norman heroism without producing a hero completely divorced from the micropolitical world of dynastic claims often portrayed in Insular romance. The resulting hero is ascetic yet not totally otherworldly or inaccessible for the audience, which balance may account for the enduring popularity of the Gui/Guy legend. Scholars have seen in Gui a hero who is able to combine worldly interests with spirituality. See Crane, *Insular Romance*, p. 111; Hopkins, *Sinful Knights*, p. 78. For the distinctiveness of Insular heroism as opposed to that of the continental French tradition see Ashe, 'Hero', pp. 141-5.

⁷This concern for pleasure is apparent both in the narrative itself and on a metatextual level. In the first case, the protagonists perform feats of arms to win their ladies and so it is (sexual) desire or the prospect of pleasure that drives their exploits. In the second, the prologues of Chrétien de Troyes argue for the recreational function of literature. The reference to early vernacular histories points to the fact that the distinct concerns of *Gui*, written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, can be seen as in some way paralleling those which Spiegel argues gave rise to the emergence of vernacular prose historiography – that is, a departure from moral instruction and truthfulness in the vernacular. Although written in verse, *Gui* could arguably still be seen as responding to the subsequent spiritualisation of the vernacular and the moralization of the violence in thirteenth-century literature, of which the emergence of the Grail Quest is a key example. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 62-4, 153.

second part with its characteristics of Insular romance, such as the concern for defence of Christendom and service of God, completely rejects the first, more typically continental, section. Crucially, however, the hybridity of the text still allows for the device of heroic development from the continental tradition to be sustained. By this I mean the tendency for protagonists in continental romances to undergo self-development during their trajectory through individual trials, usually in single combat and often for the benefit of the beloved. In contrast, the heroes from earlier Anglo-Norman romances, such as *Horn*, are fully-formed, perfect figures who experience no such development.⁸ Ultimately, it is this typically continental flexibility, arguably more appealing than the faultless heroism of *Horn* or of saints such as Alexis, that is integrated into *Gui* and allows for the peripeteia in the middle of the text so critical to the didactic function of the poem in both structural and thematic terms.⁹ This is particularly important because *Gui*'s ability to change is necessary for his penitence, a state which is a transformative rejection of past acts, and for his conversion towards God. Simultaneously, his flexibility also enhances the accessibility of *Gui*, portraying him as a more human hero and as prone to sinning as any man; both of these are vital if the didactic purpose of the work is to be truly effective and *Gui* successfully set up as an heroic *exemplum*.

Conversely, some scholars have questioned the function and significance of the peripeteia in which *Gui* turns from a life of deeds performed for his lady to one where his focus is God, and suggest that this is simply a device to prolong the narrative, or worse, an unconvincing pretext for more adventure.¹⁰ Arguments on the gratuitous nature of peripeteia

⁸On the perfect character of *Horn* see Ashe, *Fiction*, pp. 122-3, 147-8. In comparing Insular and continental works, I am not including discussion of the prose Grail romances, which are more didactic in tone and similarly concerned with the spiritualisation of knighthood, like *Gui*, because the primary texts of the thesis are all poetic works.

⁹Alexis is also perfect. See Klausner, 'Didacticism', p. 107. Unlike *Horn* and Alexis, *Gui* is an accessible and more human hero which arguably accounts for his appeal.

¹⁰See William Calin, '*Gui de Warewic* and the Nature of Late Anglo-Norman Romance', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 17 (1990), 23-32 (p. 26). See Weiss, 'Exploitation', pp. 43, 48, 55. The length and episodic structure of the *Gui* or *Guy* romance is often a topic of discussion in scholarship. On this point see Field, 'Romance', p. 159.

in the Gui/Guy story – and related facets such as its length and episodic structure – are found in the more generous interpretations by David Klausner, who insists on the didactic value of the second part with its emphasis on devotion to God, yet maintains that this purpose is found only in the second part and not the first.¹¹ However, I would argue that the bipartite structure of the romance is fundamental to its didactic purpose and the overriding ideology of the poem which ultimately rejects the individualistic performance of deeds for love, and by implication, for renown and glory, or *chevalerie terrestre*, and replaces it with knightly service to God, or *chevalerie célestielle*. In other words, the didactic purpose which prioritises divine love cannot be conveyed by the latter half without it being interpreted in relation to the earlier part: the second must necessarily be perceived as a mirroring response and direct deconstruction of the first which seeks to abolish self-serving knighthood and in its place promote a very different, penitential Crusading hero who fights for the higher causes of God and England.¹² In line with the conventions of Anglo-Norman romance, *Gui* is therefore the 'corrective' text *par excellence*, as it sets out a very clear bipartite structure which allows for easy comparison, with this, of course, being of obvious benefit to the didactic objective, and in which the second part is seen to rewrite the first half and its adherence to the conventions of worldly chivalry in romance, such as love, fame, and self-interest, in a direct and explicit manner, as we shall examine below.¹³ This chapter will focus on precisely this rejection of worldly chivalry in romance, as encapsulated in Wace's treatment of knightly endeavours: 'pur amistié e pur amies | funt chevaliers chevaleries', and will look at how this is replaced by a new argument in the narrative that didactically

¹¹Klausner, 'Didacticism', p. 104.

¹²In this sense the mode of heroism in *Gui* is more akin to that of epics such as *le Moniage Guillaume* and the *Cantar de Mio Cid*. The latter too seems to have been influenced by hagiography. For a discussion of the relationship between hagiography material and Castilian epic see Alvar and Alvar, *Épica*, p. 53. For the *Cid* as a *miles Christi* see Hart, 'Infantes', p. 21. See above for the differences between Insular and continental romances.

¹³This corrective purpose would seem to be in keeping with the conventions of Anglo-Norman romance. See Field, 'Romance', p. 159.

enforces the Christian ideal of love of God.¹⁴ To demonstrate this I will consider three different sections of the poem, after briefly discussing some of the historical developments which may account for the work's penitential tone. Firstly, I examine the prologue and discuss how a didactic purpose may be perceived to be established at the outset of the poem, which promotes from the start a selfless love of God. Secondly, Gui's peripeteia that divides the poem into two sections will be considered and shown to illustrate how the second part with its focus on knightly service of God rejects the first with its focus on love as the primary motivation behind military deeds. Thirdly, I examine the development of the relationship between Gui and Felice and consider how erotic love is supplanted by relations of a more ascetic nature.

The reasons underlying this shift towards the spiritualisation of romance narrative as evidenced in *Gui*, and the departure from interest in pleasure and depictions of the self-serving protagonist, may be aesthetic; alternatively, it could be seen as arising out of certain historical trends. The dating of *Gui* has recently been assigned by Judith Weiss to the period between 1200 and 1210, which would situate the work in the midst of a number of political, intellectual and cultural developments around this period in whose discourse *Gui* could possibly be seen to be participating, the most pertinent of these being the Fourth Crusade of 1202-4.¹⁵ Some scholarship has focussed on the Crusading ethos of the second part, embodied in the figure of Gui as a knight of England on a one-man crusade for God and the protection of Christians.¹⁶ The text's potential relationship with this and the earlier Second and Third Crusades of 1147-9 and 1189-92 has been noted by Rebecca Wilcox and Paul Price, who argue that the text may be informed by a certain anxiety relating to the Christian campaigns in the East, especially the moral debacle of the sacking of Constantinople in

¹⁴*Brut*, ll.10771-2.

¹⁵Judith Weiss, 'Gui de Warewic at Home and Abroad: A Hero for Europe', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. by Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 1-11 (p. 4).

¹⁶See Rebecca Wilcox, 'Romancing the East: Greeks and Saracens in *Guy*', ed. by McDonald, pp. 217-40; Weiss, 'at Home'.

1204.¹⁷ Paul Price discusses how Gui may provide a corrective model for the kind of rampaging, violent knight deplored in the twelfth century by critics such as Guibert de Nogent who were otherwise supporters of Crusaders and their devotional service to God.¹⁸ In this vein, we might see Gui's trajectory as symbolically reflecting the changing modes of knighthood during the twelfth century and early thirteenth. The rejection of the first part and its motivation echoes the criticism directed at worldly knights by intellectual figures such as Bernard de Clairvaux and Alain de Lille. The latter disparages the preoccupation with glory and predilection for violence he sees in the behaviour of knights, pointing to vanity inherent in the pursuit of worldly honours.¹⁹ Such preoccupations are certainly encoded in Gui's initial behaviour as he seeks to gain the specifically superlative renown demanded by Felice. Similarly, the first and second motivations in the *Gui* narrative may be seen to echo the arguments advanced by Bernard of Clairvaux in response to the Second Crusade. In his *De Laude Novae Militiae*, which has been seen as an authoritative apology for the new modality of religious life Crusade necessitated, Bernard vigorously denounces the sins of the ordinary, worldly knighthood and promotes in its place a new, spiritual chivalry which safeguards the Christian soul in combat, if the knight fights for the right or good cause – that is, for God:

Novum, inquam, militiae genus, et saculis inexpertum: qua gemino pariter conflict infatigabiliter decertatur, tum adversus carnem et sanguinem, tum contra spiritualia nequitiae in coelestibus [...] Impavidus profecto miles, et omni ex parte secures, qui ut corpus ferri, sic animum fidei lorica induitur (I).²⁰

Most pertinently for our interpretation of the *Gui* narrative, he continues:

¹⁷Wilcox, 'Romancing', p. 222.

¹⁸Paul Price, 'Confessions of a Godless Killer: *Guy of Warwick* and Comprehensive Entertainment', in *Translation and Innovation*, ed. by Weiss, Fellows, and Dickson, pp. 93-110, (pp. 101-6). In relation to Price's argument see also Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 48-9.

¹⁹Quoted in Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 15.

²⁰['This is, I say, a new kind of knighthood and one unknown to the ages gone by. It ceaselessly wages a twofold war both against flesh and blood and against a spiritual army of evil in the heavens [...] He is a truly fearless knight and secure on every side, for his soul is protected by the armour of faith just as his body is protected by armour of steel' .] Translations are taken from Bernard de Clairvaux, 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', in *Treatises III*, trans. trans. by Conrad Greenia (Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1977).

Ex cordis nempe affectu, non belli eventu, pensatur vel periculum, vel victoria christiani. Si bona fuerit causa pugnantis, pugnae exitus malus esse non poterit (I).²¹

It is the devotional motivation behind military endeavour that is the crux of Bernard's argument for the new kind of knightly service which will reward its adherents with salvation. The spirituality of devotion is joined to the physicality of combat to produce a doubly powerful knight now secure in soul as well as body, the twofold potency of which is underscored by mirroring phrases such as 'corpus ... animum' and 'ferri ... fidei' highlighting the joining of earthly enterprise to heavenly reward, if the former is done for God. This is played out in the second part of *Gui*, where the hero, now 'ex cordis' 'affectu' to fight for the 'bona causa' of God and the protection of Christians, all the while maintaining the same superlative physical prowess displayed in the first half, is rewarded with the spiritual *victoria* of a saintly death. This new kind of knighthood is embodied in particular by the military orders such as the Templars and Hospitallers whose members were 'knights who were poor, chaste and obedient, monks who were fighters'. Robert Bartlett argues that these orders blended the eleventh-century knightly traits of violence, acquisitiveness, lasciviousness on the one hand with monastic adherence to poverty, obedience and chastity on the other, to produce in the twelfth century a mixture of aggression and self-abnegation.²² Such a conception of knighthood in these orders is in essence embodied by Gui in the second half of the work where his heroism is akin to the moral code of the historical orders; he too is a markedly ascetic warrior.²³ It is thus possible that the author was responding in particular to the contemporaneous Fourth Crusade and surrounding political and theological discourse on spiritual knighthood which had its roots in the twelfth century. Moreover, by harnessing the popular literary form of the romance, he was able to produce a work of

²¹[Indeed, danger or victory for a Christian depends on the dispositions of his heart and not on the fortunes of war. If he fights for a good reason, the issue of his fight can never be evil.]

²²Bartlett, *Europe*, p. 264.

²³It was also been suggested that the career and prowess of crusader knight William Marshal might have provided a historical model for the heroism articulated in *Gui*. See Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p. 170.

guaranteed appeal and promote the model of the crusading, God-fearing knight in a fundamentally didactic manner.²⁴

The influence of twelfth- and thirteenth-century theological developments is potentially also evident in the use of penitence in the *Gui* narrative, a religious phenomenon which is of fundamental importance in both structural and thematic terms. Clerical reform in the later twelfth century tended towards a greater emphasis on the instruction of the laity and advocated systematic penitence guided by priestly counselling and based on individual confession.²⁵ Paris theologians in the twelfth century such as Jacques de Vitry were responsible for the theology of confession and penance, which gained the support of Innocent III and arguably culminated in the Fourth Lateran Council 1215 whose canon *Omnis utriusque Sexus* called for annual confession.²⁶ Scholars have discussed how this new ecclesiastical focus on the instruction of the laity and increasing concern for penance may have induced a growing interest in and production of hagiography and the development of more ascetic heroes in romances.²⁷ Moreover, this concern for instruction of the laity may account for the work's own didacticism and the choice by the author, likely to be a cleric, of specifically popular literary form. These centralising reforms also increased participation of the laity in church life by outlining a wide variety of new spiritual outlets such as the construction of new church buildings, an activity which we see performed in the second part of *Gui* by the now pious Felice.²⁸ Furthermore, it is important to note that calls for periodic interior reflection and contrition in the 1215 reforms marked an increasing tendency toward lighter, more achievable penance for the laity and a departure from a strong focus on

²⁴In terms of manuscript circulation, *Gui de Warewic* is the most popular of the Anglo-Norman romances; the popularity of the work is well attested in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. by Wiggins and Field. It has also been suggested that the *CMC*, which has been dated to the early thirteenth century and as such could be contemporaneous with *Gui*, was commissioned for a similar purpose in Spain and could be seen as part of the Crusading rhetoric in Iberia. See Barton, *Aristocracy*, p. 22.

²⁵Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 33.

²⁶Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 5; Biller, 'Confession', pp. 7-8.

²⁷Crane, *Insular Romance*, pp. 92-106. The way contemporary ideas about penance may inform the *Gui/Guy* narrative and other romances has also been discussed in Hopkins, *Sinful Knights*, p. 36.

²⁸Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979), p. 82-4. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 55.

suffering and abstinence which was intrinsic to the conceptualisation of the Christ figure and subsequently typical of early martyrs. It is possible to perceive in Gui's peripeteia and subsequent pilgrimage the conflation of these two modes of penance: in Gui's life-changing, harsh pilgrimage we see reflected the earlier tradition of physical atonement which was more heroic in nature and constituted a single, distinct moment which placed the sinner in a new social and religious category, the *ordo penitentialis*. However, in his actual conversion which takes place in a moment of quiet and solitary stillness and is related through the indirect discourse of his thoughts, it is also possible to perceive the new tendency toward inward reflection and inner contrition. Contemporary theological ideas about penance also included arguments that contrition was the crucial element in reconciliation between sinful humans and the divine, a concept which is played out in the narrative through Gui's ascendancy into heaven once he has finished his penitential pilgrimage and become a hermit.²⁹ It would seem that these reforms had cultural influence too: John Baldwin has compared literary texts produced before and after 1215 and argues that features of private penance were virtually absent from early *chansons de geste* and romances, whereas works written after the Fourth Council, such as Gerbert of Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette* and his Continuation of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*, reflect the new interest in private penance.³⁰ On this point we may return to the allied argument proposed by Gabrielle Spiegel about cultural changes in literature and historiography. Not only does *Gui* seem to incorporate the increasing emphasis on private penance, as well as the distinct kind of spiritual knighthood discussed above, it may also be responding to the early thirteenth-century crisis in courtly romance during which suspicion of the seductive and mendacious potential of literature was a subject of much criticism in clerical circles. It is possible that *Gui* too was adhering to the renewed concern for truthfulness and gravitas taken up by the new historiographical prose in

²⁹Kaeupner, *Holy Warriors*, p. 173-6.

³⁰John W. Baldwin, 'From the Ordeal to Confession', in *Handling Sin*, ed. by Biller and Minnis, pp. 191-209 (p. 201). Also quoted in Kaeupner, *Holy Warriors*, p.177.

France.³¹ Such concerns for the moral and didactic function of literary texts are certainly apparent from the outset in *Gui*.

i. Prologue

The didactic purpose of *Gui* to supplant the self-serving and material conventions of courtly romance with a strong and ascetic devotion to God devoid of excessive egocentrism is adumbrated in the prologue. The opening lines of the work first establish an emphasis on Christian morality; conventionally, the opening also invites the audience to follow the examples of good men and to remember them by hearing and relating their good and glorious deeds. The prologues of earlier literary works of the twelfth century often pointed to the instructional and commemorative, as well as a recreational, function of literature.³² A comparison with prologues of other works will indicate that although some of the *Gui* features do appear to be conventional, its didactic tone is far more emphatic. In the first instance, that wondrous deeds, whether historical or fictional, are worthy of praise, emulation and preservation for posterity was the justification put forward by several authors for their works. So in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* the author facetiously argues that there is virtually nothing to be found written on the kings of the past, yet 'gesta eorum digna eternitate laudis constarent' (*i.l.*).³³ His history is presented as a Latin, and thereby authoritative, continuation of a supposedly ongoing commemoration of deeds which 'a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter predicarentur', and are

³¹ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 58-60.

³² As discussed above. This practice was not so far removed from Classical ideals of mixing the *dulce* with the *utile* as found in Horace. In his *Ars Poetica* Horace describes the success, both literary and monetary, of the writer who manages to combine instruction and entertainment in a literary work: 'omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci | lectorem delectando priterque monendo'. ['He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader.'] (ll. 333-4). Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

³³ ['[T]he deeds of these men were such that they deserve to be praised for all time.'] Citations are taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae I*, ed. by Neil Wright (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985); translations are from Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993).

found, according to Geoffrey, in an old Briton book.³⁴ In *chanson de gete* too, the emphasis in the prologue is on the retelling and hearing of the glorious deeds of kings past, though with a less pointed concern for instruction: the author of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, for example, engages his audience by means of a rhetorical question, which, by summarising the wondrous feats of the hero, has the audience already listening to his deeds before they can respond: 'Plaist vus oir [...] | de granz batallies et de forz esturs [...] [cum] Willame prise ver [Deramed] forçur, | tant qu'il ocist en l'Archamp par grant onur?' (ll. 1, 4-5).³⁵ The Anglo-Norman romances also indicate in their prologues a concern for the commemoration and retelling of great feats. In *Horn*, the author begins by declaring that he must tell the tale of the hero before he dies; this rhetorical urgency alludes to the importance of memory for the transmission of such tales: 'Seignurs [...] Mestre Thomas ne volt k'il seit mis a declin | K'il ne die de Horn, le vaillant orphanin, | Cum puis l'unt treit li felun sarasin' (ll. 1, 3-5).³⁶

The prologues of Chrétien de Troyes set out the same ideals of commemoration and didacticism but also point more overtly to the central importance of the self. This applies not only to the presentation of the author but also to the arguments in his works, which suggest a prioritisation of the more self-serving ideals of *eros* and pleasure. These are apparent in the prologue of his earliest work *Erec et Enide*, written around 1170.³⁷ The focus on the egocentric ideals of glory which are played out in the narrative proper are also present at the authorial level in the prologue, where the writer's concern for commemoration borders on a hankering for fame. In *Erec* Chrétien claims that his tale will be remembered as long as Christianity endures: his ambition is clearly to establish his story in the collective memory:

Des or comancerai l'estoire
Qui toz jorz mes iert an memoire

³⁴['[T]hese deeds were handed joyfully down in oral tradition, just as if they had been committed to writing, by many peoples who had only their memory to rely on.']

³⁵['Will you hear [...] about great battles and fierce struggles ... [how] William waged a fiercer war against Deramed, until he killed him at l'Archamp achieving great honour?'] Citations and translations are from *La Chanson de Guillaume*, ed. and trans. by Philip E. Bennett (London: Grant & Cutler, 2000).

³⁶['My lords [...] Master Thomas does not want to end his own life without telling the story of Horn, fatherless and brave, and his fate at the hands of the wicked Saracens'.]

³⁷Henceforth *Erec*.

Tant con durra crestiantez (ll. 23-5).³⁸

Chrétien's determination for his romance to be part of this tradition of literary commemoration is evident in his playful use of time. The story or 'conte' is presented at the outset as being indisputably worthy of remembrance by posterity through the use of the future tense in 'iert' and 'durra'; its longevity is in no doubt whatsoever. Moreover, the use of the future here presents the tale as being part of literary tradition already, as it refers to a specific time when the tale will definitely be remembered, so positioning it within a longer timeline that reinforces the idea of tradition. What is more, Chrétien harnesses an eschatological framework through reference to Christian time, 'crestiantez', to indicate the hyperbolic durability of his work and show that it is only a divine, rather than human, end it will meet. In this way, Christianity is being subordinated to the writer's argument for his work's longevity. This preoccupation with longevity is further indicated in the use of 'des or' and 'toz jorz' which evoke the figurative present and thus make the romance's appeal seem to span from the literary and performative present to the eschatological future, from the human and concrete to the divine and ideal. The idea of remembrance, associated with longevity, is also highlighted by pointed reference to ideas relating to the past: 'memoire' and 'estoire' are given prominence by their rhyming positions in the octosyllabic couplet. This conflates the two ideas, and links Chrétien's individual position as the source of the 'estoire' with collective memory, as he states that this will be remembered long into the future.³⁹ As in the above examples, the prologue positions the work as part of a past, present and, in Chrétien's case, possibly future tradition of retelling a tale, yet in *Erec* the writer, Chrétien, is much more present and there seems to be a stronger preoccupation with personal fame, rather than with the passing on of a tale because of its morally exemplary potential or truth.

³⁸['Now I shall begin the story that will be in memory for evermore, as long as Christendom lasts'.] Translations are taken from Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, trans. by William W. Kibler and Carleton W. Carroll (London: Penguin, 2004).

³⁹Furthermore, the connotations of history in 'estoire' paradoxically endow Chrétien's story with more authority, despite its self-conscious artifice. On 'estoire' as a term for vernacular history see Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p. 203.

Other self-serving ideals are found in the motivations outlined for the telling of the story: the emphasis is not so much on the relation of deeds because of their own magnificence or exemplary nature, as above, but rather because they are a source of pleasure:

Car qui son estuide antrelet,
 Tost i puet tel chose teisir,
 Qui mout vandroit puis a pleisir.
 Por ce dit Crestiiens de Troies,
 Que reisons est que tote voies
 Doit chascuns panser et antandre
 A bien dire et a bien aprandre,
 Et tret d'un conte d'avanture
 Une mout bele conjointure (ll. 6-14).⁴⁰

The audience is initially exhorted to listen to the tale in terms that are didactic: the prologue which began with a proverb continues by stating that we shouldn't let our 'estuide' slip in case we let something go unnoticed 'tost i puet tel chose teisir'. However, this lofty tone of morality is suddenly debunked by the appearance of 'pleisir' at the end of the line. It is revealed that the 'something' that we ought to heed is not the lessons that can be drawn from heroic deeds of the past, but rather the pleasure that is found in these. This turns out to be the primary motivation for the romance: Chrétien states that it is *for this*, 'por ce', that he writes his *conte*, an argument that is emphasised through the syntax in the periodic sentence structure, 'por ce [...] que reisons est', which subsequently subordinates the activity of retelling of tales to the ultimate goal of pleasure. Although there is reference to a didactic purpose, as one must 'bien aprandre', this is subsumed by the overriding aim to please and the closely related concern to produce a composition that is 'mout bele'. A similar objective is found in the prologue to *Yvain*. In this case Chrétien makes a token gesture towards a didactic function of narrative before revealing the real focus of the prologue which is the worship of love: thus a passing reference to Arthur's exemplary behaviour, 'Artus [...] la cui poresce nos ansaingne, | Que nos soiens preu et cortois' (ll. 1-2), is followed by a long

⁴⁰[For he who neglects his learning may easily keep silent something that would later give much pleasure. And so Chrétien de Troyes says that it is reasonable for everyone to think and strive in every way to speak well and to teach well, and from a tale of adventure he draws a beautifully ordered composition'.]

description of knights as the 'deciple' of love (l. 16).⁴¹ The convention of commemoration is also employed but this too is subsumed by the idolization of love; Chrétien chooses men 'qui furent' as his subject because only they know how to love (l. 29).⁴² Love is what seems to be prioritised at this point, even if it is relayed with a certain degree of irony and the dangerous excesses of love are discussed as the narrative unfolds. These aims which are put forth by the prologues, namely, pleasure, love, and fame at the metatextual level, are indicative of a more self-seeking attitude in Chrétien's works which is fully realised in the quest narratives proper: the protagonists themselves parallel the apparent authorial preoccupation with fame in the prologue as they seek out renown to win their ladies.⁴³ As noted above, unlike certain *chansons de geste* or the Anglo-Norman romances, the Chrétien romances depict their heroes as fighting for their own individual cause, which is mostly centred around love, rather than for the higher causes of God or the realm.⁴⁴ The strong didactic and God-fearing tone in the *Gui* prologue therefore becomes all the more apparent when compared to that of *Erec* or *Yvain*.

The didactic purpose of the *Gui* narrative is made overtly clear in the prologue. In this romance, the focus moves from the purely commemorative or recreational functions of literature, as seen above, to one where the retelling of deeds has as its ultimate objective the attainment of wisdom. This is a progression from Geoffrey's exhortation to remember deeds simply because they are impressive and worthy of such remembrance. Moreover, it is further removed from Chrétien's use of commemoration for his virtual fetishising of love and pleasure. In *Gui*, the retelling of deeds is subservient to the didacticism in the text which is concerned with making the audience 'sage'.

⁴¹['Arthur [...] whose valour teaches us to be brave and courteous.']

⁴²See ll. 26, 29-30: 'Ore est amors torneé a fable [...] Mes por parler de çaus, qui furent, | Leissons çaus, qui an vie durent! Qu'ancor vaut miauz, ce m'est avis, | Uns cortois morz qu'uns vilains vis.' ['Now love is reduced to empty pleasantries [...] But let us look beyond those who are present among us and speak now of those who were, for to my mind, a courteous man, though dead, is worth more than a living knave'.]

⁴³The prologue to *Le Chevalier de la Charrette* is slightly different in tone: it takes the form of personal dedication to Marie de Champagne, Chrétien's patroness.

⁴⁴Ashe, 'Hero', pp.141-5.

Puis cel tens que Deu fu ned
 E establi fu la crestiented,
 Multes aventures sunt avenues
 Que a tuz homes ne sunt seues.
 Pur ço deit l'om mult enquere
 E pener sei de ben faire,
 E des boens prendre esperemenz,
 Des faiz, des diz as anciens
 Qui devant nus estaient;
 Aventures beles lur aveneient,
 Pur ço qu'il ameient verité,
 Tut dis dei e lealté;
 D'els deit l'om ben sovenir
 E lor bons faiz dire e oir
 Ki mult ot e ço retient
 Sovent mult sage devient;
 Iço est tenu a bele mestrie
 Ki fait le sen e laist la folie (ll. 1-18).⁴⁵

The convention of commemoration is present here as in the examples above. There is marked concern for men of the past, the 'anciens' 'devant nus', who ought to be remembered, 'd'els deit l'om ben sovenir'. As in Chrétien, we are exhorted to be attentive, or to 'mult enquere', and to retell and listen to their good deeds, 'e lor bons faiz dire e oir'. However, the motivation for this is distinctly different: the author of *Gui* explicitly promotes an active engagement and a diligent retelling of deeds which has as its ultimate goal not pleasure or simple praise but wisdom: 'Ki mult ot e ço retient | Sovent mult sage devient'. There is a shift then from the more passive and recreational experience of literature in which the audience merely admires the protagonists, to one which overtly promotes a more active relationship with the narrative and advocates the moral function of stories: we must listen and remember 'mult' because this leads to 'mult' wisdom. The didacticism is compounded by the evaluative judgment which follows; as if to remove all doubt about the worth of wisdom, the writer states that it is those who choose wisdom over folly who are commendable: 'iço est tenu a

⁴⁵[‘Since the time God was born, and since the establishment of Christianity, many marvellous things have happened which are not known to all men. For this reason, one should make many inquiries, and try hard to do well, and follow the examples of good men, of the deeds and words of those in the past, who lived before us. Splendid adventures happened to them, because they always loved truth, faith and loyalty. We should indeed remember them by hearing and telling about their good deeds. Whoever hears much, and remembers it, often becomes very wise. He who acts wisely and eschews folly is commendable’.]
 Translations of *Gui* are taken from Weiss, *Two Anglo-Norman Romances*.

bele mestrie | Ki fait le sen e laist la folie'. Thus the focus in commemoration moves from pleasure or praise to wisdom which situates the work within a strong moral framework.⁴⁶ The *Gui* writer thus employs familiar conventions of romance to frame a purpose more akin to earlier historical writing and its emphasis on truth. Like the earlier Anglo-Norman historians who used vernacular verse to make historical writing accessible and appealing, the *Gui* author too makes his didactic message more compelling by employing a popular literary form in which to present moral instruction.⁴⁷ Furthermore, in outlining the advantages of wisdom, he prepares the reader for instruction and emulation.

The didactic purpose in *Gui* and an insistence on the moral function of literature is further evident in the reasoning adopted by the writer as to why adventures occurred to men of the past. The prologue argues that it is because of their love of 'verité', 'fei' and 'lealté', namely because of their moral worth, that 'aventures beles lur aveneient'. In other words, the argument is that moral worth precedes the development of adventure. This is radically different from earlier continental courtly romances where the action depends on the hero's desire for a lady and the subsequent need to show that he is worthy of her. It is arguably a lack of moral worth that drives the narrative in Chrétien. Indeed, the quest narrative is concerned with the individual's search for self-realisation. Initially, it is the same lack of moral worth – figured as chivalric reputation – which is the force behind *Gui* in the first part. However, this kind of motivation is shown to be a failure by the very continuation of *Gui*'s adventures. Where other romances might conclude with a couple's union, the narrative of *Gui* is renewed at the point which at first appears to be the end, as if *Gui*'s new moral worth permits him further adventures and allows him to transcend onto a 'second level' of romance

⁴⁶There is a similar motivation outlined in the prologue of the *Lai d'Haveloc*, another Anglo-Norman work.

⁴⁷Experimental forms and continual changes in historiography in the twelfth century seem to indicate the attempts undertaken by historians to find the right formula for their audiences. These forms would range from Latin prose through vernacular histories in verse, such as Gaimar's *Estoire des Englais*, culminating in prose vernacular histories. This latter change would also seem to stem from clerical suspicion about the potentially perfidious nature of verse. Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p. 204; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, p. 57.

narrative. The distinct reasoning stating that moral worth precedes the occurrence of adventure also means that concern for morality reaches a metatextual level: the deeds in the second part happen *because* of moral qualities and so narrative itself is suggested to be motivated by moral worth. This in itself hints at a normative argument for literature to have a moral function and value, and poses a challenge to romance narratives that claim to have a purely recreational objective. Furthermore, there is also a subtle counter-argument to the focus on love in Chrétien's romances, where 'amors' is the primary objective. In the *Gui* prologue there is praise for those who love, but at this stage there is no mention whatsoever of the beloved. Love is centred on things other than the archetypal 'amie'. There is a subversion of the diction and of the concept of love in 'il ameient', since what follows is what we might expect from a reference to love: it is not the beloved which is the object but 'verité', 'fei' and 'lealté'. This frustrates the earlier expectation of romantic love and replaces woman as the object of love with other, arguably higher, ideals. This shift in emphasis found in the prologue is ultimately played out in the narrative proper where Gui sets aside his love for Felice and instead devotes himself to service for God.

The strong emphasis in *Gui* on didacticism, moral worth and higher ideals is further evident elsewhere in the prologue. The passage itself starts with a reference to God and to the beginning of Christian time: 'Puis cel tens que Deu fu ned | E establi fu la crestiented'. This constitutes an inversion of the depiction of Christianity in the *Erec* prologue where the Christian concept of time is subordinate to the writer's claims about his work's longevity. In the earlier work eschatology is used as device to uphold the idea of *Erec's* immortality, which is presented as being on a par with the whole of Christian time itself. Conversely, the *Gui* prologue looks back to the moment of Creation and situates the work as just one of many adventures, 'mult aventures', which have taken place since the establishment of Christianity and have been neglected: they are not 'seues'. In this way, it is God and Christianity which are prioritised over this particular story; the powerful image of the

Incarnation in conjunction with references to obscurity reduce the importance of the tale and present it as a small event in the great expanse of Christian time. So in contrast to *Erec* where the reference to Christian time indicates a preoccupation with self-perpetuation, in *Gui* this creates a sense of humility, which is itself an important concern in the corrective second half. The primary position too of these references to God and Christianity in the prologue is indicative of the way the narrative proper ultimately reveals God to be the hero's paramount concern. In *Erec* it is maintained that it is specifically for pleasure, 'por ce', that tales are told. In turn, the 'pur ço' in *Gui* echoes this reasoning, especially as it appears at a similar place in the prologue and in an identical position in the line, but here the reasoning is that we should 'mult enquere' and seek out the stories that have been forgotten in order to use them as examples for self-improvement, 'pener sei de ben faire'. The more self-serving concern for the leisurely fashioning of literary perfection in one's work is replaced by a moral urgency, underscored by the appearance of 'pur ço' as early as l. 5, to rescue from obscurity tales by others that may have some didactic import, a justification commonly found in Anglo-Norman histories and romances.⁴⁸ Therefore, the emphasis on the self, pleasure and the perpetuity of an individual literary work in *Erec* is countered in *Gui* by a tendency toward self-effacement, both in author and protagonist, and claims that *Gui* offers a more instructional and recuperative experience of literature.

The rejection of the conventions of continental courtly romance can also be perceived in more subtle devices of didacticism. The employment of familiar conventions to serve a different ideological and didactic aim has been discussed: it is wisdom rather than

⁴⁸The justification for his *Brut* is outlined by Wace in his prologue where he states that he has truthfully translated the history of the rulers of England for those who want to know who these kings were: 'Ki mult oïr et mult saveir | De rei en rei [...] Ki cil furent [...] Maistre Wace l'ad translaté | Ki en conte la verité' (ll. 1-3, 7-8). Citations and translations taken from Wace, *Romance de Brut: A History of the British: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. by Judith Weiss (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999). This concern for accessibility is also behind the justification of *Waldef*. In the prologue the author claims he has translated English history into French because it is worth hearing and true: 'D'une estoire voldrai parler | Ki mult et bien a escuter, | De verité est tute feite [...] L'estoire englesche regardai | en franceis la translatai' (ll. 25-7, 85-6). From *Le Roman de Waldef*, ed. by A.J. Holden (Cologne-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1984). This passage and the presentation of *Waldef* as an authoritative text whose purpose approaches that of history is discussed in Field, 'Waldef', pp. 33-5.

pleasure or simple praise which commemoration serves. A similar construct is found in the rest of the prologue, where the *Gui* author uses familiar motifs to engage his reader:

De un cunte voluns parler
 Ki mult fait a preiser,
 E de un sun seneschal
 Ke preuz ert e leal,
 E de sun fiz, un damaisel,
 Qui mult part ert e gent e bel,
 E cum il amat une pucele,
 La fille al cunt qui mult ert bele (ll. 19-26).⁴⁹

After the lofty appeals to wisdom at the beginning of the prologue, the reader is led into the narrative through conventional motifs of romance. The audience is presented with the familiar characters of romance: a count, his seneschal, the seneschal's son and his love for the count's daughter. Schelp points out that such features make the first part of *Gui* 'die Romanze der Prototyp des Ritter- und Abenteuerromans'.⁵⁰ The prologue here promises all the components of a story that are likely to appeal to an audience interested in romance. It is significant therefore that there is little indication at this stage that *Gui* will eventually become a penitent knight in the service of God and eschew his pursuit of earthly love. It is possible to see this aporia as evidence of the inconsistency in the narrative that some scholars have perceived in *Gui*. Critics have often derided what they see as an unrestrainedly episodic structure.⁵¹ The confession episode which instigates the action of the second half has also proved problematic: scholars such as Paul Price and Judith Weiss have discerned incoherence between the confession and what actually occurs in the narrative.⁵² Rosalind

⁴⁹[We wish to tell the tale of a well-regarded count, of a seneschal of his, brave and loyal, and of the seneschal's son, a young man both noble and handsome, and how he loved a most beautiful maiden, the count's daughter'.]

⁵⁰Schelp elucidates his argument by describing how the outline of the narrative is typical of romance: 'Das dünne Konstruktionsmotiv, das Werben des Steard-Sohnes Guy um die Tochter des Grafen von Warwic, Felice, wird in für unser Empfinden ermüdender Weise in die Länge gezogen durch die Darstellung der vielen Proben ritterlicher Taten, die Guy ablegen muß, um endlich Felices Hand zu gewinnen. Liebesssehen und -klagen, Demonstrationene ritterlic-höfischer Lebensart und eine Fülle von Kämpfen Guys mit anderen Ritttern, Heiden und Ungeheuren habe gewiß das ihre dazu beigetragen, dieser Romanze die große Beliebtheit zu sichern'. Schelp, *Romanze*, p. 134.

⁵¹See Field, 'From *Gui* to *Guy*', p. 51. Calin, however, does contend there are patterns in *Gui* and argues against what many perceive as an 'unmotivated and capricious' narrative compared to the works of Chrétien of Troyes. Calin, '*Gui*', p. 27.

⁵²Price, 'Confessions', pp. 95-102; Weiss, *Two Anglo-Norman Romances*, p. 17.

Field has suggested that there are discontinuities and bathetic resolutions in the romance which may indicate that the author was exploring his material as he went along.⁵³ The fact that there is no reference in these lines to Gui's eventual move from *chevalerie terrestre* to *chevalerie célestielle* could be seen as part of this supposed improvisation or lack of consistency.⁵⁴ However, this is in no way gratuitous. Rather, it is a subtle didactic device which first draws the audience in with comfortable and familiar tropes before revealing the true and more difficult message of the narrative in the peripeteia at the beginning of the second half.⁵⁵

So in *Gui* these lines of the prologue entice the reader with the promise of familiar romance motifs such as the pursuit of the beloved, but the romance eventually delivers a very different message. This part of the prologue is therefore not inconsistent with the rest of the poem if we interpret it as part of the didactic purpose of the romance. Furthermore, arguments that the author may not have yet known that the second part of *Gui* would be centred on God, which would account for the absence of any reference in these lines to Gui's transformation into a penitent knight, are rebutted by stated concerns of the prologue, which, as seen above, prioritises God, morality and wisdom. These lines can be seen then as part of the didactic tendency of the romance to exploit familiar literary conventions from the traditions of both the continental and first-generation Insular romances, and give them a different motivation or ideological purpose. Moreover, the didacticism here is particularly effective: by promising only typical romance motifs, the prologue puts the audience in exactly the same position as the protagonist who thinks only of his beloved in the first half.

⁵³Field, 'From *Gui* to *Guy*', p. 53.

⁵⁴Such transformations are found in the later prose romances and not in Chrétien de Troyes, except for *Perceval*, yet the hero's *chevalerie célestielle* does not have the same integrity as that Gui in the second half.

⁵⁵This is not unlike the didactic devices of Classical authors such as Lucretius. See Katharina Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 96-99.

Thus it is both the audience and Gui who undergo a revelatory experience as to the true value of deeds when the hero is subjected to his peripeteia.⁵⁶

ii. *Gui's peripeteia*

Gui's peripeteia in the middle of the work occurs after the full endorsement of typical romance motifs in the hero's search of fame to win his beloved; the second part, which the peripeteia hails, rejects the more conventional quest narrative which is played out almost to the full before being deconstructed as far as possible without completely rendering Gui an inaccessibly otherworldly figure.⁵⁷ The familiar topos of knight-errant who performs deeds for his lady that is adumbrated in the prologue is then realised in the first half; the romance at this point conforms to conventional models of such quests. When Gui goes to Felice with his proclamation of love, she answers she will have nothing but the paradigm of knightly virtue in chivalric romance:

Nul vaslet ne voil amer
S'il ne seit chevaler,
Bels e corteis e alosez,
Preuz e hardiz, d'armes preisez (ll. 621-4).⁵⁸

Felice too conforms to the archetypal lady in romance: she is superlatively beautiful, even to a superfluous extent. Felice is repeatedly described as 'bele' but the author also states that to

⁵⁶Price has noted an apparent inconsistency in the *Gui* narrative in that moral objectivity is present in both halves of the poem: the fact that we are encouraged to endorse Gui's exploits in both parts problematises the integrity of the text. Price, 'Confessions', pp. 101-5. However, I believe that the authorial commendation of Gui's actions in the first half only serves to heighten the impact of the peripeteia and is part of the didactic scheme of the work which depicts the familiar before thoroughly debunking it from within. The didactic message promoting a new devotional, God- perspective and call to revision of previous beliefs is made all the more powerful through surprise.

⁵⁷The author seems to be pushing at the limits of heroism in Anglo-Norman romance. It is significant that Gui leaves Felice before his son is born and therefore before fully establishing a dynasty. In a sense then, Gui does not fully complete the trajectory of other heroes. Reinbrun does go on to take his father's place, but Gui's departure at this liminal point suggests the minimal adherence to the prizing of lineage so key to narratives such as *Horn*. The incorporation of Reinbrun is perhaps a token gesture which is designed to soften the asceticism of the hero and to continue to engage the audience's attention. Some scholars have argued that the Reinbrun episode might have been an addition written in the wake of Gui's popularity, but perhaps it could have been an added to 'sweeten the pill' and moderate an asceticism unpalatable for the audience's tastes. Weiss, 'at Home', p. 10. For the purposes of this thesis I omit detailed discussion of this episode.

⁵⁸['I don't want to love any young man unless he's a knight – handsome, courteous and renowned, brave and bold, prized for his feats of arms'.]

describe her beauty completely would take too long: 'Ki tote sa belté conteriet | trop grant demorance i freit' (ll. 81-2).⁵⁹ Moreover, Felice is described as 'enseigné' and 'enletré' which prompts Hopkins to state that it is tempting to see in her erudition a suggestion she is well-read in romance.⁶⁰ It is possible to link such a description to her attitudes towards the seneschal's son; these echo the conventional performance of feats for the beloved in many romances. Gui follows her conventional instructions to become a knight in order to secure her hand: 'Venuz est en Normendie; | Desore querra chevalerie' (ll. 1169-70). On one level, Gui is simply following his lady's wishes and earning a reputation for prowess that will befit her station. However, on a metatextual plane, the text here becomes self-conscious; it would seem that Felice is outlining those literary traits that constitute a knight-adventurer, and that Gui too is just playing the part of this archetype. The self-conscious element points to the didacticism of the work, for which the familiar romance motifs are first employed in order for them to be deconstructed later from within and replaced with a different ideological purpose, namely that of a God-fearing, devotional life. It is almost as if the characters of Felice and Gui are playing out, mimicking even, those tropes associated with and celebrated in romance, before a truly worthy motivation of action is revealed. Eventually the characters will not find peace or resolution by acting according to more worldly romance conventions, but in serving God. Such use of these motifs is further apparent in Felice's refusal to accept Gui in marriage upon his second return. Felice articulates the paradox of courtly romance by

⁵⁹In this first description of Felice 'bele' and its polyptotic variants are found no less than eleven times (ll. 52, 53, 55, 58, 61, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81).

⁶⁰See Hopkins, *Sinful Knights*, pp. 85-86. Felice is described as learned and instructed in all the arts; her instructors also hail from Toledo. The education she receives has overtones of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* educational structure of the twelfth-century renaissance, as well as a certain cosmopolitan emphasis which might allude to the flurry of translations between Arabic, Hebrew and Spanish intellectual works taking place in Toledo and elsewhere in Spain. It is clear that she has received the very best education. See Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 368; Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 53. 'Curteise ert e enseigné, | De tuz arz ert enletré; | Ses meistes esteient venuz | De Tulette, tuz blanc chanuz, Ki l'aperneitent d'astronomie, | D'arismatike, de jeometrie' (ll. 63-68). ['She was courtly and learned, instructed in all the arts: her tutors, all hoary and white-haired, had come Toledo and taught her astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry'.] Note that here the representation of Spain is positive. Cf. Weiss, 'Remembering'.

rejecting him lest marriage make him lazy, as it did Erec, arguing that he may lose his will to bear arms and enhance his reputation:

'Si [...] l'amur de mei vus grantasse,
Tant devendrız amerus
Que tut en serriez pereçus
Armes ne querriez mes porter,
Ne vostre pris eschalier' (ll. 1061-66).⁶¹

Felice here safeguards against the dangers inherent in satiated desire – in this case for the knight's reputation – by creating a new goal, although this new objective is also feebly conventional and again adheres to the paradigmatic model of knightly virtue albeit in a more extreme way. Although she acknowledges that Gui is very 'preuz', among other things, she nevertheless insists that he become the flower of chivalry and the best in the world: 'Que l'amur de mei pas n'avrez [...] Ne tant [...] de chevalerie seiez la flur, | E del mund tut le meillur' (ll. 1071-1076). This hyperbolic demand is clearly romance convention.⁶² What is significant in the romance is that Gui does fulfil her conditions and becomes the best knight. The question the work seems to pose relates to the aftermath of this conclusion: what happens when romance conventions of a more continental nature are fully played out, what happens after the hero does become the best knight? The aporia that arises after this completion and the hero's subsequent peripeteia suggests that *chevalerie terrestre* ultimately fails to answer its own ideals.

The use of familiar motifs to reveal the weaknesses of romance reaches an apex in the reaction of Gui to his marriage. At this point Gui has achieved worldly success, conformed in full to knightly expectations and thereby gained his lady's hand with her father's enthusiastic assent. The lavish description of the wedding celebrations is indicative of the way Gui has gained complete social approbation: dukes, barons and counts assemble, minstrels and entertainers provide amusement for the guests and great largesse is shown to

⁶¹["If [...] I were to give you my love, you would become so infatuated that it would make you quite lazy and you would not want to carry arms again or take up your shield."]

⁶²The relationship between being the best knight and having the best lady is exemplified by the Hunt of the White Stag in *Erec*.

poor knights and prisoners.⁶³ The rejection of his life that follows is therefore unexpected and contradicts the ethos of romance thus far. *Gui* here shifts in gear in the second part and moves towards a new, corrective ethos to counter what is revealed to be an excessive preoccupation with Felice and love in the first. As was his aim, he becomes the best knight and has everything he ever desired: 'Ore ad Gui tut sun pleisir, | Quant de s'amie ad sun desire.' This shows the sexual nature of this desire too: he receives his pleasure specifically from her, which reinforces the identification of Felice as a sexual object in the first part when she is emphatically described as beautiful. However, their wedded bliss and love-making lasts only fifty days, the brevity of which is underscored by the poet with a negative construction: 'Ensemble furent cinquante jurz, | Plus ne durerent lurs amurs' (ll. 7557-8).⁶⁴ This short-lived happiness is the first instance in the narrative proper where we may perceive a departure from the ethos of early continental romance and a challenge positing that its overriding motivation, namely exploits for a lady, is akin to an idealised projection on a screen with nothing substantial behind it. This challenge is fully realised in *Gui*'s decision to leave Felice to do service to God which constitutes a rejection of the beloved, and of sex or erotic desire, as we shall see below, as motivation for knightly exploits. In a sense, the familiar problem of satiated desire in romance is reformulated in *Gui* by the argument that this very desire, if worthy of being satiated at all, nevertheless gives rise to further desire of a different kind. Or, desire for a woman must be satiated and that satisfaction shown to be inadequate before one can come willingly to desire for God.

The aporia that follows *Gui*'s fulfilment of romance expectations is not only evident in the brevity of the couple's happiness, this union being, after all, his sole motivation in the first part, but in the scene of contemplation in which he undergoes a revelatory experience. The emptiness behind love for a woman is echoed by the vastness of the night in which *Gui* finds himself when he experiences his change of heart:

⁶³See ll. 7533-7552.

⁶⁴In the Middle English versions this period is shortened to fifteen days.

A une vespree, que bele esteit,
 Gui en une tur munta,
 En halt as estres se pua;
 Le pais environ ad esgardé
 E le ciel qui tant ert esteillé
 E le tens, qui ert serré e cler.
 Gui comence dunc a penser
 Cum Deus li out fait grant honur (ll. 7568-7575)⁶⁵

The beauty of the evening, clear weather and the countless stars inform a moment of the sublime and lead Gui to appreciate God's power. Hopkins notes that the star imagery gives a sense of God as a remote and limitless power. The critic also maintains that this scene brings together imagery from other parts of the romance, such as his hunting adventures and meeting with Terri.⁶⁶ This particular *conjointure* is a further instance of how the *Gui* author takes familiar motifs or imagery and changes their former underlying function and motivation; here the imagery is spiritual and indicative of the hero's awe before divine power, rather than connotative of more typical romance topoi such as *eros*. Such use of motifs is evident too in the way that Gui climbs a tower before he is faced with the revelation of God's love and presence. Not only does this evoke and distort the familiar intertextual romance image of the love-sick lady in the tower, as exemplified by Lavine in *Eneas*, but it also echoes the intratextual use of this imagery in the lengthy description of Gui's love-sickness for Felice. Earlier, the hero goes to the window and looks up at the castle tower where Felice resides: 'A une fenestre s'en est alé | La tur del chastel ad regardé' (ll.425-6); the tower's presence is underlined by Gui's direct address of the building, which takes an almost anthropomorphic quality when the hero proclaims its beauty: "Tur, fait il, tant estes bele! | En vus maint la damaisele [...] D'amur me dona mal estreine".⁶⁷ The hero's misplaced address of the tower instead of his lady parallels the way that his objective is transferred from Felice to God. Similarly, Gui's later sighs of repentance also echo his earlier love-sick

⁶⁵['On a beautiful evening, Gui climbed a tower and leant out of the high gallery. He looked at the country round about and at the sky, which was so full of stars, and at the clear, calm weather. Then Gui began to think about how God had done him great honour'.]

⁶⁶Hopkins, *Sinful Knights*, p.102.

⁶⁷["Tower, how beautiful you are!" he said. "My lady [...] lives in you. For love she rewarded me ill."]

sighs of his infatuation: 'Mais ore s'en voldra repentir. | A suspirer donc comença' (ll. 7590-2).⁶⁸ In both the earlier case of his address of the tower and his first sighs, the initial focus of his desire is shown to be misdirected and is later replaced with a more worthy object.

Moreover, in the use of tower imagery we can discern a progression upwards towards a more elevated state, both literally and spiritually.⁶⁹ In the first part he looks at the tower from below and desires to be close to his beloved; in the second he is actually in the tower above the ground – having obtained his beloved – and desires instead to be close to God. The view that this affords him gives the hero both the physical and mental clarity with which he realises that God has helped him; it is not only the vastness of the landscape but also the stillness of the night and lack of action which leads Gui to appreciate God's power. In other words, the romance shows how the first desire must be satiated and its object shown to be a false source of happiness before a revelation can occur about the higher ideal. This upward progression is compound in nature. However, this advancement is not the only direction in which he moves. Guy does state that he will change his life and put himself at God's service from this point, the use of future tense reinforcing this progression: 'tote sa vie changera | E en Deu servise se mettra' (ll. 7593-4).⁷⁰ However, his thoughts about God are also analeptic; he realises how God has given him great honour in the past, that 'Deus li out fait grant honur', that he 'fait li ad si grant honur (ll. 7575 and 7588). This has a number of effects. As well as depicting Gui's new piety, it upholds the ultimately paramount position of God in the narrative by suggesting that even in the periods of his life where Gui focused solely on Felice, it was God who brought him success.⁷¹ It also upholds the idea of God's

⁶⁸['But now he wanted to repent of this. He began to sigh.']

⁶⁹Towers also appear in confession scenes of hagiographic tales. See St Christine. Price, 'Confessions', p. 101.

⁷⁰The intimacy between Gui and God portrayed in this scene may reflected the new understanding around this time of the relationship between the Christian and God as a close and personal one. See Colin Morris, *Discovery of the Individual* (Toronto and London: Toronto University Press, 1987), pp. 139-57.

⁷¹Indeed, there are a number of instances in the first part of the romance where divine intervention plays a part in Gui's success although these are not portrayed as particularly significant in comparison God's prominence in the second part. See, for example, 'Se Deu n'en pense, le tut poissant, | Ja ert oscis e afolé [If almighty God did not look after him, he would surely be maimed and killed] ll. 5880-1. God's power is also acknowledged in ll. 6040, 6188-90, 6428. It is possible to see these as conventional formulae; however,

omnipresence and links the whole of the first part to the second and to the prologue which prioritises God by creating an overarching argument. This in turn upholds the didactic purpose of the romance which is to show that God is the only worthy ideal. On a metatextual level, it also mimics the process of reworking of familiar motifs as discussed above. Gui's realisation that God had always helped him constitutes a reworking of the past, that is, of the part of the narrative familiar to the audience. At this point the first half of the narrative undergoes a revision from both Gui's perspective and that of the audience which allows for a new, more emphatic prominence of God in the first part.

This revision or reworking of the past is particularly evident in the hero's confession which constitutes a distorted retelling of his past adventures. The episode has proved to be problematic to certain scholars who object to the confession on the grounds that it is inconsistent with the events as actually described in the romance.⁷² However, this confession which contains increasingly reprehensible events in the second telling constitutes a reworking of the past which may be interpreted symbolically rather than just literally. The first confession is internal; Gui reflects on the the men he killed, the towers he captured and the cities which he took by force. However, for him the moral problem lies in that he did all this for a woman and not God:

Gui comence dunc a penser
 [...]
 E que tanz homes aveit oscis,
 Turs e citez par force pris,
 [...]
 Pur une femme qu'il tant amat,
 Pur qui tant mals duré ad
 Mais unc pur sun criatur (ll. 7574-87).⁷³

they seem to hint at God's omnipresence and proleptically point to His ultimately paramount position in the narrative which Gui only actively acknowledges in the second part. See also l. 6845 which is morally ambiguous. For the confused morality of the Florentin episode see Hopkins, *Sinful Knights*, p. 82; Field, 'From *Gui* to *Guy*', p. 57; and Price, 'Confessions', pp. 108-9.

⁷²Price, 'Confessions', pp. 95-102; Weiss, *Two Anglo-Norman Romances*, p. 17.

⁷³['Guy began to think [...] that he had killed so many men, captured towers and cities by force, for the sake of a woman whom he loved and for whom he had borne so much suffering – but never for his Creator'.]

In fact, the related events are not wholly inconsistent with those in the first part. Gui kills, for example, innumerable Saracens on behalf of Emperor Hernis (see ll. 3097-3108, 3524-3542) as well as a large group of robbers in order to help Terri and rescue Osille (ll. 4801-4824). Gui also restores the Emperor's kingdom by decapitating the Sultan (ll. 3961-3968). Within the economy of the narrative, there is nothing inherently wrong with these actions, as we shall see when Gui carries out similar enterprises as part of his penitence: it is the motivation that is objectionable. This is made clearer in the second confession which is external and directed to Felice, and which constitutes a greater departure from the events as narrated in the first half.

Pur vus ai fait maint grant desrei,
 Homes ocis, destruites citez,
 Arses abbeies de plusurs regnez
 [...]
 Si tant eurus eusse esté
 Que solement la meité
 Fait eusse pur Deu qui nus cria,
 Que si grant honur presté m'a,
 La gloire del ciel pur veir avreie,
 Ensemble od Deu saint serreie (ll. 7608-7619).⁷⁴

In this second confession Gui relates acts of extreme violence which are more likely to be found in the nightmarish world of the epic *Raoul de Cambrai* than in a romance. He has burnt many abbeys, unleashed devastation, and ravaged cities, which acts are not explicitly part of the previous narrative. The wantonness of this violence therefore seems to arise from his realisation that none of this was for God. Suddenly his previous acts are symbolically transformed into wholesale offences of gratuitous violence when it becomes clear that these were not done for God. It would seem that argument is being posited that military enterprise, when not done in the service of God, is nothing other than meaningless slaughter and destruction.⁷⁵ The voicing of the second confession and its addressee makes the reworking

⁷⁴[For you I've caused great havoc, killed men, destroyed cities, and burnt abbeys in many kingdoms [...] If I were luck enough to have done only half of the sake of God who created us, who has lent me usch great honour, I would truly have heavenly glory and be a saint, together with God.]

⁷⁵Price links this new humanitarian interpretation of past events as a reflection of the wantonness and 'lack of

of his past, and the challenge to its *chevalerie terrestre*, all the more striking. It is when Gui confronts his former motivation in the flesh, that is Felice, that the full scale of his violence is realised and voiced. The object of his confession thus parallels the object of his previous life: Felice who was once the object of his military enterprises now becomes the object of his guilt. The challenge to the romance ethos is therefore made stronger by the depiction of an interview between the couple in which the hero himself explicitly and directly denounces all that he has ever done for his lady.⁷⁶ Moreover, the mistaken nature of this motivation is further highlighted in the second part when Gui kills Saracens as he did in the first part. Since in the second instance his actions are carried out in order to safeguard Christians, they are seen not as iniquitous. Rather, they are the opposite and inform his expiation of sin and allow him to render service to God.⁷⁷ The confession scene therefore constitutes a reworking of the past, or of the familiar, and a stripping down of his previous life to reveal the meaninglessness of the heroic deeds for Felice. This can also be seen as a metatextual

canalisation of martial energy', in Keen's terms, that the Crusades harnessed and redirected. Price, 'Confessions', p. 101. In this section we are also reminded of Bernard of Clairvaux's insistence that the right motivation and *bona causa* of Christianity will allow the new kind of knight to fight *ex cordis affectu* in devotion to God. See pp. 121-4 of thesis. The widespread influence of these theological arguments on European literary production is suggested, for example, by the similar concerns found in the contemporary Middle High German narrative poem *Willehalm*:

da wart sölhiu ritterscahft getân,
sol man ir geben rehtez wort,
diu mac vür wâr wol heizen mort. (I.10.18-20)

[Such chivalry was performed there that if one were to give it its proper name it could only be called 'slaughter.'] Citations are taken from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, ed. by Joachim Heinzle (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1994); translations are from Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, trans. by Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).

⁷⁶Gui also performs deeds for Terri and for the restoration of his land in the second part, which seems to rework and counter his first interaction with him which was centred around Osille, Terri's beloved (Gui prioritises the lady by going so far as to withdraw from a fight in order to return Osille to Terri in ll. 6577-9). The wrongful motivation of deeds for the sake of women is thereby doubled in the first part. Moreover, this second instance of motivation through women is corrected in the second part by the new kind of interaction between the male characters. In this part, the men's friendship is not informed by their relation to women; rather, it is solely focused on inheritance, the restoration of justice and service of God. This could be seen as a departure from the romance convention of having a woman be the sole objective of knightly enterprise. The more hagiographical move away from *eros* as a primary motivation is also doubled: in the second part Terri even blames Osille for the hardships both he and Gui endured, much like the hero (ll. 9495-6). See ll. 9707-16 for Gui's resolution to avenge Terri for the unjust treatment and wrongful disinheritance which he suffered at the hands of Count Berard, and ll. 9863-10450 for the court, battle, and sea scenes where justice is restored and great piety is displayed by both Gui and Terri.

⁷⁷See the episode with Count Jonas for whose sons Gui ultimately fights Amorant and so ensures safe passage for Christians from King Triamor (ll. 7857-8904). This immediately follows Gui's resolution to undergo a penitential journey and leave his wife; the new focus on Christianity in his adventures marks Gui's new orientation towards God.

comment on the true nature of chivalric romance: seen from a pious perspective, which *Gui* takes on from this point, the deeds of romance are more gratuitous since they are not performed for any ideals higher than that of an earthly love between individuals.

iii. *Gui and Felice: From Eros to Agape*

This literary expiation of the *chevalerie terrestre* from romance is apparent not only in Gui's military feats which are performed in the service of Christianity in the second part, but also in the development, or rather non-development, of the relationship between Gui and Felice. The new focus on God in the battle scenes of the second part of *Gui* is easily incorporated from models in *chanson de geste*.⁷⁸ What is more problematic is the romance's attempt to modulate the earlier relationship between the hero and his lady. David Klausner has discussed how the different versions of the *Life of St Alexis* influence the *Guy* romance; although he argues that Guy's soliloquy and his argument with Felice are largely original, he does point out some key elements of the Old French *La Vie de Saint Alexis* and the Latin *De Vita Sancti Alexii* that are useful for assessing how the Anglo-Norman *Gui* reworks the relationship with its erotic overtones into something more ascetic.⁷⁹ In both versions Alexis leaves his bride in order to serve God, but, more significantly, the protagonist reacts to his marriage in different ways which pointedly inform the development of the Gui-Felice relationship. In the *Vita* Alexis dutifully goes to the nuptial chamber on his father's orders. He does not, however, attend to the consummation of the marriage but instead begins to instruct his bride in the teachings of Christ and the church:

Vespere autem facto dixit Euphemanus filio sui: 'Intra, fili, in cubiculum et visita sponsam tuam.' Ut autem intravit, coepit nobilissimus juvenis et in Christo saepentissimus instruere sponsam suam et plura ei sacramenta disserere [...] deinde tradidit ei anulum suum aureum

⁷⁸See the *Chanson de Roland*, *Chanson de Guillaume*, *Couronnement de Louis* and *Gormont et Isembard*. For the wide range of *chansons de geste* which could have influenced the primary work see *Gui*, ed. by Ewert, I, p. viii. The above examples depict battles between pagans and Christians. In the Castilian epics the focus is on the divide between Christians and Moors. See the *CMC* and the *PFG*.

⁷⁹Klausner, 'Didacticism', esp. p.107. The Old French and Latin versions of the Alexis legend are henceforth referred to as *Vie* and *Vita* respectively.

[...] dixitque ei: 'Suscipe haec et conserva, usque dum Domino placuerit, et Dominus sit inter nos' (2.10-15)⁸⁰

Unlike Gui, Alexis' outlook is directed towards God from the beginning of his life; and in contrast to the *Gui* narrative, it is worship of God, rather than sex, which takes priority on Alexis' wedding night. However, this emphasis on God and Christian teaching appears in the relationship between Gui and Felice only after the hero's change of heart and the new tendency in the narrative towards piety and asceticism. In the second part Felice becomes the epitome of Christian charity. She is no longer known for being 'bele' or 'enletré'; her most conspicuous qualities by this point become goodness and benevolence, so much so that she is no longer identified as 'Felice' but instead gains an epithet that makes her synonymous with goodness:

'De la dame voil ore parler,
La femme Gui, la bone moiller;
De bunté n'ad el mund sa per,
Ne que ant face a presier.
Puis que sun seignur en exil ala,
Unques puis pur veir ne fina
De povres pestre, de musters aprester
E povres abeies restorer,
De chalcees faire de redrescer punz
Sovent dona herneis as prisuns (ll. 8975-8984).⁸¹

The instruction on Christ and Church doctrine that Alexis imparts to his bride is symbolically played out in the *Gui* story. Felice's charity towards the poor and to prisoners evoke the figure of Christ and His teaching on the marginalised.⁸² Furthermore, the upkeep of the churches echoes to some extent the reference to Church doctrine in Alexis' speech: in both instances it is the establishment rather than the Word that is the focus.⁸³ Moreover, the

⁸⁰['Once it was evening, Euphemianus said to his son, 'Son, go into the bed-chamber and visit your wife.' So he entered and this most noble and learned of youths began to teach his wife about Christ and to explain the sacraments to her. Then he gave her his gold ring [...] and he said to her, 'Take this and keep it, so long as it pleases God, God be with us]. My translation.

⁸¹['Now I want to talk about the lady, Gui's wife, that good woman. There was no-one in the world her equal for goodness nor so deserving of praise, After her husband went into exile, she truly never stopped feeding the poor, furnishing churches and restoring poor abbeys, making roads and repairing bridges; she often gave clothes to prisoners.']

⁸²See, for example, Luke 4.16-21. Felice is also seen to feed thirteen poor brothers everyday ll. 11387-11396.

⁸³The construction of church buildings may reflect the increased number of spiritual outlets for penance put

building of abbeys would seem to correspond to Gui's own confession that he burnt such religious edifices. This parallel suggests that Felice's actions may be seen as atonement for her husband's sins. This in turn increases the substantiality of Gui's confession and further denigrates the ethos of the first part. The second part is seen to counter this as Felice is now depicted as atoning for sins of which she was once the cause, and by means which she first suggested Gui employ.⁸⁴ Felice's new identification as 'la bone moiller' further points to the change in ethos in the second part of the romance. The epithet adds a certain anonymity to her person which parallels Gui's own self-identification, or lack thereof, as a 'pilgrim' or 'pelerin' in this part. When in the service of God, Gui performs deeds and travels anonymously, which indicates his humility and piety, and counteracts a past where he carried out feats for the renown which would win him Felice.⁸⁵ This shift in the heroine's identification similarly reflects the way that the emphasis in the second part is on moral good – and God – rather than love or happiness, which Felice's name evidently embodies. The heroine, as a symbol of frivolous happiness or worldly pleasure, is transformed into a representation of good and charity, as well as asceticism, as we shall see below. In fact, the move away from happiness or pleasure as the objective, which is one which would belong to

forth by theologians in the later twelfth century. See Kaeupner, *Holy Warriors*, p. 55.

⁸⁴Felice asks Gui why he needs to go into exile in order to good and urges him to build church and abbeys instead in ll. 7661-7668.

⁸⁵See the Jonas episode, Gui's second set of dealings with Terri and his *incognito* attendance at one of the daily meals given by Felice to the poor (ll. 7857-8904, 9393-10672, and 11383-11416 respectively). Interestingly, the narrator no longer identifies Gui as 'le pelerin' in his fight with Berard, but by his name. This is perhaps due to the martial context of this change which is more epic in kind rather than hagiographic. See l. 10429 for the change. The moment at which this happens might also be an indication of the ideological limits of hagiography in heroic narrative: it comes after the point where Berard has subjected the pilgrim to the utmost humiliation by making him kneel to kiss the ground (ll. 10407-8). This seems to be the limit of humility for a hero as immediately the protagonist is elevated from his identification as the self-effacing 'pelerin' to 'Gui'. The self-effacing tendencies shown by Gui are paralleled in other hagiographical material, such as the *Vita Haroldi*. Here there is a clear effacement of subjectivity: the protagonist chooses to be called Christian, 'Christianum se vocarit fecerit' (XIII); covers his face with a white veil, 'velamen panniculi jugiter vultui pretendebat' and begins to live an eremitic life after he experiences great remorse over past sins – much like Gui (XIV). The description of his conversion is very similar to that of Gui: 'cepit igitur lapsus videre et deflere sub aspectu cuncta cernentis criminum suorum et errorum lapsus cepit regni longe felicioris faciliorem multo viam agnoscere et copiam presentire, (VI). ['So the fallen man began to see the errors into which he had fallen and to lament his sins in the sight of Him who sees all such things; he began to learn that that path to a more blessed kingdom is much easier, and to have a presentiment of its riches.'] Citations are from *Vita Haroldi*, ed. and trans. by Walter de Gray Birch (London: Elliot Stock, 1885); translations are taken from *Three lives of the last Englishmen*, trans. by Michael Swanton (New York: Garland, 1984), p. 15.

the recreational ethos in Chrétien, is so extreme that the author includes the rather unfortunate observation that Felice no longer laughed at any amusement: 'Pur rien rire ne la veist' (l. 8986).

The transformation of the heroine in the second part from a symbol of worldly happiness or pleasure is also evident in the depiction of the sexual relationship between the couple, which may also be informed by the *Vie*. In the French narrative, the prospect of consummating his marriage is a cause of great shame and distress to Alexis. As in the *Vita*, Alexis dutifully goes into the chamber but instead of deciding to instruct his wife, he experiences guilt and thinks he will lose God:

Quant vit le lit, esguarda la pulcele,
Dunc li remenre de sun segnur celeste
Que plus ad chier que tute rien terrestre:
'O Deus!' dist il, 'si grant pechié m'apresse;
Se or ne m'en fui, or criem que tei en perde!'⁸⁶

Alexis' thoughts are turned towards God with alarm as soon as he is faced with the prospect of sex as manifested in the bed and his virginal wife. Ideas of sin and perdition become intrinsically linked with his view of a sexual relationship, which prompts him to leave, and a clear hierarchy is established with the 'celeste' overriding the 'terreste', the contrast of which is highlighted by their position in the line and the assonance. This is clearly echoed in *Gui* when the hero leaves Felice to do service to God, although crucially this is after the marriage has been consummated. The romance narrative only echoes the asceticism of the *Vie* nuptial scene in the second part, which seems to respond to and correct the sexual relationship fully realised in the first. The focus in the second part of *Gui* is not on love or pleasure, as in earlier romances, but on the couple's service to God; and it would seem that Gui and Felice

⁸⁶["When he saw the bed, he looked as the young maiden, then he remembered how his heavenly father was more dear to him than anything on earth: 'O God!' he said, 'Such a great sin weighs down on me; if I do not go now, I fear that I will lose you!'] My translation. The encounter between Gui and Osille in the first part is also reminiscent of the way the French Alexis enters the room and finds the maiden there: 'Un jur en la chambra entra, | La pucele iloec trova' (ll. 6376-7). ['One day he entered the room and found the maiden there.'] The relationships here symbolised, namely that of Osille and Terri and of Terri and Gui, will be challenged and transformed through the same saintly asceticism depicted in the Alexis story. In the second part Terri will leave Osille to travel in the guise of a pilgrim in search of his friends; he will also ultimately fail Gui in his friendship.

indulge themselves in the first part in a way that requires expiation by way of this service in the second. For example, it is significant that the romance indicates that it is on the first of their fifty nights of love-making that they conceive a child:

Il avint qu'en la premere nuit,
Qu'il firent lur commun delit,
Ke Gui après sa femme jut
E ele un enfant de li conceut (ll. 7559-62)⁸⁷

For the purposes of begetting an heir the other forty-nine nights appear to be superfluous. Ideas of excess and indulgence are compounded by the tone of the passage and the diction in 'delit', a word which highlights pleasure and connotes sexual desire and gratification: it is significantly not 'amurs' that is employed here. Such indulgence is perhaps further emphasised through 'commun' which might suggest complicity of an indecent kind. This suggests the emerging condemnation of an earlier preoccupation with the performance of knightly feats for women and, by implication, for the rewards of sex.

A certain preoccupation with the erotic side of love is also displayed by Felice in her first reaction to Gui's decision to turn towards God and embark on a penitential journey. She does not believe in Gui's new-found piety as a reason for his leaving but, somewhat comically, cries out in a fit of sexual jealousy that he must have another woman:

'Sire, fait ele, que avez vus dit?
Avez mei vus dunc en despit?
Ore sai que altre femme avez,
Pur lui deguerpir me volez,
A li ore vus en irrez,
Ja mes ne repairerez.
Deus! Tant mar fu unques né!' (ll. 7635-40)⁸⁸

Felice mistakenly thinks that the new object of his adventures cannot be God but must be woman. Her misjudgement is not only highlighted through the contrast with Gui's sober, deliberate and pathetic confession which immediately precedes her strident outburst, but

⁸⁷['It happened on the first night of their mutual enjoyment, Gui slept with his wife and she conceived a child with him.']

⁸⁸['My lord,' she said, 'what have you said? Do you scorn me then? Now I know you have another woman and want to leave me for her. Now go off to her; you shall never come back. God! I wish I'd never been born!']

also through the ironic reference to God in her interjection. It seems that Felice is still in the mode of chivalric romance of a worldly kind: the character is blind to any higher ideal than those of love and erotic desire for a woman, whether Felice or another. Her preoccupation with love is also apparent in her assumption that Gui is holding her in contempt, 'en despit', rather than his sins, as if again she cannot conceive of any concern in her husband's mind other than that of love. A disparity arises at this point between Gui who has transcended into a more pious mode and Felice who remains in the sphere of worldly chivalric romance. However, as shown above, she too transforms into a penitential and ascetic character. The couple's sexual, rather than procreative, relationship and the subsequent indulgence in the first part, as well as Felice's sexual jealousy, is repudiated in the second part in a manner more akin to the ethos in the *Vie*.

In line with the new emphasis on asceticism similar to that found in the *Alexis* legend, the last interactions between Gui and Felice are limited and distant, in physical, social and metaphorical terms, and lacking in any libidinal drive. The first time that they meet after Gui's exile does not lead to an emotional reunion, as is the case with Terri, but the new interaction between the couple is mediated through Christian teaching and asceticism, and much more in the mode of the *Alexis* legend:⁸⁹

Chascun jur tresze freres pesseit
 En la sale par devant [Felice],
 Que Deus guarist sun seigneur Gui
 De tel beivre, de tel manger,
 Cum ele meimes soleit user.
 [...]
 Gui a idunc un des tresce esteit
 Mult doute qu'il coneu ne seit.
 La cuntesse l'ad esgardé;
 Por ço qu'il ert plus mesaisé
 De li l'en prist mult grant pitié. (ll. 11388-401)⁹⁰

⁸⁹Some scholars such as Calin and Laura Hibbard argue that the real love story of *Gui* is that of the hero and Terri. See Judith Weiss, *Two Anglo-Norman Romances*, p. 18. However, the *philos* initially promoted by the narrative is also supplanted by *agape*, albeit paradoxically, as the former is seen to fail when Terri fails to recognise Gui. For the distinctly distant nature of *agape* see Terry Eagleton, *Trouble with Strangers: A Study of Ethics* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 59.

⁹⁰[Each day Felice had thirteen poor brothers fed in the hall, seated in front of her, with the same drink and the

This interaction between Gui and Felice forms a distinct contrast to their previous relationship. Firstly, this difference is evident in the total lack of physical recognition by Felice of her husband's countenance, which indicates a new unfamiliarity and counters the sexual intimacy of their previous relationship. All physical or carnal knowledge has been forgotten. Moreover, Gui's anonymity in his interaction with Felice also overrides the couple's former preoccupation with renown in their earlier life. Furthermore, in contrast to her initial reaction of sexual jealousy, Felice no longer refuses to admit the primary importance of God in Gui's life, but actively recognises that new relationship by sharing meals with thirteen poor brothers specifically so that Gui might enjoy divine protection: as such, God now mediates how Felice relates to Gui. Her emotional reaction to him also shows a new focus on Christian love: in this scene her reaction is one of pity rather than of love, which represents a displacement of *eros* by *agape*, especially since he is so poor and her interaction with him is one of charity. Furthermore, the image of the shared meal between Felice with the brothers also promotes a similar idea of Christian love, as it is emphatically shown through anaphora and mirroring in 'de tel beivre, de tel manger' that the countess shares the same food as the poor men, which constitutes a levelling of social status and aligns itself with the Christian ideas of equality and love as found in the Sermon of the Mount. Moreover, the shared meal upholds the new, unequivocally Christian context of Gui and Felice's relationship as it has connotations of the Eucharist. The contrast between this new relationship and the former one is also highlighted by the curiously cyclical pattern of the narrative. As at the beginning, Gui is Felice's social inferior, but whereas before he was a landless would-be knight, he is now a poor pilgrim. This doubling indicates the shift from the worldly preoccupations to an ascetic kind of chivalry and alludes to his rejection of woman for closeness to God, now the ultimate object of desire.

same food as she herself was wont to have, so that God might protect her husband Gui [...] Gui was at that moment one of the thirteen, and he was very afraid he would be recognised. The countess looked at him; because he was more poverty-stricken, she felt the greater pity.']

The emergence of a new interaction between Gui and Felice counteracting the pleasurable and erotic elements of their past relationship reaches its logical conclusion in their final interaction. After Gui visits Felice as a pilgrim he does not reveal himself but instead becomes a hermit in the forest: any intimate reconciliation is therefore denied. It is only in death that they are reunited, which exemplifies the complete rejection in the second part of the earlier prioritisation of love that is more typical of courtly romance.⁹¹ When the above scene is considered alongside *Horn* as an intertext, it becomes clearer how *Gui* undermines the expectations of romance: like Horn, Gui meets with his beloved as a pilgrim after a long exile and his presence too is unbeknown to her. However, instead of revealing himself and articulating his love as Horn does, Gui leaves and becomes a hermit, thus rejecting the more common trajectory of Anglo-Norman romance heroes such as Horn who go on to win back the beloved and restore justice. The use of a ring as a token of recognition is similarly present in both *Horn* and *Gui*, but in the latter its use is postponed until the death scene, so that its sexual potential in reuniting the lovers is rendered defunct. Furthermore, in contrast to *Horn* where the hero gives the ring to Rigmel directly, albeit surreptitiously, in *Gui* the token of recognition is conveyed to the heroine by the hero's boy, a 'vaslet' (l.1153). The physical distance between the couple, underscored by the transport of the ring, reflects the new asceticism surrounding the couple. This is reinforced by the small boy himself who appears as a figure of prepubescent innocence and symbolises the new purity with which the couple's relations are now endowed. The fact that the boy actually wears the ring on his finger, 'en mun dei', could also constitute a retrospective allusion to Gui, blurring the figures of the lover and the boy together and suggesting that Gui has returned to a childlike state of spiritual innocence. This communication symbolises the transformation of Gui's relationship

⁹¹The Middle English versions portray Gui and Felice meeting for a short time before the hero's death. Presumably the Anglo-Norman depiction of events proved too harsh and uncompromising for audience's tastes.

with Felice from carnal to abstract, which is also reinforced by aforementioned negation of a reunion. Felice arrives at Gui's deathbed just as his soul departs:

Le cors sun seigneur esgarda,
 En halte voiz leva un cri,
 E il ses oilz en overi;
 L'alme de lui s'en alad. (ll. 11560-3)⁹²

The former emphasis on the corporeal in their relations is hinted at here as it is emphasised that Felice first makes out the body, 'le cors' of her lord, but any physical contact is postponed until after his death. Once Gui dies, their former love is simulated by Felice as she kisses and swoons over his body in l. 11571-3, but this only underlines the frustrated reunion and the impossibility of returning to their former relations. Moreover, the focus on the sexual connotations of the corporeal are completely overturned by the miracle of Gui's body when it begins to emit a sweet perfume, a phenomenon typical in hagiography; such a miracle thus displaces the erotic in the body with the ascetic and the holy: 'De tant les volet Deus honorer: | Del cors issit un fleirur' (l. 11578-9). The body as the symbol of earthly desire is here transformed into a holy vehicle for heavenly power. Gui transcends his eremitic status to something approaching sainthood at this point, although significantly the figure of Felice can be seen to bear the vestiges of a more erotic romance code when she kisses his mouth and face 'la boche et le vis li baisa' (l.11572). This discrepancy in their spiritual maturation parallels the different attitudes towards their relationship shown during their interview after Gui announces his decision to go on a penitential journey. Moreover, this is apparent in the aftermath of Gui's death, when Felice must wait fifty days before she can join her husband: 'ele après la mort sun seigneur | morut al cinquante jur'. This number is significant as it corresponds to the fifty days of love-making which, as shown above, suggested an excessive preoccupation with pleasure in carnal relations. As such, the last remnants of Felice's identification with pleasure are expunged by means of this deferral, as if

⁹²['She saw the body of her lord. She uttered a loud cry and he opened his eyes; his soul departed.']

she must undergo the penitence of being without Gui before she too can achieve complete asceticism and rejoin him in an absolute heavenly context: 'Ensemble sunt en la compaignie | De Nostre Dame, sainte Marie'.⁹³ This total asceticism is reinforced by their burial together; she is placed next to him, 'après li se fist mettre par amur', which image both echoes and negates their former relations when they lay together for sexual pleasure (l.11629). This in fact may be interpreted as a kind of inversion of the *Liebestod*, epitomised by the Tristan story, as they are joined together in death in ascetic love for God rather than in erotic love for each other.

This final moment in the Gui narrative proper is arguably a symbolic synecdoche for the corrective ideology of the text, which fuses the different and varying concerns of history, epic, hagiography and romance, both Insular and continental, and systematically deconstructs *chevalerie terrestre*. In its stead it establishes an appealing, God-fearing hero who is unbeatable in both military and spiritual terms, yet whose sinful past and distinct ability to change make him the most accessible kind of exile-and-return hero. He begins as a mere seneschal's son and ends a saint. Yet his rise offers something more: his popular appeal rests ultimately on his spiritual trajectory from fallen state to successful redemption, which is accommodated by the structure of exile-and-return narratives, as is shown in the *PFG*, the subject of the next chapter. The Gui/Guy story opens up the potential for change for the audience and offers the hope of the discovery of new, higher ideals to everyone, the appeal of which is attested by the story's enduring popularity, a sure sign that its author hit upon the right literary formula for his didactic purpose.

⁹³['They are together, in the company of our Lady, St Mary.']

4. SPIRITUAL EXILE-AND-RETURN IN THE *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ*

The mid-thirteenth-century *Poema de Fernán González*, which relates the recovery of Christian power in Iberia from the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711 and presents Castile's emerging independence in the tenth century as the culmination of that same narrative, is arguably the individual's spiritual exile-and-return writ large.¹ Like the *CMC*, the story of the first Count of Castile and his liberation of this realm from the political dominance of Leonese monarchy is based on historical events.² However, its integration of a wide range of influences, such as Biblical motifs, hagiography, continental French vernacular works, poems from oral tradition including the lost *Cantar de Fernán González*, other *mester de clerecía* works such as the *Libro de Alexandre*, and Latin and vernacular histories, make it a much more composite and extensive work than its Cidian counterpart, and arguably more akin to the second-generation Anglo-Norman romances described in the previous chapter.³ More complex still, the *PFG* adapts and present tropes from these works within the overtly erudite and novel verse-form of the *mester de clerecía* to create a new, continuous, and more authoritative vernacular version of Castilian history extending from the Visigothic period until the beginnings of an independent Castile, which, as shown below,

¹For a discussion of the dating of the poem see Uría Maqua, *Panorama*, pp. 323-5.

²The medieval legend of Fernán González has enjoyed a great deal of popularity in Spain, and is second only to that of the *Cid*. For a detailed study of the historical figure and his popularity in the collective consciousness see Manuel Márquez Sterling, *Fernán González, First Count of Castile: the Man and the Legend* (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, 1980). For the differences between the literary representation of Fernán González and the historical figure see Beverley West, *Epic, Folk and Christian Traditions in the 'Poema de Fernán González'* (Potomac: Maryland, 1983), pp. 1-20.

³See Matthew Bailey, *The Poema del Cid and the Poema de Fernán González: The Transformation of an Epic Tradition* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1993). For the use of historical sources in the *PFG* see María Eugenia Lacarra, 'El significado histórico del *Poema de Fernán González*', *Studi Ispanici* (1979), 9-41 (pp. 15-19); on Biblical motifs in the poem see A. D. Deyermond, 'Uses of the Bible in the *Poema de Fernán González*', in *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain: Historical and Literary Essays presented to L. P. Harvey*, ed. by David Hook and Barry Taylor (London: King's College, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1990), pp. 47-70. On the lost *Cantar* see Deyermond, *El "Cantar de mio Cid"*, pp. 71-75. Clerics writing in the new *mester de clerecía* form adapted Latin and French sources, as is exemplified by the emergence of the *Libro de Alexandre*. Henceforth *Alexandre*. Provençalisms are found in Berceo, the *Libro de Apolonio* and the *Alexandre*; French language also seems to have influenced the metre of the *mester de clerecía*. See Dutton, 'French Influences'. On the use of *Alexandre* to fashion a Spanish, Christian equivalent in Fernán see Colbert Nepaulsingh, *Towards a History of Literary Composition in Medieval Spain*, University of Toronto Romance Series, 54 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 89.

constitutes a response to the existing narratives of Christian Iberia found in the chronicles. As such, the *PFG* goes further than the later Anglo-Norman romances or the *CMC* since it is not restricted to relating the biography of the hero, but includes descriptions of earlier events reworked from historiographical material before the protagonist even appears. Moreover, such inclusion of earlier Iberian history is not an isolated part of the poem, but very much related to the hero's characterisation as a Christian redeemer of a realm that was first lost to the enemy through the sins of the Visigoths.

The poem uses a combination of a bipartite structure, the *mester de clerecía* verse-form, and spiritual language, seemingly stronger than that found in the chronicles, to present the loss of Visigothic territory and the victorious conquests made by Fernán González as a part of a single, continuous narrative of spiritual exile-and-return.⁴ The poem responds to prevalent arguments in earlier and contemporary chronicles relating to weaknesses in Christian rule, particularly the errors made by Visigothic kings, by reworking historiographical material, as well as oral tradition, and presenting Visigothic decline and its wretched aftermath as a period of sin and penitential suffering in the first part of the poem, before introducing Fernán in the second part as a figure of redemption who secures God's forgiveness and preserves the renewed spiritual integrity of the realm by systematically avoiding the same sins of his Visigothic ancestors.⁵ The hero, and to a certain extent Sancha, serves as a kind of corrective model for earlier Christian rulers and sinful policy, especially

⁴As Deyermond points out, the Christian worldview of the thirteenth-century *PFG* does not set it apart from contemporary works; nevertheless, the many explicit Biblical allusions throughout the poem reflects a distinctive religious emphasis: 'These [Biblical] platitudes become useful critical knowledge only when there is active reference to that view and clear allusion to the Bible within the work. In the *Poema de Fernán González*, unlike, say, the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, the Bible and Christian historiography are consistently active as subtexts.' Deyermond, 'Uses', p. 48. Traditionally, the poem's structure has been seen as tripartite. See J. P. Keller, 'The Structure of the *Poema de Fernán González*', *Hispanic Review* 25.4 (Oct., 1957), 235-246; Deyermond, 'Uses', p. 48-49; Geraldine Coates, 'Endings Lost and Found in the *Poema de Fernán González*', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 9: 3 (2008), 203-217 (esp. pp. 207-8). In his discussion of the recognised tripartite structure, Deyermond also admitted the twofold focus on Castile and the hero to be somewhat distracting. See Deyermond, *El "Cantar de mio Cid"*, pp. 73-5.

⁵Analogously, Geraldine Hazbun has interpreted Fernán's advent and his relationship with God and the Castilians as figuring the displacement of the Mosaic law of the Old Testament by that of the New Testament. Similarly, Fernán is seen as a redemptive figure, tantamount to God's son. See Coates, 'Endings', pp. 214-5; Deyermond, 'Uses', p. 49.

under king Rodrigo, both inter- and intratextually. Although the extant poem is incomplete, what remains of the narrative still allows for an interpretation in which the second part of the poem can be seen as an overriding response to the first, through which the past sins of the Visigoths, and specifically Rodrigo, are overturned by his successor and corrective double, Fernán, and a new generation of Christians.⁶ Moreover, it is not only historiographical material that is employed to construct this overriding response. The poem also reworks tropes from the wider pool of European narratives for this end, especially in the episodes involving Sancha, the hero's beloved, where conventions from the *roman courtois* are used to form a corrective set of romantic relations that counter arguments surrounding the destructive sins of Christian rulers in the existing narratives. The new version of events provided by the *PFG* is made even more distinctive by the use of the *mester de clerecía* verse-form, as this offers the narrative similar gravitas to that of its Latin sources, without losing the appeal of such vernacular works and oral legend relating to the hero, some of which survives through shorter ballads.⁷ The *mester de clerecía* verse-form accommodates historical and literary source materials of varying tone, forms and concerns, integrating them into a more homogenous vernacular narrative. The result is a new, more universal account of Castilian supremacy that legitimises its power and identity as a warrior society by establishing continuity between the realm and the Visigothic past, presenting the recovery of territory as the result of spiritual redemption through the hero, and by employing a language

⁶The poem survives incomplete in a single, damaged fifteenth-century manuscript, Escorial b.IV.21. The rendering of the poem in prose preserved in the *Primera Crónica General* offers some indication of what followed. See Deyermond, 'Uses', p. 47. On the changes made to this later Alfonsine version see Matthew Bailey, 'Las últimas hazañas del Conde Fernán González en la *Estoria de España*: la contribución alfonsí', *La Corónica*, 24.4 (1996) 31-40, p. 36. On the count's death as one possible ending see Lacarra, 'El significado', pp. 12-14. However, I do not include the prose ending for discussion here, as I have restricted the choice of principal texts in this thesis to narrative poems, which pose different interpretative questions, particularly in the case of a *mester de clerecía* work. A discussion of the prose ending would necessitate a different kind of philological work that is not accommodated by the scope and methodology of this thesis. As it stands, the poem gives enough evidence of Fernán's role as a counteracting force to the events of the first part of the poem, as I have shown below, and the underlying bipartite structure.

⁷They include *Infancia de Fernán González*, *Fernán González y el rey*, and *Fernán González se niega a ir a las cortes*. Many of these ballads are preserved in manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards. *Romancero*, ed. by Paloma Díaz-Mas (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), pp. 107-116.

and form that is simultaneously authoritative, engaging and accessible to a wider audience.⁸

The spiritual loss-and-recovery argument underlying the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* is a clear indication of the poem's participation in the ongoing historiographical debate surrounding the legitimacy of Iberian Christianity and a manifestation of *reconquista* rhetoric, which asserted the loss of Visigothic power in 711 to be the result of sin and presented the Muslim hold over the peninsula as a temporary penance from God ending in redemption and the corresponding recovery of land.⁹ As in earlier and contemporary Spanish histories, the Christians of Iberia in the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* are cast in the same role as the Israelites of the Old Testament, enjoying their status as God's chosen people and suffering divine wrath and loss of territory as punishment for neglecting His laws.¹⁰ This narrative of salvation, first adumbrated in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, and developed by the thirteenth-century histories of the *Liber Regum*, Lucas de Túy's *Chronicon Mundi*, and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispanie*, is again present in the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* but in a slightly different form.¹¹ Whereas the chronicles explicitly attribute defeat to sins including lust, the poem instead presents this sin in terms of military conduct and interaction with the enemy, rather than lust. Nevertheless, it does appear to offer an implicit and corrective response to the excessive preoccupation with sex shown by early Christian rulers in the chronicles through its depiction of Fernán and Sancha's own relationship.¹² Even so, the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* appears to be primarily concerned with martial policy and

⁸Cf. French adaptations of the so-called *matière de Rome*. Efforts to translate or provide accessible yet erudite versions of authoritative narratives, whether Classical or hagiographical, seem to motivate the choice of source materials for earlier *mester de clerecía* texts, such as the *Alexandre*, the *Libro de Apolonio*, and the religious poems written by Gonzalo de Berceo, including the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*.

⁹For a succinct explanation of this problem see Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰See Deyermond, 'Uses', pp. 49-57; Coates, 'Endings'.

¹¹On the relationship between the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* and Latin chronicles, both earlier and later see C. Carroll Marden *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1904), pp. xxxiv-xli. On more detailed use of historical sources and other material see pp. 163-190. To my knowledge, this early work on the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* still offers the most detailed discussion of the Latin sources. See also Lacarra, 'El significado', pp. 15-19. See also the summary in Weiss, '*Mester*', pp. 150-1. On judgement and salvation in the content and structure of the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* see Coates, 'Endings'. Henceforth *CA*, *LR*, *Chronicon*, *DRH*.

¹²Even though the sexual dimension of Rodrigo's sin and lascivious conduct towards Julián's daughter in the *POEMA DE FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ* is implicit and relies on audience's knowledge of the story of the rape, the poem nevertheless appears to respond to these echoes of lasciviousness through Sancha's chaste and proactive characterisation in her interaction with Fernán, as I will show. On this implicit reference see: Deyermond, 'Uses', pp. 51-2; Geraldine Hazbun, 'Female Foundations in the *Alexandre* and *Poema de Fernán González*', in *A*

the formation of a warrior society, at least at first, in a manner that resembles some of the arguments in *Horn*, the *CMC*, and even *Gui* in its concern with the proper motivation for knighthood. However, the *PFG* moves beyond these works by following the salvation narratives found in Spanish chronicles that presented the loss and recovery of Christian power in terms of sin and redemption, and by using more spiritual language to articulate similar debates about policy against foreign aggressors and the cultivation of military practices, which are often found in heroic poetry.¹³ As such, the *PFG* appears to be a hybrid form, conflating Spanish historiography, epic and even romance, to relate an authoritative version of local history in the vernacular, not unlike the first vernacular verse histories of Post-Conquest England.¹⁴ Moreover, in a similar manner to early Anglo-Norman works such as Wace's *Brut*, the *PFG* is a foundation narrative, or *aition*, offering a longer historiographical rationale for Castile's contemporary supremacy, rather than an biography, in which the spiritual exile-and-return structure plays a fundamental role for shoring up its special status as the justified recipient of God's favour.¹⁵

This chapter examines how the representation of attitudes to warfare, enemy rule, and proper conduct towards women in the *PFG* reflect its participation in earlier and contemporary historiographical and literary discourse, and how these are given an emphatic spiritual dimension in *PFG*. The strategies that are inimical to military success and defence of the realm, such as the endorsement of peace, fear, and disunity are often related to the devil and sin, rather than simply being shown as harmful, inexpedient policies for the

Companion to Spanish Women's Studies, ed. by Xon de Ros and Geraldine Hazbun (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2011), pp. 25-40 (p. 29). Weiss, 'Mester', p. 153. Itziar López Guil, *Libro de Fernán González* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2001), p. 150.

¹³The Old English *Battle of Maldon* is one of the clearest and finest examples of this.

¹⁴See Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, pp. 10-32; 38-41; 49-66; 207.

¹⁵This term, more often associated with Classical literature, describes the kind of narrative that explains and justifies the origins of natural or social phenomena, a prominent example of which is Virgil's *Aeneid*. The mythological rationale for contemporary Roman power under Augustan rule is epitomised by Jupiter's promise to Venus that he has imposed on the Romans, 'no limits of time or place', and has 'given them an empire which will know no end': 'His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; | imperium sine fine dedi' (*Aen.* 278-9). The translation is taken from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by David West (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991). On the aetiological aspect of the *Aeneid* see also Philip Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), esp. p. 135.

survival of the realm, as in *Horn* and the *CMC*. The spiritual representation of warfare and love in the poem becomes especially patent when the poem is compared not only to earlier and contemporary chronicles, but also to vernacular poetry and the *roman courtois*. The damaging effects for the realm arising from erotic desire in Christian rulers described by the chronicles, similar to the distracting effects of *chevalerie terrestre* for the proper conduct of a *miles christi* articulated in *Gui*, are mitigated by the *PFG* more implicitly through the episodes concerning Sancha and the use of courtly tropes. After briefly discussing the effects of the *mester de clerecía* verse-form in the new narrative of Castilian history, I examine how the work responds to ongoing historiographical debates relating to the decline and recovery of Christian power in Iberia through its own distinctive representation of the common themes of lust, the neglect of martial practices, and interaction with the Muslim enemy, which are first described within the context of decline and then challenged or corrected in the period of recovery. Like *Gui*, the *PFG* uses a bipartite structure in which the first half outlines the sins associated with Visigothic decline, Arab rule, and the spiritual and associated territorial losses suffered by Christians, while the second, corrective part presents a redemptive hero whose function is to cleanse Castile from any association with these past sins and recover both divine favour and the corresponding land, so establishing the realm's new power as divinely sanctioned. As such, the whole of the poem is centred on a spiritual 'exile-and-return' pattern, in which recovery is contingent on the hero and the expiation and avoidance of those sins that first led to estrangement from God and corresponding loss of territory.

i. Mester de clerecía

When read in conjunction with other early works written in the verse-form of the *mester de clerecía*, such as Gonzalo de Berceo's hagiographies and the *Libro de Alexandre*, the spiritual dimension to Christian loss and recovery in the *PFG* is not wholly unexpected.

Although a comprehensive definition of the *mester de clerecía* is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is useful first to note some aspects of its form and the context in which it emerged, not only to examine how it was used to create a spiritual *aition* that constructs Castilian warrior identity, but also to show Spanish participation in the wider context of contemporary European literary and cultural trends more clearly. A basic definition of the *mester de clerecía* would include that this verse-form is made of regular monorhymed alexandrine quatrains, otherwise known as the *cuaderna vía*, and characterised by its learned, didactic and clerical style, although scholars have argued whether these last qualities are indeed peculiar to this form.¹⁶ The appearance and function of the verse form have been linked to cultural, political and theological developments in Spain and Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: scholars have discussed the influence of growth of cathedral schools and universities, especially in Palencia, the rise of an international student body, the exchange of French and Latin works, and the new emphasis on the teaching of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* as possible factors which contributed to the emergence of this new self-consciously erudite, precise and clerical form.¹⁷ The overtly clerical style and didactic aspect of the *mester de clerecía* has been associated with the movement towards greater centralisation of Church power and the ecclesiastical calls for instruction of the laity which

¹⁶Much of the scholarship on the definition of the *mester de clerecía* discusses the extent to which this term distinguishes the poems written in this form from the compositions of the *juglares*. For an overview of this discussion see Uría Maqua, *Panorama*, pp. 162-171. Basing their arguments on the opening lines of the *Alexandre*, certain scholars have seen a clear division between the *mester de clerecía* and the *mester de juglaría*. See, for example, Raymond Willis, 'Mester de Clerecía: a definition of the *Libro de Alexandre*', *Romance Philology*, 10 (1956-57), 212-24 (pp. 212-3). This rigid view has been emphatically refuted by others such as Alan Deyermond who argued such a division is inaccurate; citing the *Libro de Apolonio*, he argued that many of qualities of the *mester de clerecía* are found also in the so-called *mester de juglaría*: see Alan Deyermond, 'Mester es sen pecado', *Romanische Forschungen*, 77 (1965), 111-116. Similarly, see Lomax, 'Reforms', p. 299. Uría Maqua argues that it is better to consider this a poetic school which comes to the fore with the emergence of the *Alexandre* and is continued by works with the same spiritual and didactic end: Uría Maqua, *Panorama*, p. 162. It should also be noted that the *cuaderna vía*, that is, the verse-form comprising regular monorhymed quatrains, is not a clear equivalent term to the *mester de clerecía*. A clear distinction has been drawn between the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century poems which share these formal characteristics but do not have common themes; the sets are both written in the *cuaderna vía* but it is the earlier poems only which belong to the *mester de clerecía*. See Deyermond, *Historia*, pp. 108-9. Weiss has also discussed the problems with using the term 'didactic' to describe these works. Weiss, 'Mester', pp. 4-8

¹⁷It has been argued that the *mester de clerecía* was developed at the University of Palencia under the influence of the French faculty; on exchange between the Universities of Palencia, Paris and French schools see Dutton, 'French Influences', pp. 87-90

were the result of the decrees by Innocent III at the Lateran Council of 1215.¹⁸ Like *Gui* then, the *PFG* can be seen to respond to these contemporary cultural and theological trends in its depiction of a hero as a much more religious figure than the protagonists of earlier Anglo-Norman and continental French romances, or even the *CMC*.¹⁹ Moreover, the works of Gonzalo de Berceo, also written in the *mester de clerecía* verse-form, seem to respond in a similar way to the calls for greater instruction of the laity and clerics. It has been argued that the vernacular versions by Berceo of certain Latin hagiographies, such as his *Vida de Santo Domingo* based on the Grimaldus' *Vita Sancti Dominici*, are enriched and expanded versions of originals designed to appeal to a wider audience.²⁰ In adopting a strong spiritual tone to depict the trajectory of both Fernán González and Castile, the *PFG* seems to approximate the hagiographies by Berceo, rather than Classical works of the *mester de clerecía* such as the *Apolonio* and *Alexandre*, despite the use of similarly epic source material by the latter work. Moreover, the *PFG* also resembles these Spanish hagiographies, and indeed the Anglo-Norman *Gui*, in its depiction of hero who is more of a saintly or *miles christi* figure.

¹⁸Weiss, 'Mester', pp. 1-9; Lomax, 'Reforms'. It has been argued that many of the works written in the *mester de clerecía* were perhaps not intended for the layman but for other clerics who lacked Latin literacy; calls for instruction in Latin of all clerics except those who were much older at the Council of Valladolid in 1228 would seem to suggest that not all were fully competent in Latin. See Uría Maqua, *Panorama*, p. 150.

¹⁹As such, there is some resonance with the arguments advanced by Spiegel on the rise of French prose history. Like *Gui*, the *PFG* may be seen as a similar response to the spiritualisation of the vernacular in thirteenth-century literature. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 62-4, 153; see also my interpretation of *Gu* in the third chapter of this thesis in pp.117-155 (esp. pp. 121-124). The Spanish poem's preoccupation with penitential suffering, like that of *Gui*, has also been linked to the theological emphasis on penance associated with the 1215 Lateran Council. Coates, 'Endings', pp. 211-212. The elevation of Spanish prose into a sophisticated and literary tool has been attributed to Alfonso X. See Robert I. Burns, S. J., 'Castle of Intellect, Castle of Force: The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror', in *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert I Burns, S. J. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 2-22 (p.14).

²⁰John Esten Keller, *Gonzalo de Berceo* (New York: Twayne, 1972), pp. 24-9. The heavy religious emphasis found in Berceo's works is evident from the list of those compositions attributed to him: the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, *Vida de San Millán de La Cogolla*, *Vida de Santa Oria*, *Martirio de San Lorenzo*, *Duelo que Fizo le Virgin*, *Lores de Nuestra Señora*, *El Sacrificio de La Misa*, *De los Signos que Aparecerán ante el Juicio* and his *Hymnos*. See Keller, *Gonzalo*, pp. 41-2. In contrast to the strong Christian material handled by Berceo, the authors of the *Alexandre* and the *Apolonio* seem to be more centred on flaunting their erudition and knowledge of Classical works. This may have been the result of the authors' particular familiarity with the Latin *Alexandreis* and *Historia Apolonii Regis Tyrii* and a desire to show off their *savoir-faire* to those clerics who lacked adequate Latin literacy, a deficiency that the Council at Valladolid sought to address. See also John of Abbeville's reforms. Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 30-34. Although secular in subject-matter, the *Alexandre* and the *Libro de Apolonio* nevertheless form part of this religious call to instruction of the laity and clerics initially made at the Fourth Lateran Council.

Furthermore, the vernacular *mester de clerecía* provides new, accessible, albeit altered, versions of the Latin histories used as its sources, much in the same way as it is used for Berceo's saints' lives.²¹ It seems that such historiographical material was welded to the more familiar, legendary and oral narratives surrounding the count found outside of written Latin chronicles, such as the lost *Cantar de Fernán González*, and reworked again with a more spiritual tone, with a resulting narrative that is at once engaging and instructive.²² Although the above poem has not survived, the later ballads of oral tradition offering shorter, more immediate accounts about the deeds of Fernán González, provides some possible evidence of what the lost work might have included.²³ Through this amalgamation of a novel verse-form, sources of different registers, and the vernacular, a wider audience is given access to a new and authoritative yet simultaneously familiar *exemplum* of a distinctly local version of Christian military and quasi-saintly heroism.

This fashioning by the poet of a new kind of Christian hero from traditional and historical sources in the *PFG* may be linked to a certain literary recuperative function, or the capacity to rewrite or cleanse more negative narratives, found in the *mester de clerecía* verse-form, as outlined in the opening lines of the *Alexandre*:

Mester trayo feroso: non es de ioglaría
 mester es sin pecado ca es de clerezía
 fablar curso rimado por la quaderna vía
 a sílavas contadas, ca es grant maestría. (2)²⁴

Often these lines are used to outline the aims of the *mester de clerecía*; here, however, they

²¹López Guil, *Libro*, pp. 39-45. As argued there, the sources of the *PFG* also include the French *Roland* and Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*. It seems the work also borrows from Roman history and folklore; see Keller, 'Structure', p. 235.

²²Evidence in ballads and chronicles such as the *Estoria de España* suggest a popular lost narrative or narratives relating to Fernán in oral tradition. See also Deyermond, *Historia*, p. 78. One French and English analogy would be the *Tristan* narratives. Cf. West, *Epic*.

²³A paratactic quality or 'fragmentismo', suggesting a widespread familiarity with the narratives in the ballads, is a recognised feature of these poems. See *Spanish Ballads*, ed. by Smith, pp. xxx-xxxii. See *Romancero*, ed. by Díaz-Mas, pp. 107-116.

²⁴['The craft I bring is refined, it is no minstrel's work, a craft without fault, born of the clergy's learning: to compose rhyming verse in the four-line form, with counted syllables – an act of great mastery.'] Citations are taken from *Libro de Alexandre*, ed. by Juan Casas Rigall (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2007). Translations are taken from *Book of Alexander*, trans. by Peter Such and Richard Rabone (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2009).

are discussed with a view to understanding the implications of this verse-form for our interpretation of the *PFG*. There is a clear emphasis on the aesthetics of the work: the poet brings something 'fermoso', which almost echoes the concern for a 'mout bele conjointure' in Chrétien's *Erec* prologue and suggests an correspondingly similar aesthetic concern in *PFG* allowing for more subtle readings.²⁵ More importantly, he proposes that his verse-form is 'sen peccado'.²⁶ It is argued here that, in contrast to *juglaría*, this form is something more pristine or faultless, or a more deliberate kind of writing or oral performance. Moreover, this is causally linked to *clerecía* and the Church: it is without fault precisely because it comes from the clergy. As such, the 'peccado' may be read with its full connotations of sin within this ecclesiastical context. The religious emphasis in this prologue constituting a poetic manifesto on the new verse-form is replicated in the opening lines of the *PFG* itself:

En el nombre del Padre, que fizo toda cosa
del que quiso nasçer la Virgen preciosa,
e del Spíritu Santo, que ygal *dellos* posa,
del conde de Castiella quiero fer una prosa. (1)²⁷

The invocation of the Trinity is frequently used in the opening lines of works written in the *mester de clerecía*; the similarities between the opening lines of the *PFG* and Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* have accordingly been noted in previous scholarship.²⁸ The opening stanza in the hagiography is virtually identical except for the characterisation of the protagonist who is here a holy priest:

En el nomne del Padre, que fiço toda cosa
e de don Ihesu Christo, fiijo de la Gloriosa,
e del Spiritu Sancto, que egual dellos posa,

²⁵*Erec* l. 14.

²⁶This stanza has been used repeatedly to define the concept of 'mester de clerecía' supposedly current in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yet the term as identifying a poetic school was first introduced by means of this stanza only in the nineteenth century. See Uría Maqua, *Panorama*, pp. 19-20.

²⁷[In the name of the Father, who created all things, of Him who willed His birth of the Virgin fair, and of the Holy Spirit, who dwells as their equal, I now wish to make a rhyme on the Count of Castile.] Citations are taken from *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. by Juan Vitorio (Madrid: Cátedra, 2010). All translations are taken from *The Poem of Fernán González*, trans. by Peter Such and Richard Rabone (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, forthcoming). I am grateful to Rich Rabone for allowing me access to the unpublished manuscript; the verse translation has been rendered into prose for ease of reading.

²⁸See, for example, López Guil, *Libro*, p. 135. This resemblance to Berceo's works is not an isolated case. See Dutton, 'French Influences', p. 85; Marden, *Poema*, p. xxxi-xxxii.

de un confessor sancto quiero fer una prosa. (1)²⁹

Although these similarities have been noted, the spiritual connotations of the diction here have not been examined. Firstly, it is indicative of the more spiritual dimension in the *PFG* narrative that a strong association is created between the *PFG* and a hagiographic work in the first stanza.³⁰ More significantly, the diction in 'prosa' strongly points to this religious character as the thirteenth-century meaning of the word is 'hymn'.³¹ Since it is explicitly defined as a religious poem or song, it therefore follows that *PFG* is not only similar to historiographical accounts, but must also be seen as a hagiographic or devotional oral composition.

This initial presentation of the poem as a religious work, in addition to the expectations of a pure or spiritually faultless quality in the work connoted by the *mester de clerecía* verse-form, informs a spiritual interpretation of the *PFG* from the outset and primes a new and wider audience for a version of Castilian history in which the Christian realm undergoes a penitential exile before returning to their earlier status of the Visigothic reign as God's chosen people. The diction in the *PFG* prologue and verse-form anticipate the pervasive use of spiritual language in the poem, especially evident in its tendency to explain events in terms of sin and redemption, and allude to the spiritual dimension in literary composition described in the *Alexandre* prologue. Given that this verse-form is 'sen peccado', it would seem that in the very act of composing of a new version of the Fernán González story in this distinctive mode, the poet is expiating the sins of the historical and literary Castile. The creation of this narrative and its progression from spiritual exile to redemption becomes a process of compositional expiation whose telos is the cleansing of past and current narratives, both oral and written, and the presentation of a holy, newly-purged

²⁹See above translation of *PFG* (1).

³⁰Cf. Deyermond, 'Uses', esp. p. 48.

³¹See *Diccionario Medieval Español desde las Glosas Emilianeses y Silenses (s. X) hasta el siglo XV. Tomo I A-C*, (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1986), p. 1526.

account of Iberian Christendom, Castile and Fernán. Subsequently, this 'sinless' composition reaches a metatextual level. In using the vernacular and a 'sen peccado' form in a foundational and specifically religious work, open to a wider Castilian audience, the poet creates a new vision of reality, even more universal than the Latin versions, where contemporary Castilians are exiated from historical sin and presented as the true holy warriors of God. This is not so dissimilar from the aims of contemporary chroniclers such as Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, whose prologue suggests he sees the compilation of history, and his own position as royal historian, as an additional outlet for expansionism: writing is here presented as opportunity to respond to and override the past weaknesses displayed by monarchs such as king Rodrigo and to glorify Castile, 'ad preconium nostre gentis' not by the means of the sword, but by the pen and the intellect, 'stilo rudi et sapientia tenui' (Prologus, l.88-90).³² The *PFG* appears to arise out of a similar concern with the potential in writing or rewriting to bolster the spiritual and political worth of its subject, whether Castile or Toledo, to an extratextual extent.³³

The similarities between the *PFG* and the Spanish chronicles also stem from their shared universal outlook and the common use of sin and redemption to explain the vicissitudes of Christian power in Iberia, albeit to different degrees, which is not peculiar to thirteenth century works, but found in Spanish histories from the *CA* onwards.³⁴ As

³²Citations are taken from Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de Rebus Hispanie*, ed. by Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnholt: Brepols, 1987). See Linehan, *Historians*, p. 350. Rodrigo had first-hand experience of warfare, having fought at the 1212 Battle of Las Navas. For a short summary of his life see Bernard F. Reilly, 'The *De Rebus Hispanie* and the Mature Latin Chronicle in the Iberian Middle Ages', *Viator* 43. 2 (2012), 131-145 (pp. 131-132). However, Rodrigo's main concern in the *DRH* is with establishing the primacy of Toledo. See Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 316-322. It has been argued that for Rodrigo 'the archbishops of Toledo were the true successors and guardians of the Visigothic past. See Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), p. 22, 63-70.

³³On the rewriting of sources in medieval Spanish chronicles, the value of comparing such narratives, and adaptation for different audiences see Aengus Ward, *History and Chronicles in Late Medieval Iberia: Representations of Wamba in Late Medieval Narrative Histories* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 161-208. Although the preface of the *Chronicon* is more focussed on Queen Berenguela of León, Lucas' patron, a connection is nevertheless made between new writing, continuity with Isidore of Seville and the transfer of Visigothic glory to the author's present. See Praefatio, 47-54.

³⁴On the ideological shift in the *CA* from earlier histories such as the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754*, see Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 103-7. On the wider representation in medieval Spanish narratives, see Eliezer Oyola, *Los*

mentioned above, read alongside these historical works, the *PFG* appears to be more of a verse chronicle, similar to those those written by the Insular elite during the twelfth century, such as Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*, rather than narratives with a narrower focus such as the *CMC* or *chansons de geste*. Its representation of events found in other histories, as well as its universal framework showing the beginnings of Castile as rooted in the Visigothic past, again positions it within the context of the thirteenth-century flourishing of Spanish historiography that would lead to the collaborative effort of Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*.³⁵ The prologue itself shows the wider, universal scope of the poem that moves beyond an exclusive focus on the count that would have been more likely the case in the heroic poem, whether written or oral.³⁶ The work is introduced not only as an account of Fernán González, but also as a narrative of the loss and recovery of Christian power, whose beginnings are found in the earlier history of Spain:

Contar vos he primero de commo la perdieron
nuestros antecessores, en qual coita visquieron,
com' omnes deserdados fuodos andodieron:
¡essa rabia llevaron que *ende* non morieron! (3)³⁷

Scholars have remarked on the twofold heroic focus in the poem, which seems to be divided between Fernán himself and the Christian realm.³⁸ In this case, it is made clear that

pecados medievales en la literatura medieval española (Barcelona: Puvill, 1979). This does not, however, examine sin in the *PFG*.

³⁵On chronicles and their relationship to the main literary texts studied in this thesis see pp. 15, 62-65, 81-84, 96-98, 113-117, 126-127.

³⁶On the interpretation of the *PFG* as a 'crónica rimada' see Lacarra, 'El significado', p. 14n. If we do see the *PFG* as a verse chronicle that integrates popular or oral material regarding Fernán González then the poem, and not the later Alfonsine *Estoria de España*, would be the historiographical work to include such narratives. On this Georges Martin states: 'Pero también abarcaron esa otra 'estoria', emanada de la sociedad de los guerreros, española o francesa, las 'fablas' o 'cantares de gestas', así como la historia poética del 'mester de clerecía. Y así se abrió paso en la tradición historiográfica, ora nunca oído, ora considerablemente amplificado, el eco de los hechos heroicos de Carlos Mainete, Bernardo del Carpio, Fernán González, los Infantes de Lara o Ruy Díaz.' Georges Martin, 'El modelo historiográfico alfonsí y sus antecedentes', in *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000), pp. 9-40 (p. 17).

³⁷[First I shall tell you of how the land was lost by those who came before us, and in what pain they lived; of how they took to flight, having lost their fathers' lands, angered that that loss did not also bring their death.]

³⁸Deyermond argued that the 'emotion tends to be divided between Castile and Fernán González, whereas in most epics it is concentrated on the hero as an embodiment of his country'. See A. D. Deyermond, *The Middle Ages: A Literary History of Spain* (London: Ernest Benn, 1971), p. 38. This suggests that the *PFG* is more akin to a chronicle or salvation narrative where the focus is wider than a single individual.

substantial treatment of Visigothic decline and Christian oppression will precede descriptions of the hero's efforts to free Castile. What will be related first, 'primero' is the loss suffered by the Visigoths and the manner in which they lost it, '*de cómo la perdieron*', here emphasised by the postponement of 'perdieron' to the rhyming position in the line. In addition, the diction related to chronology such as 'nuestros antecesores' and 'primero' creates an overarching continuity between the Castilian present and the Visigothic past, which points to the wider framework of the poem, as the earlier loss of the land is made an integral part of the narrative of Castilian independence.³⁹ Moreover, the reference to the suffering endured by the Christians, '*en qué coyta visquieron*', following the collapse of the kingdom and preceding Fernán's advent also reflects the wider scope of the poem, while also giving an early indication of the poem's distinctive presentation of long-lasting enemy rule as the necessary penance for the sinfulness that first led to the collapse of the kingdom.⁴⁰ The rest of this chapter will examine three select themes in earlier and contemporary histories that are adapted in the *PFG* and are related to the loss and recovery of Christian power: lust; the neglect of martial practice; and the aforementioned suffering under enemy rule. The extent to which these are alternately realised or avoided inform the bipartite 'exile-and-return' structure of the poem, the turning point of which is signalled by the introduction of Fernán González himself. Such a comparison of the poem with Latin and vernacular histories, as well as vernacular poetry, not only shows the extent to which the *PFG* shares similar concerns and can be viewed as a verse chronicle, in a similar vein to Insular narratives, it also shows how these themes are reworked, mitigated and given an even greater spiritual dimension in the poem, reflecting the didacticism of the *mester de clerecía* and revealing the hybridity of a composite work that can at once be seen as history,

³⁹Berceo's hagiographies contain very similar stanzas, suggesting a common spiritual dimension. See Marden, *Poema*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

⁴⁰The similarities between the *PFG* and the *DRH* are more apparent when we consider that the '*De rebus Hispanie* has customarily been hailed as a patriotic anthem on the liberation of a nation's eternal soul'. See Linehan, *Historians*, p. 353.

hagiography, epic and even courtly poetry.

ii. Loss and lust

The role of lust in the loss of Visigothic power is present from earlier histories to contemporary chronicles, particularly in connection with Rodrigo's behaviour towards Count Julian's daughter. Moreover, a similar preoccupation with the king's desire for La Cava is found in other poems, namely in the so-called *romances épicos* that explicitly depict the interaction between Rodrigo and the girl.⁴¹ The *PFG* is distinctive in its treatment of this same episode and the problem of lasciviousness, as Rodrigo's sin becomes implicit in the poem's version of events, indicating its particular response to such themes. The poem shows a concern with the proper behaviour for men and women towards each other, especially in the scenes involving the archpriest, Sancha and Fernán. As I discuss below, the heroine's distinctive characterisation and the protagonist's passivity in his interactions with her constitutes an implicit and subtle corrective response to the striking preoccupation with the destabilising effects of lust found in Iberian histories, especially in periods of Christian decline. Given the other similarities between the poem and chronicles, discussed below, it is almost certain that these arguments relating to lust were prevalent in the context of the poem's composition. What differs in its treatment of lascivious behaviour is the implicit manner in which the *PFG* addresses these well-known claims. At first it seems that the poem is unconcerned with this lust. The legend of Rodrigo's rape of Julian's daughter only appears in the narrative through smallest possible allusion.⁴² Moreover, when we compare the poem to the chronicles, there is a marked discrepancy between the recurring theme of lust in the

⁴¹These shorter poems from oral tradition, characterised by their *fragmentismo*, show a more immediate depiction of the king's efforts to indulge his desire for Julián's daughter. Their preservation in later manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards shows that the story of Rodrigo and La Cava, and the ensuing fall of the kingdom, continued to be known long after the *PFG*'s composition and provides further evidence suggesting that a more explicit, competing narrative of these events was being diffused around the same time. See, for example, *La Seducción de la Cava* and *Visión de Don Rodrigo y el reino perdido*; these are found respectively in the following: *Romancero*, ed. by Díaz-Mas, pp. 118-120, 121-3.

⁴²See below and 35d.

histories with its general absence in the *PFG*. However, I contend that such a limited allusion to Rodrigo's lust reflects instead the poem's anxiety about the role of sex in the Christian Iberian history. This brief allusion in the first part of the poem forms part of an overarching, albeit implicit, response to the well-established theme of lasciviousness in the chronicles that relies more extensively on the depiction of male-female interactions in the second, corrective part of the narrative. The archpriest episode, the numerous scenes involving Sancha, and Fernán's own passive reaction to her is in fact where the theme of lasciviousness resurfaces and the poem's response to these arguments can be located. Together the scenes constitute a model of prescriptive behaviour for a Christian leader towards a woman which appears to correspond correctively to the sinful lasciviousness of the Visigothic rulers that notoriously contributed to their downfall. A few select examples from the chronicles will serve to indicate the extent of the theme's prevalence in the chronicles, making the case for its echoes in *PFG* stronger, which are discussed at length in the section concerning Sancha.

The widespread lasciviousness and corruption amongst Visigothic priests, and the individual licentiousness of the last Visigothic kings, Witiza, Egica and Rodrigo, are common tropes across the chronicles, albeit to varying degrees of emphasis.⁴³ In the *Rotense* version of the *CA* growing lasciviousness is presented as the primary cause of Spain's decline: the emerging licentiousness of the elite leads to the moral deterioration of the wider community and the general neglect of God; this causes divine anger and the subsequent loss

⁴³This lasciviousness appears to have been endemic in the Iberian church. The clergy in thirteenth-century Spain, as well as during the Visigothic period, were excessively prone to concubinage. See Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 29-30, 66-67, and 327n. On the evidence of the use of the *Liber Regum* as a source text in the *PFG*, particularly in regard to the last Visigothic kings, see Luis Filipe Lindley Cintra, 'O *Liber Regum*, fonte comum do Poema de Fernán Gonçalves e do *Laberinto* de Juan de Mena', *Boletim de Filologia*, 13 (1952), 289-315 (esp. pp. 294, 302-3). However, this contains little discussion of the effect made by the changes to the source material. Others have argued that the *PFG* draws upon the source for its 'antileonesismo'. Jean-Pierre Jardin, 'La descendencia del *Liber Regum* en la Castilla de los siglos XIII y XIV', *e-Spania*, 9 (June 2010) <<http://e-spania.revues.org/19473?lang=en>> [accessed 10 July].

of land.⁴⁴ The theme is developed in the *Chronicon*, one of the later sources of the *PF*G, in which the loss of the Visigothic kingdom is linked more directly and emphatically to the sin of lust and the wrath of God it entails:

Iste quidem probrosus et flagiciosus fuit, et multa nefanda et orribilia flagicia per Yspanias seminavit, et ad voluptates carnes soluto impudicicie freno se fornicationibus multis contulit, et gentem Gotorum ad lasciviam, luxuriam et superbiam inclinavit. [...] Habuit preterea nefandus Vitiça simul plures uxores et concubinas, atque suis ducibus ut similiter agerent, imperavit. Tota Gotorum nobilitas in conuiuviis, libidinibus et uiciis uersa, Dominum ad iracundiam provocavit [...] et quia reges et sacerotes Dominum dereliquerunt, cuncta agmina Yspaniarum derelicta a domino perierunt. (III. 61. 2-5; 18-25)⁴⁵

The references to carnal pleasures are unremitting. Egica shows an excessive preoccupation with sex, 'voluptates carnes', 'fornicationibus', 'lasciviam', 'luxuriam'. Witiza too is described as having indulged in bigamy and promiscuity, 'simul plures uxores et concubinas' that he also encourages in his men, 'atque suis ducibus ut similiter agerent, imperavit'. This shameless wantonness then spreads throughout the Visigothic elite, 'Tota Gotorum nobilitas in conviviiis, libidinibus et viciis versa', and explicitly incurs God's anger, 'Dominum ad iracundiam provocavit'. Widespread lasciviousness is not therefore a simple indicator of the decadence of the realm, it is also presented as the kind of sinful behaviour that causes the loss of divine favour previously enjoyed by the very backbone of Visigothic society, 'cuncta agmina derelicta a domino', and the demise of the leaders of that realm, 'perierunt'.

The general licentiousness serves as a backdrop to the main event regarding the destructive effects of lust in early Christian rulers, namely King Rodrigo's rape of Count Julian's daughter. His sexual transgressions are explicitly associated with enemy invasion and the defeat of the Visigoths in the *Chronicon*, the *DRH* and even the later the *Estoria de*

⁴⁴See *Chronicon* 5. 2-7; 7. 7-9.

⁴⁵Citations are taken from Lucas de Túy, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Emma Falque, I (Turnholt: Brepols, 2003). [Indeed, this [king] was shameful and dissolute, and he caused many unspeakable and terrible deeds to spread throughout Spain, and unrestrained and free from any sense of shame, he began to indulge in the delights of the flesh through much fornication, and he incited the Visigothic people to lasciviousness and pride. [...] Moreover, the shameful [king] Witiza had many wives and concubines at the same time, and ordered his high-ranking men to do the same. Since the whole of the Visigothic nobility had turned to promiscuity, lust, and sins, it provoked God's anger. [...] and because kings and priests deserted God, the whole Spanish army was deserted by God and perished.] Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the Latin chronicles in this chapter are my own.

los Godos, which I include for discussion, despite it postdating the *PFG*, since its use of vernacular may facilitate the interpretation of the poem.⁴⁶ In Lucas' work, Rodrigo's unsanctioned enjoyment of the count's beautiful daughter leads directly to the discarding of the basic accoutrements of warfare, leaving the realm vulnerable to enemy attacks. In revenge for the affront suffered by his daughter, the count invites the Moors and the Franks to invade Spain, while at the same time offering manipulative assurances of the realm's security and urging the transferral of horses and weapons to France and Africa:

Rodericus [...] successit, vir belliger et durus [...] sed vita et moribus Vitice non dissimilis. [...] Ad hoc facinus peragendum incitabat Iulianum, quod Rodericus rex filiam ipsius non pro uxore, sed eo quod sibi pulcra videbatur, utebatur pro concubina, quam pro uxore a patre acceperat. [...] Finxit etiam se esse amicum regi Roderigo, et callide consulvit ut equos et arma ad Gallias mitteret et ad Affricam, quia in interiori Yspania ipse regnabat securus.⁴⁷ (III. 62. 1-4; 11-18)

Rodrigo's actions and their specific consequences are representative of the more general descriptions of the dangers posed by the lasciviousness of Visigothic rulers for the Christian realm. Here it is the king's excessive desire for the beautiful young woman, 'sibi pulcra videbatur', and his improper, deceitful indulgence of that desire, 'utebatur pro concubina, quam pro uxore a patre acceperat', that leads to the realm's vulnerability in the face of the foreign aggressor and its eventual destruction. The *DRH* also makes the correlation between lasciviousness and inadequate military defence of the kingdom more explicit and underscores the relationship between Rodrigo's lust and the realm's defeat. In its case it is not Egica's actions that cause the destruction of the kingdom, but the sexual aggression committed by Rodrigo:

Contigit autem ut idem Iulianus legationis causa a rege Roderico in Africam miteretur. Qua legatione pendente rex Rodericus filiam eius, de qua diximus, uiolenter opresit. Hec erat regi

⁴⁶Henceforth *EG*. On some of the differences between the *DRH* and *EG*, and on the depiction of and reasons for the more positive and important role played by the nobility in the narrative, see Aengus Ward, *Historia de los godos* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2006), pp. 10-47.

⁴⁷['Rodrigo then came to rule, a warlike and and steely man [...] but he was not unlike Witiza in his habits and the way he lived his life. [...] He urged Julian to do this deed, because Rodrigo enjoyed his daughter, not as a wife but, because he found her beautiful, as a concubine, [even though] he had accepted her as a wife from the father. [...] [Julian] pretended to be king Rodrigo's friend and cunningly advised him to send horses and weapons to Gaul and Africa, because he reigned securely over inner Spain.']

promissa, sponsaliter non traducta. Alii dicunt uxori comitis uim fecisse. Set utrumlibet fuerit, Gallie Gothice et Hispanie exicialis excidii causa fuit.⁴⁸ (III. XVIII, 10-15)⁴⁹

In these episodes the *DRH* leaves aside some of the specific details from the *Chronicon* and provides a more general interpretation of Rodrigo's role which draws attention to the two arguments that it retains. The first is that Rodrigo committed some kind of lustful outrage that was not permitted to him. Either he took the count's daughter by force, 'violenter opresit', who had only been promised, 'promissa', rather than given to him in marriage, 'sponsaliter non traducta', or he took the count's own wife by force 'vim'. It is clear that the specifics of his sexual violence are of little consequence, 'utrumlibet fuerit'. What is more important is the second argument, namely that Rodrigo's behaviour led to deadly destruction of the Christians: 'Gallie Gothice et Hispanie exicialis excidii causa fuit'. The connection between the king's lust and the destruction of his realm is here made explicit through the diction in 'causa fuit', while the deadly consequences of his behaviour are also highlighted through the somewhat tautological and alliterative phrase, 'exicialis excidii'. In the *EG*, however, the causal relationship between lust and loss is not so clear, which is similar to the arguments in the *PFG* where the association is more implicit. Although the later chronicle extends the ambiguity surrounding the identify of Rodrigo's victim, the consequences are simply described as bad and there is no reference to the specific destruction of the realm: 'dezien que se yogo el rey con la condesa, [...] los otros que con la fi-|ia, otros que con amos, pero qualquier que fuese todo era mal'.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, what appears to be carried over from the *Chronicon* and the *DRH* is the argument about Rodrigo's wanton behaviour: in this case his

⁴⁸['Because [Julian was away on his] ongoing mission, king Rodrigo forced himself violently on his daughter, whom I mentioned earlier. She had as yet only been promised, and not given, to the king in marriage. Some say that he also did violence to the count's wife. Either way, it was the cause of the deathly destruction of Visigothic Gaul and Spain.']

⁴⁹['It happened however that this same Julian was sent to Africa by king Rodrigo for a mission. While this embassy was going on, king Rodrigo violently forced himself on his daughter, the one mentioned earlier. She had been promised, but not given to the king as a wife. Some say that he did violence to the count's wife. But whatever the case, it was the cause of the deadly destruction of Visigothic Gaul and Spain.']

⁵⁰['Some said that the king lay with the countess [...] others said that it was with the daughter, others with both, but it was all bad, whatever the case.']

sexual transgressions are even more serious, since it is suggested that he indulged his lust with both mother and daughter. To varying degrees then, the chronicles all show a concern with lustful behaviour amongst Visigothic rulers, particularly that displayed by Rodrigo, and the repercussions of those sins for the realm's relationship with God and the survival of the kingdom.

As in the chronicles, the *PFG* presents sin as a cause of Visigothic decline, yet there is little reference to any widespread lust in the last days of the kingdom. Instead, the narrative gives only nominal indications of wickedness in the rulers:

Reino despues un rey, Egica fue llamado,
dos años, que non mas, visquio en el reinado;
a cabo de dos años del sieglo fue sacado
non peso al su pueblo, que fue malo provado.

Quando fino Egica, a poca de sazon,
fino en Vautiçanos toda la *su* region;
del linax fue de godos, poderoso varon,
omne de grand esfuerço e de grand coraçon.

Fino se Vautiçanos, reino rey don Rodrigo:
avien en el los moros un mortal enemigo;
era de los cristianos sonbra e grand abrigo;
por culpa *en* que era, non le era Dios amigo. (33-5)⁵¹

The depictions of the Visigothic kings found in the chronicles reappear in the *PFG* in a way that mitigates against the iniquity with which they are characterised in the existing narratives: the poem skims over Egica's rule, describing him only as 'malo provado' with no reference to any lasciviousness or corruption; similarly, Witiza appears only briefly in the narrative with no suggestion of his lust.⁵² Rather, his description is almost the inverse to that found in the chronicles; here he reappears in a new guise as a lord of strength and courage, that is, a 'poderoso varon' with 'grand coraçon', qualities which are underscored by their rhyming

⁵¹[Next ruled a king by the name of Egica, who lived as monarch for two years, but no more; at the end of two years he was taken from the earth, but his people did not grieve, for his wickedness was known. When death came to Egica but a short time after, the whole land came to be ruled by Wittiza. He was a child of the Goths, and a powerful lord, a man of great valour and stoutness of heart. Wittiza's life ended with Rodrigo next to reign; and in him the Moors found a deadly foe: to the Christians he brought shade and great protection, but, through his guilt, the Lord was ill-disposed to him.]

⁵²On the influence of the *LR* in the description of the Visigothic kings see Cintra, 'Fonte', pp. 294-304.

position in the line. Rodrigo is given similarly generous treatment, almost appearing as a model king, apart from a significant detail in the last line that evokes contemporary accounts of his destructive, lustful tendencies. At first he is presented as the protector and comforter of his people, or their 'sombra' and 'abrygo', and also the mortal enemy of the Moors, 'mortal enemigo', which underscore his military prowess and religious devotion, both of which characterise the Visigoths and the Castilians throughout the narrative.⁵³ However, this portrayal is debunked at the end of the stanza where it is revealed that, despite his good qualities, he cannot enjoy God's favour, 'non le era Dios amigo', because of the sin or 'culpa' that resides in him.⁵⁴ Compared to the explicit descriptions of his wanton behaviour and sexual violence towards Julián's daughter in the chronicles, this is a very subtle reference, which suggests an effort to play down this aspect of his reputation and to mitigate the allegations of his lust, rather than integrate them into the narrative. Notwithstanding, this description indicates that the *PGF*, like the chronicles, presents sin as the reason for the decline of Visigothic rule. In this case, the reference here to Rodrigo's 'culpa' and his lack of divine favour, 'non le era Dios amigo', adumbrates that same relationship between sin and military decline found in the chronicles, which is later developed in the poem with a new emphasis on Rodrigo's compliance with Julian's deceitful advice and the ensuing sinful transformation of the kingdom from a society geared for warfare to one devoted to agriculture.

The above passage also gives a sense of some of the possibilities for emphasis

⁵³Fernán also refers to Rodrigo as the Moors' 'mortal enemigo' in 182c without any reference to his sin. The new view of the king, suggesting forgiveness, symbolises the redemptive effect that Fernán has on Castile and the narrative of fluctuating Christian power.

⁵⁴Later in the poem we see a return to the idea of Roderigo as a 'sombra e grand abrygo' with even less reference to his sin. The context is significantly different, however, as this idea is presented in Fernán González' pleas to God for mercy, where he emphasises the long-standing wretchedness of the Castilians in a pathetic manner, rather dwelling on their sins, as in the earlier parts of the poem where the Christians focus on self-condemnation: "*Perdieron Castellanos sombra e grand abrygo | la ora que murió mi ermano Rodrygo, | avyén en él los moros un mortal enemigo*" (182abc). The change in the political situation of the Christian realm is matched by a corresponding shift in spiritual status in Rodrigo. It is tempting to see this internal revision as symbolic of the ongoing expiation of sin from Castilian history realised through the act of composition of the poem.

offered by the stylistic features of the *mester de clerecía* verse-form that are, as expected, lacking in the prose histories. Rodrigo's sinfulness is first mitigated through the suggestion of his passivity and the insidious nature of his wickedness: he is not described as actively committing any sin, as in the chronicles; rather, the blame is shifted onto the 'culpa', which becomes the subject and lies hidden in him, '*en que era.*' The insidious nature of this sin is in turn reflected by the very structure of the stanza, in which the description of the enmity between Rodrigo and God is postponed until the last line, after the more positive description of the king as '*sonbra e grand abrigo.*' This sudden, unexpected debunking of the monarch recreates the effect of betrayal for the reader or audience, as the new information with its negative implications in a sense betrays the rest of the tone of the stanza. This undermining is made particularly effective by the postponement of '*amigo*': the reader or audience is made to wait for the syntactic resolution to '*non le era Dios*' until the very end of the line, where the true nature of the relationship between God and the king is finally revealed, and somewhat shockingly too, as the diction itself in '*amigo*' is unexpected. The insidious nature of his sin here is played out the linguistic level in the *PFG*, with composition of the stanza itself mimicking the effects of sin on the Visigothic people. The mitigation of Rodrigo's sin is therefore reinforced by the poetic form, which adds to the argument that the *mester de clerecía* form itself is part of the process of expiation of the sins borne by the Castilians from their Visigothic ancestors. The use of these poetic features to underscore the alterations in the content again points to the possibility of interpreting the *PFG* as a 'translation' of chronicle material into an accessible and cleansed '*sen peccado*', version of the history of Spain and Castile with explicit connotations of a hymn, or '*prosa*', in both form and content.

iii. Loss and Military Practice

In the chronicles the late Visigothic kingdom on the eve of invasion is characterised by a military unreadiness, the ruinous consequences of which, both for the Visigoths and

their Christian successors, are also addressed by the *PFG*, particularly in the second part of the poem. In the histories this tendency is often, although not always, associated with the increasing licentiousness in the realm. Promiscuity is not only a crime against God which subsequently compromises the security of the realm, it also leads to a direct decrease in the peculiar military prowess that is presented as a hallmark of Visigothic identity through frequent references to past conquests, especially over Asia and Europe. In the *DRH* such a reference is present in the prologue itself: the Visigoths settle in 'Hispania, peragratis asie et Europe prouinciis et uastatis' (Prologus l. 80); later they are described as the 'gens illa vitrix, gens illa nobilis, gens Gothorum cui se dederant Asia et Europea' (III.XX.54-6); in the *EG* references to former conquests over these regions are similarly used to heighten the drama of Visigothic defeat: 'Los *que* ganaron Asia τ Europea, en in dia fueron / vençidos delos moros' (191).⁵⁵ In these narratives the invasion is presented as the logical culmination of decreasing military activity in the realm, which in the *DRH* begins under Witiza. One of the results of his incitement to evil deeds is the decrease in military strength:

Tanta igitur eius temporibus fascinorum alluuiio inundauit, ut fere Gothorum strenuitas, que consueuerat regnis et gentibus imperare, in uiciorum altitudine iam submersa omnibus abhominacionibus subiaceret. (III.XVI.9-12)⁵⁶

The 'strenuitas' or military vigour which had led to power over foreign kings and peoples, 'que consueuerat regnis et gentibus imperare' is now corrupted and overwhelmed by the sheer number of crimes, 'in uiciorum altitudine iam submersa', and lost under all the atrocities being committed in the kingdom, 'omnibus abhominacionibus'.⁵⁷ It is not only Julián's treacherous response that leaves the kingdom open to attack, as in the *Chronicon*, but a more general neglect of military practices that begins before Rodrigo comes to the

⁵⁵['Spain, having crossed through and devastated the provinces of Asia and Europe.'] ['That conquering people, that noble people, the Visigothic people to whom Asia and Europe had given themselves over.'] ['Those who had conquered Asia and Europe were in one day defeated by the Moors.']

⁵⁶['There was such deluge of crimes overflowing in those times that the strength of the Goths, which had used to ruled over kings and peoples, was now plunged into the depths of vice and lay under every obscenity.']

⁵⁷On the emphasis on 'strenuitas' as a supposed characteristic of Iberian Christians, especially used by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, see Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 298-301, 353.

throne. References to the decline of martial vigour also appear after Julian's treachery; during the battle between the royal forces and the Moorish enemy the typical Visigothic vigour is described as corrupted: 'strenuitas Gothice recuruata'. Similarly, the *EG* also presents a decline in military vigour as a cause of defeat. Rodrigo decides to open the forbidden palace of Toledo, associated with a prophecy of an Arab invasion, because he has little else to keep him occupied: 'Pues el non auiendo guer-|rra nin coyta nin mengua, creciol coraçon por saber si auie tesoro' (182).⁵⁸ This reasoning suggests that with no military affairs, 'non auiendo guerra' or other problems relating to the rule of the kingdom, he becomes susceptible to being distracted by a growing curiosity and excessive greed that leads to his downfall, traits that similarly affect the protagonist of the *Alexandre*. As in *Horn* too, the *EG* suggests that the king who is not fully focussed on military affairs risks the defence of his kingdom. Moreover, references to the neglect of military practices and its dangerous consequences is also found in the description of the Visigoths' feeble response to the Arab attack: 'Los | godos, como eran desusados de lidiar, eran tan mal trechos que con las paces | que ouieron tan luengo tienpo nin auien armas nin cura delas' (187).⁵⁹ A failure to uphold military readiness in the kingdom is presented as one contributing factor to enemy invasion in the historical narratives appearing before and after the *PFG*, a negligence which is similarly found in the earlier poetic narratives of the *CMC* and *Horn* where it is similarly denigrated.

More specific references to the neglect of martial practices and its dangers in the *DRH* and the *EG* are found in the descriptions of the treatment of weapons and new concern with farming which appear before the description of Julián's incitements to lay aside weapons. In the *DRH* the rejection of arms and the pulling down of the cities defences comes earlier under the rule of Witiza:

⁵⁸['Since he was not affected by war or suffering or need, his courage grew to find out if there was treasure.']

⁵⁹['The Visigoths, since they were not used to fighting and were so accustomed to peace, for a long time did not have weapons or any concern for them.']

Qui cum pro suis iniquitatibus timeret expelli, muros precepit dirui ciuitatum preter paucas, quarum muros destruere formidauit, et arma ferrea in uomeres conmutari, ut quasi omnibus conuiuens illicita uideretur quietem et pacem et libita procurare. (III.XVI. 25-29)⁶⁰

In order to give some semblance of securing peace, 'quietem et pacem', the king orders the iron weapons, 'arma ferrea' to be turned into ploughshares, 'in uomeres'. Similarly, the *EG* presents defeat in terms of a displacement of martial activity in favour of agriculture, with a few significant alterations. Again, it is Witiza who is first responsible for these changes, as he 'fizo derribar | los muros delas uillas τ tornar las armas en reias τ en lego-|nes τ en lauores, *que non se temiesen de usar su peccado τ su mal*'.⁶¹ In this case, the walls of the cities are taken down wholesale and the weapons are converted into ploughshares; farming is here tantamount to committing sins and indulging in wickedness, 'usar su peccado τ su mal'. A more general concern with the importance of maintaining military practice is also found in the *DRH* where it appears even after the Arab invasion. One of the forms which Christian subjugation takes is the loss of military pride and the new enforced use of farming tools by the defeated, which creates an overarching continuity with the policies implemented by Witiza long before the defeat: 'Qui erant liberi, mancipati sunt seruituti, qui consueuerant in milicia gloriari, coguntur cultro et uomere incurari' (III. XXII. 26-8).⁶² Here there is a definite shift in the Christians' identity from warriors to farmers, brought about by the change from self-rule as 'liberi' to enslavement as those in 'seruituti'. Under Arab rule, those who had enjoyed military glory, 'milicia gloriari', are now more familiar and corrupted, 'incurari' by the ploughshare, 'cultro', 'uomere'. Agricultural practice is made one of the defining features of a humiliating defeat in the *DRH*, and not solely one of its causes. The same arguments about the dangers of the substitution of warfare for farming found at various

⁶⁰['Since he feared that he would be driven out on account of his injustices, he ordered the walls of the cities to be pulled down, apart from a few whose walls he was afraid to destroy, and ordered iron weapons to be made into ploughshares, so that it would seem to almost everyone that, blind to the transgressions, he was administering tranquility and peace and pleasing things.']

⁶¹['He had the walls of the cities knocked down and the weapons turned into ploughshares and hoes and tools, so that they would not be afraid to indulge their sin and wickedness.']

⁶²['Those who were free now sold into slavery [sic], those who had been used to military glory, now know the coulter and are corrupted by the ploughshare.']

points in the chronicles, whether before, during or after the Arab invasion, also appear in the *PFG* where they are channelled and developed through the interaction between Julián and Rodrigo.

As in the chronicles, the Visigoths' identity in the *PFG* is built on the mutually reinforcing qualities of military prowess and Christian piety, which entails the description of military inadequacy as correspondingly sinful. The twofold characterisation of the Visigoths as outstanding warrior and recipients of divine favour is apparent from their first appearance in the narrative:

Venieron estos godos de partes de Oryente,
Cristus los enbio, *esta gent' combatiente*;
del linax de *Magog* vino aquesta gente,
conquirieron el mundo esto sin fallimiente.(15)⁶³

As in the chronicles, the Visigoths' ability to conquer is of the highest order: they come from the East, 'de partes Oryente', yet are able to stretch their territory throughout, 'esto sin fallimiente'.⁶⁴ More specifically, these phrases appear as vernacular versions of the chronicles' descriptions relating to the Visigoths' supremacy over Europe and Asia, discussed above. In the *PFG*, however, there seems to be a greater emphasis on divine favour enjoyed

⁶³[These Goths were come from the lands of the Orient – they were sent by Christ, this unbelieving people – from the line of Magog was this race descended, and they conquered every corner of the world.]

⁶⁴This trajectory of the Goths from East to West, although rooted in historical fact, echoes another widely-known *aition*, namely the *Aeneid*. Rome or the new Troy which Aeneas and his men travel from the East to found is often referred to as 'Hesperia' or the land of the evening, that is, the West. Indeed, there are more similarities between these two *aitia* than might first appear. For example, the destruction of both Visigothic Spain and Troy are the results of unexpected attacks after the two peoples are both tricked by liars, namely Julián and Sinon, into believing themselves to be completely secure from outside forces. In the case of Spain this perfidious sense of security is reflected in the way the people do away with their weapons and reject their warrior identity; in the Roman epic the Trojans bring the horse into the city before falling asleep after wine and revelry, so forgetting their own long-standing military diligence. See *Aeneid* 2. 57-267. The wanton destruction of the city follows the Trojan's inattentiveness. In this way both poems warn against the consequences of embracing peace without due reflection and appear to preempt or counter more general arguments for reduced militarism by positioning these in the mouths of liars and outlining the mortal consequences of such attitudes. In this respect both poems promote military readiness and expansionism too, if such losses of territory and power are seen as the necessary events for justified 'recovery' of land at a later stage, whether in thirteenth-century León-Castile or the Roman empire in its early stages under Augustus during the first century B.C.E. It is also evident that treachery plays an important part in the loss of an entire realm in both poems. On the role of deceit in Spanish foundation narratives see Geraldine Coates, *Treacherous Foundations: Betrayal and Collective Identity in Early Spanish Epic, Chronicle and Drama* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2009), pp. 36-75. For a discussion of similarities Roman and Spanish epics see Weiss, 'Two National Epics'.

by the Visigothic conquerors: for example, their supreme martial ability to conquer these lands comes from Christ, who sends them to Spain, 'Cristus los enbio'; and conquest of Iberian territory is justified, as suggested by other connotations in 'esto sin fallimiente', through their special relationship with God; Moreover, the construction of Visigothic identity as outstanding conquerors blessed with divine favour is bolstered by further descriptions, in which sin, or a lack thereof, forms an important theme:

Demandaron maestros por fazer se entender
 en la Fe de don Cristus que avién de creer;
 los maestros, sepades, fueron de volunter,
 fizieron *les* la fe toda bien entender.

Dixeron los maestros: 'Todo esto non vale nada:
 bautizados non sodes en el agua sagrada,
 la qual culpa e error erejia es llamada;
el alma de pecados será luego lavada.'

Rescibieron los godos el anima a bautismo,
 fueron luz e estrella de tod' el cristianismo;
 alçaron cristiandat, baxaron paganismo:
 el cond' *don* Fernando fizo aquesto mismo. (21-3)⁶⁵

After the Visigoths' conquering ability has been established, their Christian identity is underscored through references to their initiation into the Christian faith through instruction and baptism. The Visigoths learn about Christianity by asking the 'maestros' or 'teachers' for understanding, which and indicates a close relationship between holy men and the warriors of that society, and points to the importance of the clergy for preserving Christian piety, in warriors or otherwise; indeed, the verse might reflect the concern with the instruction of lay and priestly communities associated with the *mester de clerecía*. Moreover, this new identity is brought about through the specific removal of sin, which is highlighted here by the repetition of varied references to spiritual waywardness and reflects the more emphatic

⁶⁵[They sent out for teachers to gain understanding of the Christian faith, which was to be their own; the teachers, I tell you, were most willing to go, and in the faith they gave them full instruction. So spoke the teachers: 'All this is worth nothing, for in holy water you have not been baptized; this fault and error is labelled as heresy; do it, and the soul will be cleansed at once of sins.' The Goths did indeed receive the water in baptism; they were the leading light and star of all Christendom; they upheld Christianity, and renounced the pagan path, just as Count Fernán González did himself.]

spiritual dimension in the new narrative of Castilian power offered by the poem: the teachers speak of 'culpa' and 'pecados', and even the diction in 'es error' arguably offers connotations of spiritual error in this context. The washing away of their 'pecados', constitutes an exceptional baptism that transforms the Visigoths not merely into Christians, but into the standard-bearers of the faith, or 'Fe', who enjoy spiritual superiority over all of Christendom: 'fueron luz e estrella de tod' el cristianismo'. The resulting supremacy of the Visigoths in Spain and over Europe is therefore seen to be the result of several spiritual, as well as military, factors: they are sent by Christ, become educated in the teachings of Christianity, and have their sins cleansed from their souls. Moreover, it is not only the Visigoths who are here established as the most pious and capable defenders of Christianity as they raise the faith, 'alçaron cristiandat' and bring down the enemies of Christ 'vaxaron paganismo': through the alignment of Fernán González with this Christian warrior people, 'el cond' Ferrán Gonçález fyzo aquesto mismo', Castilians are implicitly portrayed as the true heirs of the Visigoths, which subsequently bolsters the pious and militaristic qualities of this new realm, and creates continuity between the two Christian peoples.⁶⁶

The increased emphasis on piety and sin, or lack thereof, in the *PFG* continues through the description of the Visigothic defeat. As in the histories from the *CA* onwards, the Visigoths fall from power because of the sinful behaviour of the Christian rulers. However, in the *PFG* the focus on these sins shifts, most explicitly, from their indulgence of lust to their failure to uphold characteristic military practices. The transfer to an agricultural, or non-military, way of life, also present in the chronicles, is given different emphases in the *PFG*: Julián's pact with the Moors leads to a description of the abandonment of weapons that is much longer compared to those in the histories; their rejection of military practice is also

⁶⁶This forms a curious resonances with the *EG* reference to the decline of Christian power and the rise of Islam: 'el nombre de Xhesu Cristo abaxado el τ del Mahomet alçado' (198). ['The name of Jesus Christ was lowered, and that of Mohammed raised.'] In both cases, one religion is replaced by another; however, this change is positive in the *PFG*.

described in much stronger spiritual terms. Notwithstanding, this rejection of military practice, which Weiss has argued constitutes a collective betrayal of their Visigothic heritage and identity as a warrior caste in the *PFG*, is not exclusive to the poem, and appears to arise from earlier and contemporary historiographical arguments.⁶⁷

The Visigoths' failure to uphold suitable military practice and their turn towards an agrarian life is presented in explicitly spiritual terms in the *PFG*. Descriptions of the events leading to the burning of the weapons include alterations, such as the devil's additional presence, that show how the role of sin in Visigothic decline is both highlighted and reworked to tone down the connotations of lust and attenuate Visigothic responsibility:

Fijos *de Vautiçanos* non devieran nasçer,
que essos començaron traición a fazer:
volvio lo el diablo, metio y su poder:
esto fue el escomienço de España perder.

El conde don Yllan, commo avedes oido,
commo ovo por las parias a Marruecos troçido;
ovo en este comedio tal cosa conteçido
por que ovo el reino ser todo destruido.

Fizo *le* la grand ira tracion volver:
fabló con Vusarvan, que avia grand poder.
Dixo commo podria cristianos confonder,
no s' podrie nulla guisa España defender. (41-43)⁶⁸

Although the poem refers to the treachery of Witiza's sons, the explicit reference to the devil's actions, 'volvio lo el diablo', moves the cause of Visigothic decline from internal corruption and inherent lasciviousness to the external influence of the devil. This is possibly an expansion, or at least a parallel, of the minor association of Witiza to the devil in the *DRH*, which is not found in earlier chronicles: 'Set quia Dominus uoluit Gothorum gloriam

⁶⁷Weiss, '*Mester*', p. 153. On the role of betrayal in foundational Spanish narratives and in the *PFG* see Coates, *Treacherous Foundations*, pp. 36-75.

⁶⁸['No children of Wittiza should ever have been born, for they began to act in treacherous ways; the Devil pulled the strings: on this he trained his power, and this was the beginning of the ruin of Spain. Of Count Julian, you have surely heard tell how he had crossed, in search of tribute, to Morocco; at this point, there had occurred something so grave that it would bring the whole kingdom to destruction. Spurred by great anger, he made recourse to treason, and spoke with the powerful Tāriq ibn Ziyad, telling of how he could confound the Christians and how Spain would be defenceless against him.']

incuruare, Sathan inmisit in pacem quam simulauerat Witiza' (III.XVII.1-2).⁶⁹ Both the poem and the chronicle seem to attenuate Visigothic culpability by referring to sin through its personification in the devil, rather than in abstract terms. However, in the poem the emphasis is placed more on the devil's actions, rather than God's will. The former's agency, highlighted by the diction in 'su poder' and the two successive active verbs in the verse, 'volvio lo el diablo' and 'metio', suggests a corresponding passivity in Visigothic society, which would lessen their responsibility for their destruction more clearly. A strong association between their loss and sin, whether inherent or extrinsic, nevertheless remains, as is made clear by the explanation that it was the devil's actions that led to the beginning of the loss, 'esto fue el escomienço de España perder'. The devil's participation in the downfall is in turn underscored by the syntax: the deictic pronoun 'esto', specifically referring to his actions again, is placed in the front position of the verse, so stressing what exactly caused the loss of Spain. In using the devil to explain the causes of Visigothic defeat, it is evident that the *PFG* both reflects the chronicle arguments about the role of sin in decline and adapts these to mitigate the Visigoths' culpability by showing decline to be not so much the result of internal decadence and more the result of an external force, which in this case is a characteristic figure of spiritual discourse.

The passage also shows how the *PFG* attenuates the role of lasciviousness found in the existing narratives through its distinctive presentation of the incident involving king Rodrigo and the count's daughter. The chronicle accounts of the interaction between these two, and possibly the count's wife, are here reduced to the extent that the episode is virtually omitted in the poem. Instead, the briefest possible allusion is made to Rodrigo's notorious sexual violence through the understated address of the audience or reader, 'commo avedes oido'. This offers no definitive version of these events, leaving it to the audience to decide

⁶⁹['But because God wanted to corrupt the glory of the Visigoths, He sent Satan into the peace, which Witiza had feigned.']

what exactly did happen and removing any explicit corroboration of a story that was apparently all too familiar.⁷⁰ Further details show how the *PFG* glosses over this sexual violence and its consequences: there is no suggestion of Rodrigo sending Julian on a mission so he could enjoy his daughter, as in the chronicles; the count is simply described as crossing over to north Africa to collect tribute: 'commo ovo por las parias a Marruecos troçido'. Moreover, although his raging anger 'grand ira' and resulting treachery, 'traicion' are mentioned, the causes of these are not explicitly mentioned, which again points to the poem's tendency to minimise references to lust as a cause of Visigothic decline.⁷¹ Nonetheless, the *PFG* remains consistent with the chronicles in attributing the weakening of the kingdom's defences to Julian: it is he who informs the Muslims about ways of making Spain completely defenceless: 'no s' podrie nulla guisa España defender'. As is also shown below, the particular depictions of Rodrigo and Julian in the *PFG* so show a distinctive shift in emphasis: it is a lack of military readiness, rather than lasciviousness or sexual violence that is appropriated from the chronicles and made into the most prominent form of sinful behaviour that causes the fall of the kingdom.

As in the chronicles, the rejection of military practice in the *PFG* that follows Julián's dealings with the Muslims leads to the loss of divine favour that had distinguished the Visigoths as the 'luz e estrella de tod' el cristianismo' (23b). Where the *PFG* differs, however, is in its expansion of the king's decision to convert his Visigothic kingdom from a warrior society to an agrarian one. The distinctive effects and stylistic possibilities offered

⁷⁰Scholars have argued that the story of Rodrigo's rape of Julian's daughter was well-known. See pp. 159-160 of thesis. Moreover, it has been proposed that these verses are vestiges from a lost *Cantar de Rodrigo*, which would support arguments in favour of its prevalence: its presence in oral tradition would imply that the tale enjoyed a wider familiarity than if it were solely derived from written, mostly Latin accounts. Cintra suggests that the *Cantar de Rodrigo* supplants the *Liber Regum* at this point: 'Do que não pode haver dúvidas, perante a extensão e pormenorização do trecho do *Poema* consagrada à lenda, é que o seu autor conhecia directamente uma versão do *Cantar [de Rodrigo]*. A ela se refere quando, para a seguir, abandona a simples narração do *Liber Regum*: "El conde don Yllan, bien avedes oido / commo ovo por las parias a Marruecos troçido." See Cintra, 'Fonte', p. 303.

⁷¹Ironically, a similar glossing appears in modern scholarship: Deyermond calls the incident Rodrigo's 'seduction' rather than 'rape', although the chronicle descriptions, such as 'violenter opresit' in *DRH*, III. XVIII.11 suggests that the latter was understood to have taken place. Cf. Genesis 34:2 in the Vulgate, for example.

by the *mester de clerecía* verse-form are particularly evident here. The remoulding of the existing prose narratives in the poetic form allows for alterations that make for a more compelling version, such as the use of hyperbole and substantial direct discourse:

'Pues que todos avemos tales *seguridades*,
han vos a dar carrerra porque en paz vivades:
peones e caveros e todas potestades,
que viva cada uno en las sus eredades.

Lorigas, capellinas e todas brafoneras,
las lanças e cochiellas, e fierros e espaldas,
espadas e ballestas e asconas monteras,
metet las en el fuego, fazet grandes fogueras.' (62-3)⁷²

The *mester de clerecía* verse-form allows for a much more vivid description of the loss of weapons and rejection of military identity than that found in the chronicles. The use of hyperbolic lists in the poem, made more emphatic by the short and fixed length of the verses, highlights the drama of the king's decree to burn military accoutrements and conveys an appalling sense of waste. The tripartite list of military divisions followed by the exhortation that each group go to their own land shows the universal extent to which the military society is being overturned: it is not only the 'peones' and 'caveros' but all leaders, 'todas potestates', who are to return to their 'heredades'; the decree affects all those holding military posts to the last man.⁷³ This sense of upheaval is compounded by the combination of the hyperbolically long list of martial paraphernalia and the postponement to the last line of the description of the order that these be burned. The description of their military weapons and equipment first attests to the strong warrior culture of the Visigoths that has thrived until now; the list and the anaphoric use of 'e' indicates their punctilious diligence in warfare since they seem to have every single possible accoutrement: 'lorigas, capellinas e todas brafoneras',

⁷²['Since we can all now enjoy such security the chance to live at peace will now be yours; horsemen, foot soldiers, and all men who govern, let each of them dwell in the lands which he owns. Your mail-coats, helmets, and all your arm- and leg-guards, your lances and blades, iron arms and shoulder-plates, your swords and your crossbows and spears for the chase: cast them in the fire, and make it blaze high.']

⁷³This movement toward the home or familial terrain here portrayed negatively is also found to be similarly denigrated in the *CMC*. One of the main characteristics of the Infantes is a fixation with their homeland and a preference for stationary behaviour and domestic spaces, which contrastively reflects the poem's expansionist discourse. It is possible this is also the case here.

'lanças e cochiellas, e fierros e espalderas, | espadas e vallestas e asconas monteras'. Once this superlative military rigour has been established, a dramatic sense of loss is created by the sudden addition at the end of the stanza that these are all to be set alight, 'en el fuego', and that the same military men should be the ones to light the raging fires, 'grandes fogueras' in which all the warfare accoutrements are to be burned. Their own participation in the destruction of warrior society, here represented by the fire, is emphasised by the alliteration in 'fuego', 'fazer' and 'fogueras', which is perhaps also suggestive of sound of flames. The fire imagery also reflects the additional spiritual dimension in the poem's representation of this change in policy: not only do the flames bear hellish connotations, they also underscore the current status of the Visigoths' relationship with God through the allusions to Ezekiel 39: 9.⁷⁴ In the Old Testament passage the burning of the weapons takes place as a just celebration of Israelite victory over their enemy and the advent of peace; in the *PFG*, on the other hand, the Christians not only mistakenly burn the weapons, deceitfully assured by Julián of a peace treaty with the Moors, they destroy one of the intrinsic parts of their Christian warrior identity, and so estrange themselves from God. Within the economy of the poem, a new adherence to peace is not something to be celebrated, but a way of life that is inherently opposed to Iberian Christian identity, in a somewhat analogous way to *Horn* where peace is also condemned.

Moreover, the sinful aspect of the destruction of arms and the rejection of martial practice is compounded by implicit and explicit references to the devil's involvement in the change from a combative to a non-combative policy. The fire holds diabolical connotations that are more than conventional: the poem explicitly links the devil and his fiery abode elsewhere: for example, in a simile describing the Moors as covered in soot, 'mas feos que Satán [...] quand' sale del infuerno, suzio e carvoniento' (382cd).⁷⁵ The particular fire used

⁷⁴Cf. Coates, 'Endings', p. 204.

⁷⁵Indeed, carbon and its fiery connotations are often used to define negative phenomena in the poem, such as

to burn the weapons is therefore part of the overarching argument in the poem that connects the devil and evil to the neglect of military culture, which is an relationship found in the earlier reference to Witiza's sons in 41c. Moreover, the proleptic association of the burning of the weapons with the soot-covered devil is strengthened by the description of the remnants of the fire: the arms are 'desfechas e quemadas', evoking an image of a heap of blackened metal debris.⁷⁶ The flames become more than just a practical way of disposing of the arms; through their diabolical associations within the economy of the poem, the very means by which the weapons are destroyed are depicted as iniquitous, which in turn underscores the evil nature of such a decree.

The spiritual dimension given in the *PFG* to the change in policy is made even clearer through the explicit references to the devil's involvement in the burning of the weapons in the stanzas that follow:

Fue fecha la barata atal commo entendedes,
 volvio lo el diablo, que tiende tales redes,
 trastorno el çimiento cayeron las paredes
 lo que estonço perdio se, cobrar vos lo podedes.

Tenien lo a grand bien los pueblos labradöres,
 non sabien la traición los malos pecadores;
 los qu'eran entendidos e bien entendedores
 dezien: '¡Mal sieglo ayan tales consejadores!'

Ovieron a fer todo lo que el rey mandava:
 quien las armas tenia luego las desatava.
 El diablo antiguo en esto s' travajava:
 Por fer mal a cristianos, nunca en al andava. (68-70).⁷⁷

the Moors and the devil. The poet consolidates the relationship between the two by means of carbon imagery. The Moors are likened in their appearance to Satan in 382; later Fernán González argues that the 'falsos carvonientos' or devils are those behind the serpent in the sky, that they were helping the Moors to conjure such spells: 'Ayuntan los diablos con sus conjuramientos, [...] todos fazen conçejo los falsos carvonientos' (472ad). Julian Weiss argues that the description of the carboniero who raised Fernán González is also negative and may inform arguments about the proper place of the peasantry. See Weiss, *Mester*, p. 159. See also West, *Epic*, 38-9.

⁷⁶The gravity of this decision is emphasised by the swiftness with which the Moors act after the weapons have been destroyed. This rapidity is conveyed by the fact that the two events – the completion of the operation and the Moors' arrival – are related in the same stanza (71).

⁷⁷[Just as you see was the deceit brought to pass, woven by the Devil who sets such snares; the foundations were shaken, down crashed the walls: what you then lost you can now win again. This won full approval of those who worked the land; wretched sinners, they knew nothing of its treachery; those of understanding, who understood full well, cried out: 'May such advisers meet an evil end!' They were obliged to do all the

Through more explicit details of the devil's role, the poem expands the earlier arguments in the chronicles. As in the *Chronicon*, the kingdom's foundations and walls are destroyed through Julián's treachery, '*trastorno el çimiento cayeron las paredes*'. However, in the poem this is explicitly attributed to the devil's actions and plans, '*volvio lo el diablo*'. Moreover, it is through the machinations of the devil, '*tales redes*', that the Visigoths are forced to follow the king's order: they '*ovyeron a fer todo lo que el rey mandava*' because the '*diablo antyguo en esto s' travajava*'. In the *PFG* arguments about the iniquity of the Christian's actions rely on explicit references to the devil and his efforts to render the Visigoths 'peccadores', which indicates a reworking of the descriptions of sin in the chronicles that could arguably be seen as more vivid and suited to a wider audience. Moreover, the poem also mitigates the extent of the people's sin found in the existing narratives by transferring responsibility for the destruction of the kingdom to a third party in the form of the devil, and by offering a hint of hope for future redemption in describing the Visigoths as unaware of the deceit behind Julián's plans: '*non sabyén la trayçión*'. This indicates a departure from some of the chronicle narratives where the whole society is complicit in its own fall, and adumbrates the eventual recovery of divine favour, on which the spiritual exile-and-return structure of the work relies. The mitigation in the *PFG* of the realm's sin goes further: even amongst the Visigoths themselves, the blame for the overturning of the military cultures lies much more with the Rodrigo than with the people. There is a sense of coercion in the actions of the Visigoths after the king's decree: '*ovyeron a fer todo lo que el rey mandava*': they had to, rather than wanted to do, the will of the king. This is not dissimilar to the description of the Burgos townspeople in the *CMC*, and has been linked to the common motif of rebellious hero and unjust king in Spanish epic.⁷⁸ Moreover, there is a strong use of the passive voice which

King commanded: any man possessed of arms at once destroyed them. The Devil of old always worked with this intent: to bring harm upon Christians; he had no other aim.']

⁷⁸The sense of unwilling obedience felt by the people to the king in these stanzas is paralleled in the episode of

further distances the Spaniards from the evil deed: 'fue fecha la varata' (68a) and 'fueron las armas desfechas e quemadas' underscores the lack of agency on the part of the Spaniards. In contrast, the language used to describe the royal decree is far from evasive. Direct speech is used to underscore the king's responsibility when he announces the penalty for transgressors of his new policy, who are equated to traitors: "que le den tal justiçia commo traydor provado'. The diction here also underscores the iniquity of the king's actions through his ironic reference to treachery in 'traydor', a deed which he, rather any would-be rebels, is enabling by following Julián's counsel. The moral distance between king and people is strengthened by the references to those who disagree with the king: wise men pathetically cry out against the counsel that Julián brings: "¡Mal syeglo ayan tales consejadores!" (69d). The theme of erring king and rightful hero is here writ large with a heroic people replacing the protagonist, which likens the poem to salvation narratives, as found in Exodus, where the focus falls on a people, rather than a single figure.⁷⁹ Although they do not in fact rebel, they are nevertheless shielded from much of the blame that falls instead with the king. This primes the Visigoths, or proleptically the Castilians, for easier redemption, which they attain through the subsequent penitential suffering that allows them to expiate the initial sin of turning away from their military identity and so return to their former status as the 'luz e estrella de tod' el cristianismo'.⁸⁰ Moreover, this reference to the ability of the people to expiate their sins reaches an extratextual dimension: the apparent address to the audience or reader in 'lo que estonço perdió se, cobrar vos lo podedes' establishes a direct continuity

the Cid's arrival at Burgos (ll. 15-49). See pp. 74-77 of thesis. It has been argued that the theme of erring king and the rebellious hero is one of the key features of medieval Spanish epic, although of course it is found in many other contemporary narratives. It is found, for example, in the *CMC*, the versions of the Bernardo del Carpio narrative, and the *PFG*. See *Poema*, ed. by Vitorio, p. 15. It is, of course, also found in Anglo-Norman and other continental French works such as *Horn*, *Tristan et Iseut*, and, in a slightly different way, *Le Couronnement de Louis* in which the tension between erring king and upright vassal is central to the poem.

⁷⁹On salvation narratives and the *PFG* see Coates, 'Endings', pp. 204-7. Cf. Deyermond, 'Uses', pp. 53-4.

⁸⁰Note that the ultimate supremacy of Castile, rather than all of Spain, is adumbrated at several points in this early part of the poem. For example, in the description of Rodrigo's assembly, Castile is mentioned last after Aragon, Navarre, Leon and Portugal, and given the additional identification as 'Castyella la preçiada' in the second hemistich, at a point in the structure of the line which emphasises its importance further (57c).

between the Visigoths and the contemporary audience, suggesting that they too can continue to recover the land lost by their own ancestors, 'nuestros antecesores' (3b). The transferral of responsibility to the king and the devil, as well as the direct involvement of the audience through the inclusive reference to 'our' ancestors suggests a reworking of historiographical material in the *PFG* designed to appeal to a wider audience, and reflects how poetic composition might have been viewed as one method of promoting expansionism in the contemporary context.

iii. Loss and suffering

Descriptions of Christian oppression after the Muslim invasion and the slow emergence of a Christian community are similarly present in most of the histories and the *PFG*, although again these differ in their concerns and length. The general tendency in terms of their chronological order is an increasing emphasis on the suffering of the Christians and their growing recognition after the invasion that Visigothic decline was due to sin. In the *Mozarabic Chronicle*, the earliest of the histories, there are few specific details about the defeat of the Visigoths. However, what is pertinent to the arguments in *PFG*, is the description of their fall, which is presented as monumental and unprecedented. The writer claims that the sheer number of outrages suffered would take too long to relate, and in order to describe all these things briefly, 'sed ut in brebi cuncta legenti renotem pagella' (55. 4), he likens the destruction of Visigothic Spain to the fall of other cities and peoples, including Troy, Jerusalem, Babylon, and the martyrs of Rome, arguing that rise and fall of Spain's honour was equivalent to all these and more: '[...] omnia et toth ut Spania condam deliciosa et nunc misera effecta tam in honore quam etiam in dedecore experibit' (55. 10-12).⁸¹

⁸¹Citations are taken from the following edition: *Crónica Mozárabe*, ed. by José Eduardo López Pereira (León: Centro de Estudios y de Investigación San Isidoro, 2009). ['But I will record all these things to be read in brief on a little page.'] '[...] all of these things and so many that Spain, once delectable, was now made so poor in honour that it even ended in disgrace.']

Positioning the Visigothic kingdom within a series of celebrated powers from both Classical and Biblical history is a rhetorical move that produces several effects: first, it underscores the importance of the kingdom itself, as it is implicitly elevated to the same status of these former powers; secondly, it suggests that the newer realm surpasses even these given that it suffers a loss beyond theirs; and thirdly, it presents the history of Spain as an integral part of world history, positioning the Visigoths as the natural successors of the Trojans, Israelites, and Roman Christians, or the heirs of the threefold combination of Classical, Old Testament and New Testament traditions.⁸² As shown below, the *PFG* draws on this convention, either directly or indirectly, to describe the loss of Christian power in similar terms.

In the case of the *DHR* the descriptions of Christian subjugation include long references to the changes affecting Christian practice after the invasion, many of which have resonances in the vernacular poem:

[...] sanctuaria destruuntur, ecclesie dirruntur et que laudabant in cymbalis, prouocant in blasphemiiis; lignum salutis a sanctis eicitur, non est qui aspiciat ut saluetur. Sollempnia penitus cessauerunt et Ecclesie organa in blasphemiam transierunt; non est qui iubilet in ecclesiis et subsannat confessio Machometi; defedat abusio ornamenta et vasa sancta contaminant alieni [...] civitates ignibus consumuntur et queque uiridia succiduntur. [...] Et isti dicti sunt Mixti arabes, eo quod misti Arabibus conuiuebant, quorum hodie apud nos nomen perseuerat et genus. (XXII. ll. 44-52; 60-61)⁸³

The dangers posed by the new Muslim rulers for the Christian way of life are unremitting; every aspect of worship comes under threat: places of worship and churches are destroyed, 'sanctuaria destruuntur, ecclesie dirruntur'; those who were previously pious are now blasphemous, 'prouocant in blasphemiiis'; holy shrines are no longer cared for, 'non est qui aspiciat ut saluetur'; the most sacred parts of the church are desecrated, 'Ecclesie organa in

⁸²Christian histories of Iberia draw less on Troy to establish continuity between the present and the Classical past than Insular chronicles.

⁸³'[...] the sanctuaries were destroyed, the churches pulled down, and those who offered praise through music dissented through blasphemy; the cross of salvation was cast out from the sacred places, there was no one who might see to it being saved. The sacred ceremonies inside came to an end and the innermost parts of the Church fell into blasphemy; there was no one who rejoiced in the churches or mocked the praise of Mohammed; ornaments were defiled and the foreigners desecrated holy vessels [...] the cities were consumed by fire and anything that was thriving was cut down [...] And these people were called Mozarabs, because they would live together intermingled with Arabs, the name and people of which have come down to us today.'

blasphemiam transierunt', 'uasa sancta contimulant alieni'; and people no longer rejoice in churches or scorn the Muslim faith, 'non est qui iubilet in elcesis et subsannat confessio Machometi'. There is a general sense of physical as well as spiritual devastation as towns are consumed by fire, 'ciuitates ignibus consumuntur', which indicates the threat to the very building blocks of Christian civilization. The resulting emphasis on the deterioration of Christian life from this list is also found in the *Estoria de los godos*, where it is communicated more succinctly: 'el nombre de Xhesu Cxristo abaxado el τ del Mahomet alçado, la yglesia quebrantada la mezquita alcada; asi que non finquuo eglefia cathedral en España que non fuese destroyuda a suelo, si non la de Yspalis o de Seuilla' (198-200).⁸⁴ The displacement of Christianity by Islam is emphasised through syntax and diction presenting contrasting ideas through identical parts of speech: 'abaxado', 'alçado'; 'quebrantada', 'alcada'. The dangers posed to Christian worship are also described, although these are not presented as extensively as in the *DRH*: 'Estonz fueron todos los tesoros perdidos τ las reliquias τ los cuerpos delos santos' (199).⁸⁵ As shown below, the *PFG* appears to show a similar preoccupation with the changes to Christian worship, albeit with some alterations in accordance with its own verse-form and style.

Descriptions of Muslim rule in the *DRH* and the *EG* also present explicit references to the mixing of bloodlines between the subjected Christians and their new masters. The *DRH* includes an explanation that all those who experienced this decline then mixed with Arabs and became integrated into that community, 'isti dicti sunt Mixti arabes, eo quod misti Arabibus conuiuebant'. It is implied that those who were corrupted by the sacrilege and merged with the enemy were not the same who escaped to the mountains, but those who remained behind, the so-called Mozarabs, who continue to be known by this name, 'quorum hodie apud nos nomen perseuerat et genus'. Such a description reflects the characteristic

⁸⁴['The name of Jesus Christ [was] lowered, and that of Mohammed raised, so that there was no church or cathedral in Spain that was not razed to the ground, apart from the one from Yspalis or Seville.']

⁸⁵['All of the treasures and relics and saints' bodies were then lost.']

efforts to establish continuity between that Visigothic past and the Castilian present in contemporary historiography, especially apparent in the diction in 'hodie' and 'nos', which is paralleled by the first-person plural forms used in the *PFG*. Here a pointed division is made between the other 'purer' Christians who rally around Pelayo in the mountains of Asturias and defend the diminished Christian community, and those remaining Christians whose bloodlines eventually mingle with those of the enemy, 'Mixti', 'misti', which itself echoes the suggestion of the sexual violence suffered by women a few lines earlier: 'mulieres seruantur ad ignominiam et earum speciositas ad contumeliam' (III.XXII.35-6).⁸⁶ The resulting insinuation for the contemporary audiences is not only that Mozarabs 'hodie' are the descendants of a irreligious past, but that the ever expanding Christian kingdoms of Spain originate from the pure line of Christians unspoilt by the sacrilegious corruption of Muslim rule. The *EG* also refers to the integration of the remaining Christians into the ruling group and their relationship to the contemporary present: 'τ los *que* finacron a este pleyto alli, en tantos lugares fueron dichos τ son mixtarabes, mechlados con arabes τ dezimos los nos oy endia mocarabes' (199-200).⁸⁷ Both in the *DRH* and the *EG* the mixing of Visigothic and Arab bloodlines is presented as a hallmark of defeat and oppression for the Christians; the *PFG* employs similar arguments, warning the audience about this kind of integration even outside of the specific episodes referring to the direct aftermath of the Muslim invasion.

In the *PFG* the aftermath of the Visigothic defeat is characterised as a period of *coita*, that is, suffering, wretchedness or disgrace, which is given a more emphatic religious dimension compared to the chronicles, rendering it a kind of spiritual exile from God. After the description of the Moors' arrival and the invasion, a definitive Muslim victory is established and linked emphatically to Christian suffering:

⁸⁶['Women are kept for disgrace their beauty for abuse.'] Note that here the use of the historic present increases a sense of outrage, as it suggests the possibility of such events happening in the present time of the audience or readers.

⁸⁷['And those who remained there in this struggle were *Mixtarabs* and called so, they intermingled with Arabs and and today we call them Mozarabs.']

España la gentil fue luego destruida,
 eran señores d'ella la gente descreída.
 Los cristianos mesquinos avien muy mala vida:
 nunca fue en cristianos tan grand cuita venida. (89)⁸⁸

The aftermath of the Arab invasion is portrayed through relatively emotive and heightened spiritual language. In the first line the poet relates that the realm was 'destruÿda', or 'destroyed', and that this devastation was total and complete, which is communicated through the use of perfect tense in 'fue [...] destruyda'. The impact of this is then compounded by the language in the second line: Spain now belongs to new rulers, 'señores', who are identified solely as idolaters or unbelievers, 'gente descreída'. The postponement of and rhyme in 'descreída' emphasises the drama of the impious upheaval by relating the true, unchristian identity of these new rulers only as the verse reaches its syntactic resolution. The description also indicates the new estrangement between the land and God, as the leaders of the realm are no longer faithful Christian believers but a pagan people.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the emphatic repetition of 'cristianos' shows that the suffering is of a specifically Christian kind: it is the 'cristianos' who now have a 'muy mala vida' and who are suffering as Christians as never before, 'nunca fue' 'tan grand cuita venida'. The use of this superlative structure in 'nunca fue [...] tan' not only underscores this suffering, it also positions the loss of Visigothic power within the greater narrative of Christian suffering through implicit allusions to other periods of great 'cuyta', which this particular instance surpasses.⁹⁰ It is a new Christian suffering of unprecedented proportions that is ushered in by the defeat of the Visigoths. Such a rhetorical move through the use of the superlative in this passage echoes the arguments in the *Mozarabic Chronicle* discussed above, in which Spain is inserted into

⁸⁸['Destruction came quick upon the noble lands of Spain, over which the faithless people were now lords; the wretched Christians led terrible lives: never before had Christians been so tried.']

⁸⁹This period stands in strong contrast with Fernán González' own leadership which is supported by saintly figures such as San Millán and Santiago.

⁹⁰Arguably, the rhetorical function of the superlative structure in 'nunca fue [...] tan' may have pointed to other instances of Christian wretchedness such as martyrdom, Roman oppression, or earlier examples of suffering and exile in the Judeo-Christian tradition such as the slavery of the Israelites under Egyptian rule and in Babylon.

the narrative of the rise and fall of great powers and cities, such as Troy, Jerusalem, Babylon and Rome, and shown to surpass even these in its wretchedness. In the *PFG* the unparalleled scale of Christian suffering suggests that the Visigoths, and proleptically the Castilians, are exceptional in terms of their religious vicissitudes and relationship to God. Since they suffer more than any other Christian community, they can be seen as the holiest of God's peoples, because they are able to achieve exceptional expiation of their sins through their unprecedented suffering. Paradoxically then, this scale of suffering, and the forgiveness that follows, becomes essential to the construction of Castile in the *PFG* as a supreme power endowed with the highest divine favour and spiritual purity.

The *PFG* contains examples of Christian oppression that resemble those found in the chronicles. However, they are given a more spiritual emphasis that suggests that this period of oppression is presented in the poem as the necessary penance for the expiation of their sinful rejection of military practice. For example, the *PFG* depicts similar sacrilegious acts committed under Arab rule:

Dentro en las iglesias fazian establias,
fazien en los altares muchas fieras follias,
rovavan los tesoros de las sacristanias,
lloravan los cristianos las noches e los dias. (90)⁹¹

As in the histories, Christian worship is violently suppressed: churches are turned into stables, outrages are committed on altars, and relics are robbed from holy shires. However, the stylistic possibilities offered by the verse-form of the *mester de clerecía* are exploited to provide a more vivid description of sacrilege than found in many of the chronicles. For example, the iniquitous transformation of the churches into stables is underscored not only by their juxtaposition in the verse, but also by the postponement of the object 'establias' after the caesura to the end of the line, where the delay in syntactic resolution and the rhyming position adds to the shocking impact of this information. Sacrilege is also underscored by

⁹¹['They set up their stables within the churches' walls, and many were their acts of wicked folly on the altars; the sacristies' treasures were taken as plunder; the Christians shed tears through the night and the day.']

other rhetorical features, such as the alliteration in 'fazien' 'fieras follias', and the repeated use of the imperfect, 'fazian', 'fazien', 'rovavan', which suggests unremitting violence by the new rulers, and a powerlessness to stop this on the part of the Christians. This constant state of helplessness is made more explicit by the reference to their ongoing lament, 'lloravan los cristianos las noches e los dias', which again is informed by the imperfect, and also underscored by the poetic representation of a long period of time through 'las noches e los dias'. Moreover, this suffering and sacrilege is also heightened by the diction in 'dentro', 'en los altares', and 'tesoros de las sacristanias'. These repeated references to inner parts of sacred spaces and contact with holy objects create a sense of violation or blasphemous contamination, which again supports the more general impression of sacrilege in the stanza. Moreover, the transgression of the most cherished and intimate spaces of Christian worship adumbrates the parallel violation of Christian women that is similarly presented as a characteristic aspect of this oppression in the *PPG*.

The poem again resembles the chronicles in its implicit reference to the sexual violence suffered by Christian women and the mixing of bloodlines under Arab rule:

Avian en todo esto a Almançor a dar
 çien donzellas fermosas que fuessen por casar
 avien las por Castiella cada una a buscar,
 avien lo de cunplir, pero con grand pesar. (105)⁹²

As part of the defeat one hundred beautiful maidens, 'çien donzellas fermosas', are required to be given to the enemy, here represented by 'Almançor', which is possibly a reworking of, and certainly a parallel to, the depiction of sexual violence suffered by women under Arab rule in the *DRH*, as discussed above: 'mulieres seruantur ad ignominiam et earum speciositas ad contumeliam' (III. XXII. 35-6). In line with its tendency to expunge references to sexual references in the earlier episodes of Christian Iberian history, the poem is less explicit about the submission of the women to the enemy. There is no open reference to their disgrace or

⁹²['Meanwhile, to al-Mansur they were compelled to give a hundred handsome maidens, all still to wed, who had all to be found from the land of Castile; they had no choice but compliance, to their sorrow.']

insult; instead the poem merely hints at this through the reference to their virginity, 'donzellas', their aesthetic appeal, 'fermosas', and their approaching marriages, 'por casar', which offers only an allusion to sex through the implications of what marriage involves. In contrast, the poem does elaborate this episode relating to the treatment of women under enemy rule in a different way: Christian suffering is here underscored not only by the dedication of a whole stanza to the handing over of the women, but also through several stylistic points, many of which are the products of the verse-form. A sense of coercion is created through the syntax in 'que fuessen por casar', where the purpose clause underscores both the dominance of the Arab rulers and the Christians' powerlessness. Such coercion is also emphasised through the anaphora in 'avien', which begins three out of the four verses in the stanza, and the diction in 'dar'; they had to, rather than wanted, to do this. Moreover, their unwillingness is made explicit by the reference to their misery as they carry out the orders, 'con grand pesar', and heightened by the diction in 'pero', which underscores the contrast between their external actions and their inner emotion. Furthermore, the invasiveness of the Arabs' orders and their subjects' unwillingness to comply is conveyed by the explanation that the Christians had to look for each one of the women through Castile, 'avien las por Castiella cada una a buscar', which creates a sense of a painstaking search throughout the realm that is not found in the *DRH*, where the women are simply present as a group, 'mulieres'. The pathos in this scene is also heightened by the diction in 'donzellas fermosas', suggesting that the Christian realm is being deprived of its most precious and delicate members. Moreover, the enforced marriage transactions and the men's search for the women objectifies them: they appear as goods, and almost as tribute, to be exchanged as part of the ongoing consolidation of foreign rule in Iberia, which would liken this episode to the symbolic warnings in the *CMC* about military defeat and its implications for women's protection.⁹³ The impact of the treatment of Christian women under enemy rule is in turn

⁹³ See pp. 109-116 of thesis.

heightened by explicit, anachronistic reference to Castile, 'por Castiella', rather than the former Visigothic realm, would have presumably lent more of a shock value to this episode, as it makes women and the actions they suffered directly relevant for the contemporary audience or reader.

The pathos created by these distinctive references to women and sexual activity in the *PFG* is bolstered by further descriptions of the violence suffered by Christian mothers. One important example listed among the various forms of Arab oppression is the breakdown of the family unit:

Perdieron muchos d'ellos con miedo los sentidos,
matavan a las madres, en braços a sus fijos,
no s' podien dar consejo mugeres nin maridos,
avian, con grand miedo, muchos enloqueçidos. (95)⁹⁴

Mad confusion resulting from fear and oppression is the dominant theme in this stanza. It begins and ends with a reference to the crazed state of the enslaved: they lose their senses, 'los sentidos', through fear, 'con miedo', and many become mad, 'muchos enloqueçidos', as a result of this same reaction, 'grand miedo'. The diction in 'perdieron' also adds to the general description of wretchedness under Arab rule, as it links the descent into madness with other instances of loss within the economy of the poem, such as that of the land. More distinctly, the middle two verses show one of the defining features of this madness is the disruption to the family. Mothers, 'las madres', are killed with babes in their arms, 'en braços a fijos', and wives and husbands are no longer able to enjoy close intimacy or mutual support, 'no s' podien dar consejo'. These references, especially to mothers and children, not only create pathos, but form part of the broader argument about the disintegration of Christian society under the Arabs. The death of children and the estrangement between couples symbolises how the perpetuation of the existing Christian society is put at risk under Muslim rule, as the very means by which family lines can be continued are here destroyed. As such, this

⁹⁴['Many in their terror lost hold of their senses; mothers were slain with their children in their arms; woman and husband alike could give no counsel; so deep was their grief, it drove many from their wits.']

description can be linked to the earlier depictions of the forced marriages of Castilian women to the enemy and the implied contamination of 'pure' Christian blood. In both cases, the perpetuation of Christian society is put at risk through violence affecting the means of procreation. Again, this is not dissimilar to the argument relating to women in the *CMC*, where the violence committed against Sol and Elvira symbolises the mortal danger posed to domestic society by a prevailing non-combative mentality, there embodied by the Infantes, which informs the poem's expansionist discourse. In the *PFG* one aspect of enemy victory is the destruction of the very cornerstone of society that the family represents. The stanza can therefore be interpreted as an extension of the arguments in the chronicles relating to the destructive effects of sexual violence on Christian society, whether committed by foreign or domestic rulers. As shown below, this treatment of women and its association with oppression and the destabilisation of the Christian realm is nonetheless countered in the *PFG* by Sancha's characterisation and her ability to fend off sexual violence.

iv. Recovery and Redemption

The episodes that centre on the figure of Fernán González constitute a corrective response to the arguments in the first part of poem surrounding the causes and aspects of Visigothic defeat and Christian oppression. The hero becomes a kind of corrective double for Rodrigo, reflected by the phrase 'mi hermano Rodrigo' (182b), who not only ends the period of suffering for the Christians through an appeal for God's mercy, but also avoids the same errors committed by his predecessors, such as the neglect of arms and military practice, and their penchant for lasciviousness. One of his explicit objectives is to stop his people from falling into error through his own failings, rather than implicate them in these as Rodrigo once did, "aguardar vos querria a todo mi poder | *de* por mengua de mi en yerro non caer" (433cd). The hero's trajectory and characterisation responds to previous failures related in the chronicles and reworked in the first part of the poem. The result is that Castile

is not only presented as the collective heir of earlier Visigothic warriors through the overarching dialectical relationship between the past and present Christian realms, but also as a redeemed people who better their ancestors in both military and spiritual terms: they are safeguarded by the hero from committing sins that would endanger the protection of the realm, the association of which is epitomised by the hero himself, "Si no, por mal pecado, fuéremos arrancados" (437a). As mentioned above, the systematic rebuttal in the second part of the poem of earlier arguments relating to sin and loss is not dissimilar to that found in the bipartite structure of *Gui*, which carries an underlying didactic function. Moreover, since arguments in the second part of the poem are reworkings or allusions to those found in the first part, as well as in earlier and contemporary chronicles, the function of the *PFG* as a new and authoritative response in the vernacular to the legends and history of Christian Spain appears to be most at work in the episodes relating to the hero himself. Through Fernán's characterisation the poem responds more definitively to arguments in historiographical material, counters the alleged endemic flaws of the Christian Iberian realm, presents a new, prescriptive version of Castilian identity, and rewrites the Castilian narrative in a way that is tantamount to a virtual expiation of sin from existing accounts for a wider, contemporary audience.

Fernán's function as a holy protector and redeemer of Castile is apparent from his first appearance and made clear throughout the poem, such as in the episodes involving San Millán and Santiago in 414-419 and 556-7 respectively, when he is likened to Old Testament figures such as David in 270d, or when his words echo those of Christ himself, "tu ¿por que me falleçiste?" (551d).⁹⁵ His role as redeemer is conveyed by his very first speech in which he articulates earlier Christian suffering and the envisaged recovery of the realm in terms of expiation of sin and forgiveness. As he reaches manhood, a critical moment that arguably symbolises the spiritual maturation of Castile, Fernán realises that the realm lies in a

⁹⁵Cf. Matthew 27:46. On Fernán and divine sonship see Coates, 'Endings'.

predicament of suffering or 'coita', but contends this has lasted long enough and that the Castilians now warrant God's mercy:

Quando iva el mozo *las cosas entendiendo,*
 oyo como Castiella *moros ivan corriendo:*
 'Valas me, —dixo— Cristus, *yo a ti me encomiendo!;*
 en coita es Castiella, *segunt que yo entyendo.*

Señor ya tienpo era, *si fuesse tu mesura,*
 que mudasses la rueda, *que anda la ventura*
 assaz an castellanos *passada de recura,*
 gentes nunca passaron *atan mala ventura. (179-180)*⁹⁶

The hero understands Moorish rule over Castile, 'Castiella *moros ivan corriendo*', in distinctly spiritual terms. He immediately calls upon God, "Valas me [...] Cristus!" and begins to ask for help by asserting that the Castilians have experienced enough affliction, 'assaz' 'rencura' through this enemy rule. Moreover, he also argues that the Castilians have been affected by misery, 'atan mala ventura', of a kind that has never before been experienced by any people, 'gentes nunca passaron', which echoes the arguments both in the poem and the chronicles about the unprecedented scale of Christian suffering in Iberia. Fernán's appeal to God for a change to these exceptional circumstances is paradoxically upheld by the reference to Fortune's wheel, 'que mudasses la rueda', which alludes to a better time when the Christians enjoyed divine favour and expansive territory in Iberia, namely as Visigoths.⁹⁷ Arguably, this cyclical pattern supports the underlying exile-and-return argument in the work, if the latter is understood as a structure that has an inherent potential to be duplicated, because any loss of power can be rationalised as an exile that is only temporary. The particular representation of Fernán's demands for an end to this exile exemplifies again how the verse-form in the *PFG* can be exploited for a more engaging depiction of similar arguments found in historiographical material. In this case, pathos,

⁹⁶['As the boy came gradually to see how matters stood, he heard of how the Moors were bringing ruin on Castile. 'Help me, Christ,' he said, 'I commend myself to You. A troubled time has fallen on Castile, as I have learned. The time has come, Lord, if You should so judge it, for You to spin the wheel that turns at random; bitterness enough have the Castilian endured; no people ever suffered such misfortune as them.']

⁹⁷On Fortune's wheel in the *PFG* see Deyermond, 'Uses', pp. 63-5.

direct discourse, and the hero's address to God draw attention to the long-standing suffering of the Christian people: the diction in 'ya era tienpo' and 'assaz', and the jussive subjunctive in 'que mudasses', create a sense of urgency and injustice at the duration of their misery; the change in conventional word order in 'en coita es Castiella' underscores their pain by shifting the emphasis onto 'coyta'; and the entirety of hero's plea beginning with "Valas me" means that the imminent recovery is depicted more vividly through the heightened emotional language afforded by a first-person discourse. Moreover, the emphasis on pain alongside Fernán's demands that God change their circumstances because they have suffered enough suggests that their wretchedness is of a penitential kind; their suffering under the rule of the 'moros' is presented as the expiation of the earlier sins relating to Visigothic decline that is necessary for a new phase of Castilian recovery.

The association between suffering under Arab rule, the expiation of sin, and a renewed ability for conquest is also evident in the hero's first prayer as lord of the realm:

Quand' entendio que era de Castiella señor,
 algo a Dios las manos, rogo al Criador:
 'Señor, tu me ayuda, que so mucho pecador,
 que yo saque Castiella del antigo dolor.

Da me, Señor, esfuerço, e seso e sentydo,
 que yo tome vengança del pueblo descreýdo,
 e cobren castellanos algo de lo perdido
 e te tengas de mi en algo por servido.

[...]

Tu lo sabes, Señor, que vida enduramos,
 non nos quieres oir maguer *que* te llamamos

[...]

Señor, esta merçed te querría pedir:
 syendo tu vasallo, non me quieras fallir;
 Señor, contigo cuedo atanto conquerir
 porque aya Castiella de premia a salir.” (185-6, 189ab, 190)⁹⁸

⁹⁸[“When he understood he was now lord of Castile, he raised his hands to God the Creator in prayer: ‘My Lord, grant Your aid to this terrible sinner, that I might free Castile from her suffering of old. O Lord, grant me courage, and wisdom, and good sense, that I may there take vengeance on the unbelieving people, and the

In many ways this speech exemplifies the tendency in the poem to relate territorial gains to divine favour. The various references to the liberation of Castile from Moorish oppression is presented as a release from 'antigo dolor' which can only occur with help from God, showing that within the economy of the narrative political supremacy is only possible with divine sanction.⁹⁹ The use of spiritual language to present the recovery of Castile is further evident in the hero's association of sin, divine mercy, and emancipation: Fernán acknowledges that because he is in a sinful state, 'so mucho pecador', he needs God's help, 'ayuda', and mercy, 'merçed', in order to alleviate the long-standing suffering of the Christians stemming from that first Visigothic fall, 'antigo dolor' and so reclaim lost territory, 'tome vengança'. Moreover, in his anxious desire to conquer land, 'cuedo atanto conquerir', he explicitly acknowledges the need for God's assistance, 'contygo', and its importance too for Castile to be brought out of its oppression, 'porque aya Castyella de premia a salir'. As such, the arguments here not only indicate the relationship between territorial gains and divine sanction, they also show that the suffering following Visigothic decline can only be ended through God's mercy, as in the above passage. In line with this, divine mercy is explicitly needed for a new recovery of what had been lost, 'que [...] cobren castellanos algo de lo perdido', where the 'algo' may be interpreted simultaneously as territory, military standing, and a former status as God's favoured people. Divine favour, the end of suffering, and a renewed and ability to conquer, are thereby inextricably associated in the hero's speech. These stanzas show again how the *PFG* depicts the vicissitudes of Christian power in Iberia in terms of a loss and recovery, or spiritual exile-and-return, directly related to God's relationship with the Visigoths or the Castilians, and here point to the hero's role as the redeemer who allows that very return to God for the Castilians.

people of Castile recover something of their loss, and You consider me to have rendered you some service. [...] You know, my Lord, the life that we endure; You do not wish to hear us, though we call You [...] This is the mercy I would ask of You, my Lord, that since I am Your vassal, You not fail me; with You I believe, Lord, that I will make such conquests that Castile will be able to escape her oppression.']

⁹⁹On the biblical connotations of 'antigo dolor' see Deyermond, 'Uses', p. 57.

v. *Recovery and Military Practice*

The hero's instructions on military practice are a corrective response to the earlier neglect of arms described in the *PFG* itself and, to a lesser extent, in the chronicles. In line with the strong spiritual dimension in the poem, those practices which harm military victory are emphatically presented as sinful. For example, as shown below, when the Castilians exhibit fear of death, the hero chastises them and argues that such a fear is tantamount to treachery and spiritual doubt.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, intimidation by the Moors is associated with sin by the hero: 'bien cuidava esse día reinar y el pecado, | que metio grand espanto en el pueblo cruzado' (254ab).¹⁰¹ Fernán himself is characterised by his fearlessness, similar to the 'strenuitas' so characteristic of Castilians in the *DRH*, and his willingness to embrace battle in the face of death, which goes beyond the conventional bravery associated with epic heroes through its emphatic spiritual dimension, perhaps analogously to Gui in the later stages of his life. Furthermore, the qualities needed for successful military operations are presented as gifts from God, 'Dame, Señor, esfuerço, *buen seso e sentydo*' (186a). This association between spiritual worth and military skill is made more explicit in Fernán's battle speech addressing Gonzalo Diez' fearful advice to adopt a non-combative policy in 202-207, in which he refers to the Christian suffering of earlier times to explain the sinful nature of fear, as shown below. Such arguments are prevalent throughout the poem; Fernán's later prayer at the hermitage offers a succinct example of the recurring association between the fear of the last Visigoths, their failure to worship God and the advent of Muslim rule is:

'Los reyes de España, con derecho pavor,
olvidaron a ti, que eres su señor.
tornaron se vassallos d'esse rey Almançor.' (396abc)¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰This is spiritually dubious aspect of *timor mortis* was not a new concept in theological discussion. For example, Augustine interprets distress at dying as a sign of weakness of faith in *Sermones* 31.3 and that Christians should not fear death because Christ's voluntary death showed that it should not be feared. See *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* 25.

¹⁰¹[He was convinced that day that the Devil there reigned, striking grave terror in the people of the cross.]

¹⁰²[The monarchs of Spain felt a deep-seated dread, as they forgot You, who are Lord over them; they made

Similar tactics are employed in the battle speech: referring to such past mistakes, the hero claims that casting aside their fear will not only allow them military victory in the present, but that it will allow them to redeem Castile by bringing her out from sin, or 'error' and 'premia', and freeing her from the wicked deed, or 'mal fecho', of endorsing non-combative policies in the past:

Assi aguiso la cosa el mortal enemigo:
quando perdio la tierra el buen rey don Rodrygo,
non *finco* en España quien valiesse un figo
si non Castiella Vieja, un logar muy antigo.

Fueron nuestros abuelos muy *grand* tienpo *afrontados*,
ca tenien los moros muy fuerte arrenconados;
eran en poca tierra *pocos* omnes juntados,
de fanbre e de guerra eran *mucho* lazrados.

Maguer mucho lazerio, *e coita que* sofrieron,
d'otros sienpre ganaron, lo suyo non perdieron;
por miedo de la muerte yerro nunca fezieron,
todos sus adversarios por aqui los vencieron.

¿Commo se nos oviera todo esto *d'olvidar*?
Lo que ellos ovieron a nos es *d'heredar*;
veniendo a nos en miente, non podremos errar:
puede nos tod' aquesto de mal fecho librar.

Dexemos los parientes, a lo nuestro tornemos,
por ir a la batalla aquesso aguisemos;
por miedo de la muerte la lid non escusemos:
caer o levantar y lo departiremos.

Esforçad castellanos, non ayades pavor:
vençremos los poderes *d'esse* rey Almançor,
sacaremos Castiella de premia e error,
el sera el vençido, yo seré vençedor. (217-222)¹⁰³

themselves the vassals of the Moor al-Mansur.']

¹⁰³["And so the deadly foe devised his scheme that, when the good King Rodrigo lost the land, nowhere worth a fig was there left in all Spain, except the ancient land of Old Castile. For a long time our elders were sorely hard-pressed, for the Moors had them backed square in a corner, many men bottled up in a small piece of land, enduring the ravages of hunger and war. Despite their great suffering and the sorrow they bore, they always won from others and never lost their own; no fear of death ever led them to err, and so they were able to vanquish their foes. How could we come to forget all of this? What they had is now ours to inherit; if we keep it in mind, we cannot commit error, and it can save us from any wrong act. Let us leave our forebears and return to our lot, and make our preparations for battle. We must not shirk the conflict through any fear of death; our rise or our fall we shall determine on the field. Take heart, O Castilians, and cast off your fear! We shall vanquish the forces of the Moor al-Mansur, and rescue Castile from oppression and wrong; he will be the vanquished and I shall be the victor."]

The arguments in this passage relating to the importance of bravery in battle can be seen as responses to the earlier neglect of military duty described in both the chronicles and the *PFG*, most vividly exemplified by the burning of the weapons episode in the poem. The hero does not simply exhort his men to do battle through a few encouraging battle-cries, but orders his men to cast aside their fear, 'non ayades pavor' and instructs them in appropriate military behaviour with specific reference to the failures by earlier Christians to adhere to good martial practice, the loss of land under Rodrigo, 'perdió la tierra', and the advent of long suffering and oppression under Muslim rule, 'grand tienmpo muy lazrados', 'mucho coyta sofryeron'. The references to the past that frame his instructions imply that his proposals are the corrective measures that will allow his people to avoid these earlier errors and recover what was lost through Rodrigo, 'saquaremos Castyella de premia e error'. This dialectical relationship is evident in the continuity constructed between the Visigothic past and the Castilian throughout the poem and which is here created through reference to the only remaining and oldest territory after Rodrigo's loss as Castile, a 'logar muy antygo', and the diction relating to family or succession that portrays the earlier Christians as the Castilians' ancestors, 'nuestros abuelos', and 'parientes'. The errors that the hero goes on to describe are therefore not presented as the irrelevant mistakes of an unconnected people, but as the endemic problems of Iberian Christians that also affect the present Castilians. For example, in exhorting his men to display bravery, the hero first refers to the neglect of arms under Muslim rule, 'por miedo de la muerte yerro nunca fezieron', which also echoes Rodrigo's decision to turn from a military way of life to an agricultural one in 62-3, discussed above. The hero links the failure of the succeeding generations of Christians to reforge arms to the dominance of the enemy: 'todos sus adversarios por aquí los vençieron'.¹⁰⁴ These past

¹⁰⁴The causal relationship between fear of death and defeat by the enemy is also advanced in 390. Fernán prays to God at the hermitage and asserts that the kings of Spain forgot God, became vassals of King Almoraz and did the worst all because of their fear of death: "Los reyes de España, con derecho pavor, | olvidaron a

failures are then made relevant for the Castilians when the hero exhorts his men not to let this same fear prevent them from fighting, 'por miedo de la muerte la lid non escusemos'. This again creates a sense of continuity between past errors and present choices, which is also paradoxically bolstered by his calls to leave aside the mistakes of their ancestors, 'Dexemos los parientes, a lo nuestro tornemos'. In this speech rejecting fear in battle is not merely a practical advantage, it is also a means by which to correct the earlier mistakes of their forefathers. Moreover, throughout this later passage these errors continue to be presented as sinful, as in the first part of the poem and, to a lesser extent, in the chronicles. For example, Fernán calls the earlier failure to reforge arms a 'mal fecho' and contends that the memory of past oppression will allow them to avoid sinning, 'veniéndonos en miente non podremos error', in which the spiritual connotations are realised through the use of other significant words in this context, such as 'premia' and 'error', and within the broader economy of the narrative. Fernán exhorts his men to leave aside their fear not only to win in battle, but in order that they might bring Castile out from its wretchedness and sin. As such, the question of rejecting fear in the new battles fought under Fernán are presented as part of longer narrative of Muslim power and Christian loss going back to king Rodrigo and, more significantly, as an opportunity to avoid and correct the same sins of their ancestors, and so recover their legitimate territorial dominance.

While courage and fearlessness are exemplified by the hero, the antagonists in the poem are correspondingly characterised by cowardice. Both the Muslims and other Christian peoples are instead portrayed as fearful, as is evident in the stanzas describing the forces from Toulouse and later the Moorish army:

Antes que ellos amos veniessen a feridas,

Ty, que eres su Señor; | tornáronse vassallos del rey Almoçor: | por miedo de la muerte fyzieron lo peor" (390). ["The monarchs of Spain felt a deep-seated dread, as they forgot You, who are Lord over them; they made themselves the vassals of the Moor al-Mansur, and took the worst course of action in terror of death."] Neglect of God and devotion are associated with fear of death, the consequence of which is political oppression by those of religious alterity. Such fear is thereby given a religious dimension and shown to be both morally dubious and politically inexpedient.

las gentes tolosanas todas fueron foidas;
 nunca ningunas gentes fueron tan mal fallidas,
 ca fueron en *grand* miedo e mal preçio metidas.

[...]

El conde de Tolosa mucho fue espantado,
 ca vio a don Fernando venir mucho irado;
 por no tener *la* gente, que era desmanparado,
 con sus armas guarnido *contra el fue llegado*.

[...]

'Quando vio don Fernando que espaldas tornavan,
 que con miedo de muerte el canpo les dexavan,
 el conde e sus gentes fuerte los aquexavan,
 espuelas e açotes en *las* manos tomavan (369, 371, 563).¹⁰⁵

The forces from Toulouse are portrayed as being so frightened of battle that the whole company flees, 'fueron foidas' before they even come to blows with the Castilians, '[a]ntes que ellos amos veniessen a feridas'. The use of the pluperfect here highlights the utter rapidity and certainty with which the French forces leave the camp, which thus emphasises their panic in the face of battle. In a similar vein, the use of the subjunctive here in 'veniessen' also shores up the lack of military engagement on their part; it is merely a hypothetical engagement rather than a real one. The French are then described as superlatively 'fallidas', which within the economy of the *PFG* has spiritual connotations as well as practical ones.¹⁰⁶ Moreover there is a direct causal relationship between great fear and their defeat, 'ca fueron en *grand* miedo', which echoes the Christians' earlier humiliating and penitential existence under Muslim rule and so endows the behaviour of the French with similarly sinful dimension by analogy. In contrast to the fearless hero, the leader of the

¹⁰⁵['Before the two of them could come to blows, all the men of Toulouse were turned in flight; no troops had ever given service so poor, for they were filled full of terror and shame. [...] The Count of Toulouse was now sorely afraid, for he saw Fernando approach, full of anger; that his people should not think him helpless, he rode straight out to battle, in his armour. [...] When Fernando then saw they were turning their backs, abandoning the field to them in terror of death, the Count and his troops then pressed hard on their tail: with spurs on their feet, they made use of their whips.']

¹⁰⁶It is tempting to see such characterisation of the French forces as a reflection of their behaviour at the Battle of Las Navas in 1212 at which many turned back. Mackay, *Spain*, pp. 33-35. On the need for further exploration of anti-French sentiment in Spanish chronicles and epics see Weiss, 'Remembering' p. 69. Cf. Linehan on the contempt for the 'Franci' in the *Chronicon* and the *DRH*. Linehan, *Historians*, p. 169.

French forces is depicted as 'mucho [...] espantado'. This difference between the two representatives of the armies is highlighted by the juxtaposition of verses describing Fernán González and the Count of Toulouse, 'El conde de Tolosa mucho fue espantado | ca vyo a don Fernando venir mucho yrado', where the rhyming positions of 'espantado' and 'yrado' contrast the feebleness of the enemy with the battle fury of the hero, suggesting that a Frenchman has now taken the place of the Spaniard who once showed too much cowardice.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the Arabs are portrayed as cowardly in contrast to the advancing Castilians. They flee the battlefield overcome with a fear of death: 'con miedo de muerte el canpo les dexavan'. It is this fear and the resulting decision to turn from the fray, 'espaldas tornavan', that allows the Castilians to press hard upon the Arabs, 'el conde e sus gentes fuerte los aquexavan'; this points to the Christian's new, undaunted stance and suggests the inversion of both parties' previous attitudes to war, which would be in line with the corrective character of this section of the poem. Moreover, the fact that fear in general is associated with the antagonists in the narrative and with the Muslims in particular, indicates that fear is not only a negative emotion and disadvantageous for political and military success, it is also associated with religious alterity and, ultimately, with a lack of faith in God. Fear of death must be seen as both politically and spiritually disadvantageous. In instructing his men in a new rejection of this fear and realising it on the battlefield the hero corrects earlier errors, so justifying the associated recovery of territory and exceptional divine favour.

vii. Sancha

As discussed above, the *PFG* suppresses the emphatic references to the lustful

¹⁰⁷This superiority is also evident in the spatial representation of the combat between the Count of Toulouse and Fernán González. It would seem that the French leader is stationary – he rooted to the spot in fear – and can only watch as the while the hero rushes in wrath towards him: 'ca vyo a don Fernando venir mucho yrado'. Arguably, these micro-dynamics are symbolically representative of the larger-scale mission of Castile to move forward continuously on land and against the enemy, and so expand territory and 'reconquistar' what was lost.

behaviour of the last Visigothic kings and their subjects that are prevalent in historical accounts. The long descriptions of Witiza's lasciviousness, the widespread concubinage of the clergy, and Rodrigo's own violation of Julian's daughter found in the chronicles are reduced in the first part of the *PFG* to the implicit and ambiguous reference to Rodrigo's sin, 'por culpa en que era, non le era Dios amigo' (35d). The shift in emphasis is clear: it is not an excessive preoccupation with sex, but a lack of militaristic culture that is presented as the primary threat to Christian power in the *PFG*. This tendency of the poem to downplay the role of sex in the destabilisation of a Christian society resurfaces in the second part of the work where it is channelled through the figure of Sancha, Fernán's beloved, who is recognised in existing scholarship as an 'active participant in the dynamics of heroic success and the correction of its failures' but who has as yet not been examined in the context of the wider historiographical dimension and corrective function in the *PFG*.¹⁰⁸ The distinctive relationship between the hero and Sancha appears to be a further, implicit response to the

¹⁰⁸See Hazbun, 'Female Foundations', 28-32,34-36, 39; Weiss, 'Mester', pp. 177-8. There has been substantial discussion of female sexuality in Spanish epics. However, to my knowledge, the depiction of Sancha and her sexuality in the *PFG* has not been examined in relation to the broader historiographical dimension of the *PFG* and the prevalence of lust in earlier and contemporary narratives. Many scholars have noted the dynamism, wiliness and sexual power of Spanish female figures and have seen these as characteristic traits, especially if the Sanchas of the *Siete infantes de Lara* and *La condesa traidora* narratives are compared to English or Female female protagonists such as Aude in the *Chanson de Roland*, Guiborc in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, or Rigmel in *Horn*. However, even though Sancha displays a dynamism common to many Spanish female figures, she does not herself display any of the open sexuality that is often associated with these same epic characters. Scholars have nevertheless seen her as a sexual, as well as a proactive, figure, especially in the last part of the narrative conserved in the *Primera Crónica General*. Sancha is indeed resourceful and active, although she is less characterised, in my interpretation, by open displays of her sexuality than by an ability to exert control over her own sexuality and that of others. The approaches to Sancha and female figures in Spanish medieval narratives has been wide-ranging: see David Pattison, 'The Role of Women in Some Medieval Spanish Epic and Chronicle Texts', in *The Place of Argument: Essays in Honour of Nicholas G. Round*, ed. by Rhian Davies and Anny Brooksbank Jones (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007), pp. 17-30 (pp. 19-20). On women, sexuality, and Spanish epic see: Alan Deyermond, 'La sexualidad en la épica medieval española', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 36 (1988), 767-86. On Sancha in the *PFG*, the lack of historicism in her depiction, and the manner in which her proactivity borders on transgression in relation to contemporary laws, see María Eugenia Lacarra, 'La mujer ejemplar en tres textos épicos castellanos', *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica*, 14 (1988), 5-20, (esp. pp. 12-16). On the degree of invention see also Juan Victorio, 'La mujer en la épica castellana', in *La condición de la mujer en la edad media: actas del coloquio celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez, del 5 al 7 de noviembre de 1984*, ed. by Yves-René Fonquerne and Alfonso Esteban (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1986), pp. 75-84 (p. 77). On Sancha's initiative and its resemblance to Jimena's own characteristics in the *Mocedades de Rodrigo* see María Eugenia Lacarra, 'Los paradigmas de hombre y de mujer en la literatura epicolegendaria medieval castellana', in *Estudios históricos y literarios sobre la mujer medieval*, ed. by María Eugenia Lacarra (Málaga: Diputación Provincial, 1990), pp. 9-34 (pp. 30-31). For a general overview of scholarship on women in Spanish epic see Hazbun, 'Female Foundations', p. 25n.

problem of sex in the earlier and contemporary narratives of Visigothic decline. Fernán's interaction with Sancha is left free of all suggestions of *eros*, showing implicitly that this hero will not make the same mistakes as his Visigothic predecessor, Rodrigo, when it comes to interaction with women. As such, his behaviour towards Sancha stands in accordance with his role as redeemer of the Christian realm, or Castile, in which he both avoids and corrects the well-known sins of the past that first threatened Christian power.

Moreover, the mitigation of erotic undertones through the *PFG*'s distinctive presentation of the Rodrigo narrative, as well as its depiction of the hero's relatively chaste relationship with Sancha, suggests a more general anxiety about the place of sex in the establishment and consolidation of a Christian power. This is not dissimilar to the concerns found in *Gui* where love for a woman is replaced by love for God, and erotic relations between hero and beloved are supplanted by ascetic ones within a didactic framework. Both the *PFG* and *Gui*, in implicit and explicit terms respectively, present and address the problem of how an overindulgence in erotic pleasure can distract from the true objective of rendering military service to God, whether on an individual level, as in the Anglo-Norman work, or an a societal one, as in the Spanish text where maintaining God's favour is equal to the successful the military defence and expansion of the whole Christian realm. However, whereas in *Gui* this problem is resolved by the stark division of these two concerns – it is necessary for the hero to be separated from Felice during his service for God – in the *PFG* the possible threat posed by women and the associated erotic temptation for both the hero and the protection of the realm is resolved in a way that not only mitigates against the hero's lust, but also makes Sancha very much part of the recovery of Christian power, rather than a threat. In this regard, the *PFG* resembles *Horn* and to a greater degree the *CMC*, where the hero is able to integrate potentially conflicting concerns, namely the defence of territory, service to God and his lord, and love for women. This reworking of courtly tropes into warfare contexts found in the two earlier texts, as discussed in chapters one and two, is also

apparent in the *PFG* where the interaction between Sancha and Fernán appears to be influenced by conventions from the *roman courtois*, which comes especially to light when these episodes are read alongside *Erec*.¹⁰⁹ However, in contradistinction to *Erec* and *Horn*, and more similarly to *Cid* and *Gui* in the later stages of his life, Fernán's relationship with his beloved is characterised by a lack of eroticism that is informed by Sancha's own behaviour, arguments made by other characters, and the dramatic episode involving the lecherous archpriest. Courtly tropes are not only adapted in the *PFG* into a large-scale military context, as in *Horn*, but are also reworked in such a way that simultaneously negates the sexual undertones of the *roman courtois*, while also integrating a strong heterosexual relationship into heroic endeavour; this stands in contrast to the arguments in *Gui* and approximates the *PFG* to the *CMC* where the hero's relationship to Jimena provides him with motivation for his feats, even while it lacks eroticism. In the case of the *PFG*, however, this lack of erotic desire arises from its new composition or rewriting of Castilian history that expiates the sin of lust from the narrative of Castilian supremacy.

From its initial stages Fernán's relationship with Sancha is characterised by his passivity and her agency, both of which are presented positively in the *PFG*, in contrast to the depictions of forthright behaviour displayed by female protagonists such as Rigmel in *Horn* and Dido in the *Roman d'Eneas* who are condemned for their sexual proactivity. Perhaps to mitigate even the smallest suggestion of sexual aggression on the part of the hero, and so make him into a corrective model of a leader responding to the widespread depictions of the lustful Rodrigo, Fernán lacks all power or agency in his interactions with Sancha, with most of the romantic negotiations falling to other characters, including Queen Teresa, the Count of Lombardy, Sancha's lady-in-waiting and the princess herself. Unlike many heroes of the *roman courtois*, he does not actively choose to love and win Sancha's hand through

¹⁰⁹The use of courtly conventions has been noted in other works from the *mester de clerecía*, namely Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* and *Loores de la Virgen*, suggesting a likelihood of similar influences being found in the *PFG*. Dutton, 'French Influences', p. 93-4.

feats of arms: marriage is something that happens *to* him, rather than something he prioritises and pursues, unlike many Arthurian knights. The lack of agency on his part is first reflected through the queen's actions: it is she, rather than the hero, who first suggests that he marry Sancha.

Demostro le el diablo el engaño aina:
 prometio l' casamiento al conde la reina:
 por que finas' la guerra le darie a su sobrina;
 ¡seria el daño grande sin esta melecina!

Tovo *ende* el buen conde que serie bien casado,
 otorgo a la reina que lo farie de grado.
 La reina enbio luego a Navarra el mandado,
 una carta ditada con un falso ditado. (583-4)¹¹⁰

Fernán's response to the queen's proposal not only shows his easy compliance in these matters, but makes him appear as something of an ingénu, especially when this is embedded within the context of the queen's deceitful wiliness. He quickly accepts, 'tovo', suggesting he has no reservations about the match, thinks he will be married well, 'serie bien casado', and tells the queen that he gladly consents, 'que lo farie de grado'. There is nothing of the lustful, cunning Rodrigo about him, quite the opposite, perhaps somewhat unfortunately here given the queen's wiliness. Moreover, any suggestions of the hero's sinfulness arising from a situation involving marriage and an eligible daughter of high status, namely one resembling Rodrigo's dealings with Count Julian's daughter, are transferred onto the figure of Queen Teresa who is responsible for this union, leaving Fernán's innocence intact and further substantiating his function as a corrective counterpart to the last Visigothic king. The possible threat women pose for Christian leaders is here evoked through the language and structural features related to the female characters, such as the polyptoton in 'ditada', 'ditado', which mimics her deceit. The first instance of the word relates the fact that the letter

¹¹⁰[The Devil moved quickly to show her the deceit: the Queen pledged the Count the betrothal of a bride: that the war might be over she would give him her niece, for much harm would result, were this medicine not taken. The Count thus considered that he would marry well, and quickly consented, being happy to accept. The Queen then sent word to the kingdom of Navarre: a letter dictated with a mendacious dictation.]

was written, while the second reveals that it was actually written with false words, 'con falso ditado', which replicates the sense of betrayal, especially since the postponement of the second phrase heightens the associated sense of surprise. The slippage here arguably reflects the danger the queen poses for Fernán, and gestures towards the more general ambiguity of female figures and sexual desire for Christian leaders in the existing narratives.¹¹¹ Moreover, in this case, the queen's treachery is described in spiritual terms, in line with the tone of the poem: it is the devil, 'el diablo', who is behind her deceit, 'engaño'. This suggests that her actions are on the same scale of spiritual waywardness as Witiza's sons' treacherous behaviour, the destruction of the Visigothic defences, and Muslim power, all of which are similarly associated with the devil in 41bcd, 68b and 382cd respectively. These parallels are borne out by the events that follow: her actions have similarly serious consequences for the Christian realm, as they lead to the count's imprisonment and the disastrous separation of the Castilian forces from their leader.¹¹² As such, it is already in the first reference to the hero's marriage that the count's own characteristic innocence and passivity in romantic and sexual contexts is established, which in turn substantiates the contrastive model of behaviour he presents in relation to Rodrigo; it also transfers agency to other figures, which further supports his characterisation as a leader who is unlikely to pursue a lady and seek out sexual pleasure. Furthermore, this first reference to matrimony shows Queen Teresa as representative of the potential threat posed by women for the stability of a Christian realm. The episodes that follow this first discussion of marriage not only underscore Fernán's passivity, they also show how Sancha's own agency in restoring the count to his men serves as a corrective response to Queen Teresa's destabilising presence in this scene and later episodes, and more generally to the possibility of error that female figures present to

¹¹¹See also Weiss, 'Mester', pp. 177-8.

¹¹²The queen's actions continue to be described in diabolical terms during a similarly precarious episode later in the poem in which tensions rise between León and Castile: 'sopo lo reina e tovo s' por guarida, | y avia el diablo muy grand tela ordida' (736bc). ['The Queen found out, and thought her aim achieved; the Devil had spun a vast web in this affair.']

Christian leaders. Sancha's behaviour constitutes a normative model of female behaviour that mitigates against the suggestion of Fernán's own lust and allows women a constructive, rather than destructive, role in the defence and consolidation of Christian territory.

Fernán's characteristic sexual passivity is evident throughout the episodes involving Sancha, even when the primary focus rests on other characters. After Queen Teresa, it is the count of Lombardy who next takes the initiative in the matter of Sancha and Fernán's marriage, albeit without any of the deceit that formed part of the queen's machinations. From the outset the count is characterised by very different traits, which suggests his role as an intermediary is an inverted version, or even a separate corrective response to Queen Teresa's own interventions; indeed, it is tempting to see both characters as differing inflections of the archetypal go-between found in courtly poetry and Classical love elegy. The count is introduced as a man on a pilgrimage, or 'romeria', on the way to 'Santiago' (613 bd), and is not dissuaded from his mission by his dealings with Fernán and his lady, but continues his journey after he has spoken to Sancha, 'Despedió se el conde, con todo fue su via, | fue se pora Santiago, conplio su romeria' (628ab). Christian service and religious fervour so frame the count's efforts to bring the hero and heroine together, which provides a new, pious context for the future union of the hero and the princess that preempts any suggestion of sin or lust, and endows their relations with an initial suggestion of chastity that will later characterise their relationship more strongly. Moreover, in brokering the marriage between the protagonists through his long speech to Sancha, he underscores Fernán's own passivity, which is evident at the most fundamental level through his imprisonment; this again mitigates against any suggestion of sexual agency on the hero's part. In addition, the count outlines a new model of female behaviour that allows the princess to play a constructive role in the hero's military mission:

'Dueña sin piedat e sin buen conosçer,
de fazer bien o mal tu tienes el poder:
si al conde non quieres tu de muerte estorçer,

aver se ha Castiella por tu culpa a perder.

Fazes muy grand ayuda a los pueblos paganos,
ca les quitava este a todos pies e manos;
tuelles muy grand esfuerço a todos los cristianos,
por ende andan los moros alegres e *loçanos*

[...]

Si tu con este conde podiesses ser casada,
tener te ian las dueñas por bien aventurada,
de todos los d'España serias mucho onrada:
;nunca fiziera dueña tan buena cavalgada!

Si tu eres de sentido, esto es lo mejor;
si tu nunca oviste de caverro amor,
mas debes amar este que non enperado:
non ha *omne* en el mundo de sus armas mejor.' (623-627)¹¹³

Here it is not the hero but his friend who plays the active role in a romantic context, acting almost as his proxy in wooing the lady. Here he begs the lady for 'amor', or love, and presents arguments for her to enter into marriage 'podiesses ser casada'. In acting as the hero's substitute, in not such a dissimilar way from Minaya in the *CMC*, the count frees the hero from any possible hints of sexual aggressiveness while negotiating marriage to a beautiful young woman, 'fermoza donzella' who is not without extraordinary appeal, as the count himself recognises, 'vio tan apuesta cosa que era maraviella', and whose outstanding feminine beauty is given special emphasis through the rhyming positions of 'donzella' and 'maraviella' and result clause introduced by 'tan' (621ab).¹¹⁴ Moreover, he here outlines an alternative course of action for Sancha that will allow her to undo the destabilising effects of her initial marriage arrangements, as undertaken by another female figure, Teresa. So far, he

¹¹³["Lady with no pity, or proper understanding, you have it in your hands to do good or do ill: should you not be willing to free the Count from death, then Castile is to be lost, and yours the fault. You are giving great assistance to the pagan peoples, for this man stripped all of them of feet and of hands; you are robbing all the Christians most dearly of valour, which leaves the Moorish soldiers full of joy and pride. [...] f you could be joined to this count in marriage, all ladies would reckon you favoured by Fortune; the people of Spain would all do you much honour; no lady would have ever done so noble an act. If you have good sense, this path is the best; if no knight has ever made you see him with love, you must love this man above any emperor; no man in the world can outmatch him in arms."]

¹¹⁴The diction here echoes the earlier references to the 'donzellas hermosas' taken by the Muslim enemy in 105b, which underscores the corrective function of the episodes involving Sancha; as shown below, the heroine's ability to fend off sexual aggression is a counteracting response to the earlier violence suffered implicitly by Julian's daughter and explicitly by Christian women in the subsequent period of oppression.

argues, the princess has only had a negative effect on the hero: as someone without piety, 'piedad', or understanding, 'conosçer', she aids, rather than injures, the enemy and gives the 'pueblos paganos' and 'moros', substantial help, 'muy grand ayuda' and cause for celebration, 'por ende andan' 'alegres', by being the reason for the hero's separation from his forces. Nevertheless, the count offers her the possibility of correcting this by arguing that she has the power, 'poder', to help or hinder the hero, 'de fazer bien o mal', which is perhaps representative of the more general constructive or destructive potential of female figures for Christian leaders. This indication of Sancha's exclusive power to decide the hero's fate at this point is later substantiated by the speech made by her lady-in-waiting, who argues that she alone, 'vos sola', can free the count, and allow him to escape 'el podría escapar', should she so wish it, 'e si vos *lo* quisiessedes' (630cd); here the whole dependency of the hero's survival on Sancha is underscored by the use of the imperfect subjunctive in the conditional clause: the posited events involving his salvation will come to pass if, and only if, Sancha wishes it. In this case, however, the Count of Lombardy not only establishes the fundamental role that Sancha will play in freeing Fernán and Castile, both physically and symbolically, he also preempts any suggestions of sexual aggression in the hero by acting as proxy for Fernán, and so further informs Sancha's characterisation as a corrective model of female behaviour who aids the hero rather than distracts him through the prospect of indulging in sinful lust.

Sancha's fundamental and corrective role in the consolidation of the Christian realm, as well as the associated preservation of its leader, has an additional spiritual dimension, which would seem to be in line with the tone of the poem. The whole protection of the Christian realm is seen to depend on Sancha's actions: if she does not save Fernán from death, 'de muerte', Castile will be lost 'aver se' 'perder' through her fault, 'por tu culpa'. The connotations of 'perder' and 'culpa' within the economy of the poem aligns her temporarily with the other instances of loss of Christian power already related in the narrative, such as the main Visigothic defeat, 'como la perderion | nuestros antecessores (3ab), and the spiritual

reasons behind it, such as those discussed above. These include: Rodrigo's sin of lust, 'por culpa *en que era*' (35d), that led him to lose the land 'perdio la tierra' (36d); the devil's role, 'volvio lo el diablo', that caused the loss of Spain, 'eso fue el escomienço de España perder' (41cd); and the collective failure to serve God that resulted in the reciprocal loss of divine favour and Christian territory, "nos a Dios falesçiendo [...] hemos *lo nos perdido*" (100ab). The potential for similar spiritual iniquity in Sancha's relationship to the hero is later echoed by her own lady-in-waiting, who argues that if Fernán is left to die in prison, Sancha would be committing a great sin: "si muere de tal guisa, *grand pecado faredes*" (631d). What is posited here is that Sancha's presence in the hero's life offers a similar danger of loss of Christian power through her sin of fault, her 'culpa' or 'pecado', except she, like Fernán, is given the opportunity of redeeming the Christian people: she goes on to restore the Castilian realm by rescuing its representative and consolidates its power by making it possible for its leader to avoid those oblique sins of the past most associated with women. Sancha's sole responsibility for Castile and the count here not only shows the fundamental role women play in the defence of the realm, it also points to how Sancha's representation offers a way for female figures to be written into the narrative of Castilian emancipation in a way that mitigates against the earlier destabilising effects of sexual appeal found explicitly in the chronicles and implicitly in the poem, and integrates love and marriage into the process of Castilian 'nation-building'.

The exchange itself between Sancha and Fernán continues this tendency of integrating the princess into the narrative of Castilian recovery through a threefold corrective characterisation as a positive, non-sexual, and indispensable female figure who facilitates Castilian recovery.¹¹⁵ In addition, like the *CMC*, the episodes involving the female

¹¹⁵Such positive characterisation of a female figure in the *PFG* is adumbrated by Pelayo's discerning daughter, 'Fija de *don Pelayo*, dueña muy enseñada', whose marriage similarly consolidates Christian power as she provides continuity between her father and the new conquests secured by her husband king Alfonso I, 'gano mucha fiera tierra'. See 123-124.

protagonist bear echoes of the *roman courtois*. However, in the *PFG* these are reworked not so much for the specific circumstances of full-scale battle, but within a more general spiritual context that in fact strips the conventions of their more sexual connotations, which is not unlike the reappropriation of courtly tropes at the end of *Gui* and suggestive of a confluence and adaptation of French and European literary tropes at a local level in Spain. These courtly reminiscences are apparent as early as the count of Lombardy's speech, when he uses the argument that Sancha ought to love Fernán more than an emperor because he is the best in the world at wielding arms, which parallels the ethos of Arthurian romances in which the bestowal of a lady's love is predicated on superlative martial prowess: "mas debes amar este que non enperador: | non ha *omne* en el mundo de sus armas mejor" (627d).¹¹⁶

These echoes are also found in Sancha's own speech to Fernán:

'Buen conde – dixo ella... esto faz buen amor,
que tuelle a las dueñas verguença e pavor,
olvidan los parientes por el entendedor,
de lo que ellos se pagan, tienen lo por mucho mejor.

[...]

Si vos luego agora d'aqui salir queredes,
pleito e omenaje en mi mano faredes
que por dueña en el mundo a mi no desaredes,
comigo bendiçiones e missa prenderes.

¹¹⁶The celebrations held for Sancha and Fernán are also reminiscent of similar scenes in *roman courtois*. Compare the description of the festivities in the *PFG* in which there is widespread joy, 'todos grandes e chicos muy grand gozo ovieron', knights show off their skills in military games, 'Alaçavan tabladados todos los cavalleros', and numerous musicians perform there, 'avie y muchas çitulas e muchos *de violeros*' (688d, 689ad), with the description of Gui and Felice's wedding in ll. 7533-54 that is full of 'grant joe' and teems with musicians, 'bons arpeurs e vielurs, | Roturs, gigurs e tympanurs'. These festivities in the *PFG* are arguably more courtly in tone and, like the tournament scenes in the *CMC*, take place in one of the rare instances of peace in a poem mainly concerned with full-scale warfare and the struggle for hegemony between whole kingdoms and creeds. The use of such tropes here and also in the initial interaction between Sancha and Fernán is another indication of how the *PFG* appears to take different discourses, whether from histories, ballads, or romances in this case, and integrate them into a more uniform narrative. Such integration of varied narratives becomes especially patent if we compare these later peaceful scenes of celebrations to the military conflicts throughout the poem and to the initial more historiographical descriptions of the Arab invasion in which there were unions of a very different kind between the Muslim enemy and captured Christian women (105). The proximity of the wedding scenes in the Anglo-Norman romance and this part of the Spanish poem not only points to the inclusion of different discourses in the *PFG*, it also suggests less rigid distinctions between different kinds of narratives during this period and a good degree of borrowing of tropes across genres or languages. The inclusion of such scenes at this point in also suggests the overriding appeal of such descriptions of festivities for contemporary audiences – as for the modern reader.

Si esto non fazedes, en la carçel morredes,
 commo omne sin consejo, nunca d'aqui saldredes;
 vos, mesquino, pensat lo, si buen seso avedes,
 si vos por vuestra culpa atal dueña perdedes.' (635-638)¹¹⁷

Sancha's initial arguments for marriage to the count involve love, or 'amor', which is described as the kind that leads ladies to forget their parents, 'olvidan los parientes', and instead makes them prefer what pleases their lovers much more, 'de lo que ellos se pagan, tienen lo por mucho mejor', suggesting the kind of excessive passion that leads to the reckless abandonment of duty found in the Tristan narratives or even *Gui*.¹¹⁸ However, the possible dangers in this kind of love are mitigated by its description as worthy or noble, 'buen', indicating that her love will only be aid, rather than harm the count. This positive portrayal of love is substantiated by the repetition of 'buen' in the same verse where she first addresses Fernán as 'buen conde', suggesting a moral affinity, rather than a mutual exclusivity, between her love and his ability to uphold his duty as count of Castile. Like Jimena's affect on the Cid's military efforts, Sancha's love will help the hero in his mission to recover and expand his territory. However, where they differ is in the extent of their responsibility for their hero and their particular ability to act on this. Unlike Jimena who remains in the 'alcácer' to watch her beloved, Sancha undertakes a journey to the hero and not only negotiates his rescue, but does this in terms of a relationship and what he can offer her. It is Sancha, and not Fernán, who takes on the part of the Arthurian knight going to the

¹¹⁷["Good Count,' she replied, 'I am brought by true love, which gives ladies release from their shame and their fear; they forget about their parents for the sake of their suitor; for what brings him contentment they have highest regard. [...] If what you desire is to leave this place at once, you will swear your loyalty and homage on my hand, and that you will not leave me, for no lady in the world, but take blessings and the sacrament with me at your side. If you do not do this, in prison you will die; as a man without counsel, you will never leave this place; consider, you wretch, if you have any sense, whether through your fault you will lose such a lady."]

¹¹⁸These potential disadvantages of love are outlined by Herland in *Horn* when he anxiously mulls over Rigmel's request to see the hero:

'Quant veit bea[u] bachelor, de s'amur tost s'esprent,
 E bien tost, ki k'en peist, si l'eime folement,
 Ne-l larreit pur nuli, pur ami ne parent.' (ll. 684-6)

['When a woman sees a good-looking man, love takes over, and soon, no matter the objection, she falls so madly in love that she won't abandon it for anyone, not even a friend or relative.'] *The Romance of Horn*, trans. by Liliana Worth, in *Early Fiction in England*, ed. by Laura Ashe (London: Penguin, 2015).

beloved's aid. Responsibility for initiating a relationship here falls to the female protagonist, which suggests a distinct reworking of courtly conventions usually associated with male character that is here employed to free Fernán from any suggestion of his own romantic advances in line with his corrective characterisation.

Moreover, Sancha's speech shows the extent to which a relationship will become an inextricable part of the count's successful recovery of Castilian power. His freedom, and that of the realm, is completely predicated on his agreeing to marry her: if he wants to escape, 'aquí salir queredes', he must promise to marry and receive blessings with her, 'comigo bendición e missa prenderes', otherwise he will die in prison, 'en la carçel morredes'. Sancha's own power is highlighted by the string of conditionals she employs, 'faredes', 'desaredes', 'morredes', 'prenderes', 'saldredes', 'perdedes', all of which are highlighted by their rhyming position in the verses and reflect the precariousness of his situation, as well as the total control she holds over his future. In stark contrast to the helpless Fernán, Sancha holds the exclusive power to explain the different alternatives before him and offer him the opportunity to escape. The fact that Sancha makes marriage the non-negotiable part of their future interaction produces several effects: it shows Sancha's initiative in romantic contexts; it indicates that their relationship is based on more than sexual attraction, which they could have indulged without marriage, as suggested by the later archpriest episode; and it also indicates that Fernán must marry, if he wants to survive and continue in his mission to recover Castilian power and God's favour. Moreover, the presentation of their relationship as both valid and necessary is also endowed here with an additional spiritual dimension, which continues the theme of piety in their interaction first established by the religious figure of the Count of Lombardy and later by princess's lady-in-waiting: if the hero were to refuse Sancha and lose such a lady Sancha, 'atal dueña perdedes', it would be through his 'culpa', which within the economy of the narrative suggests that his failure to secure the princess would be tantamount to sin. This again underpins the representation of the hero's relationship with

Sancha as spiritually beneficial, rather than destructive, for him and the realm, and the way courtly and spiritual language is adapted to write female figures into the narrative of Castilian salvation as necessary and beneficial participants.

When read alongside earlier romances, such as *Eneas* and *Horn* in which the female protagonists are condemned for their sexual assertiveness, the initiative displayed by the Spanish heroine is shown more clearly to be a fundamental part of her positive characterisation that preempts the suggestion of sexual advances on Fernán's part and allows his spiritual and pious integrity to remain intact, in contrast to his Visigothic predecessor. Dido, for example, is characterised by her eagerness to indulge her desire for the hero:

Estes les vous touz seulz ensamble,
 cil fait de li que bon li samble,
 ne li fait mie trop grant force
 ne la roïne ne s'estorce,
 tout li consent sa volenté
 piece a que l'avoit desire. (ll. 1604-9)¹¹⁹

Rather than resisting his advances, 'ne li fait mie trop grant force', which within the economy of the poem is the normative path for female figures, Dido gives the hero, somewhat euphemistically, everything he wishes, 'tout li consent sa volenté', not necessarily because it is what he wants, but because she has desired this for a long time, 'piece a que l'avoit desire'. Despite the momentary happiness this offers, Dido's proactive behaviour is systematically rebutted through the corrective model in Lavine who shows no such initiative.¹²⁰ In *Horn* Rigmel's advances towards the hero are similarly emphasised and undermined: after using all her cunning to contrive a meeting with Horn, she offers herself to him and asks to make a

¹¹⁹[Here are the two of them together. He does with her what he wishes, nor does he use very much force at all, nor does the queen resist: she consents to him with all her will for she has long desired him.] Note that the mention of 'force' here carries connotations of rape, suggesting an expectation of sexual aggression from leaders such as Eneas – like Rodrigo. Dido's transgression here relies on this convention. Citations are taken from *Le Roman d'Eneas*, ed. by Aimé Petit (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1997); the translation is taken from *Eneas: A Twelfth-Century French Romance*, trans. by John A. Yunck (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974).

¹²⁰For an overview of the differences between the Vergilian original and the medieval romance, see Yunck, *Eneas*, pp. 1-54. On the corrective model of behaviour offered by Lavine see Barbara Nolan, 'Ovid's *Heroides* Conceptualized: Foolish Love and Legitimate Marriage in the *Roman d'Eneas*', *Mediaevalia*, 13 (1987), 157-187.

pact of love, both of which he refuses:

'Beaus amis,' dist Rigmel, 'ne-l ferez autrement.
 Je vus met joe mun cors, mun avoir en present.
 Pernez en a pleisir solunc vostre talent,
 K'a deprendre en aiez, quant voldrez, largemt,
 E d'amur si façun itiel aliement
 Quë autre n'amerez en tut vostre vivent
 Fors mei, taunt cum vers vus me tenrai lealment.'
 'Bele,' çoe respunt Horn, 'ne-l fereië néent
 Si ne fust par le rei, en ki conseillement
 Me sui mis, pus ke vinc en sun meintement.' (ll. 1181-1190)¹²¹

The women in both *Eneas* and *Horn* female protagonists are criticised for their independent efforts to secure the hero's affections outside male networks of power and their open display of desire, which stands in some contrast to the treatment of the heroine in the *PGF*.¹²² In this passage, the censure of Rigmel's initiative to offer herself for his pleasure, 'Pernez en a pleisir', and secure promises of steadfast love, 'Quë autre n'amerez', is conveyed through the negative response relayed by the hero, who is characteristically perfect throughout the poem and so offers a normative model of behaviour, here related the importance of heeding the king in such matters, 'Si ne fust part le rei'. This contravenes with Rigmel's actions and so indicates their perverseness. Moreover, the similar diction in their address paradoxically underscores the difference in their attitudes to love: Rigmel's 'Beaus amis' and 'ne-l ferez autrement' is met by Horn's 'Bele' and 'ne-l fereië néent'. The passage makes Sancha's own initiative all the more distinctive. Like Rigmel, she goes to the count and speaks of 'amor', demanding identical promises of love from the hero, 'pleito e omenaje en mi mano faredes | que por dueña en el mundo a mi no desaredes', as discussed above. Even though Rigmel's failure to refer to marriage makes her behaviour more unorthodox than that shown by

¹²¹['Dear friend,' said Rigmel, 'do not do otherwise. I offer you my body and my possessions for you to have now. Take them for your pleasure, and do what you wish. Spend them at your leisure, as you like, liberally. And let's make a pact of love that you will love no other woman but me for as long as you live, so long as I am faithful to you.' 'Fair lady,' replied Horn, 'I won't do anything that isn't through the king, whose advice I have taken ever since I came into his protection.'] Worth, 'Horn'.

¹²²On the possible reasons for this normative representation of women's desire in these romances see: Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*; Marilyn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 100-1.

Sancha, it is still significant that the Leonese princess is not censured for a similar show of independence or for her initiative to secure her beloved without any reference to a king or other male figure of power.

Moreover, Sancha's behaviour is shown to be similarly independent and effusive even before she goes to the count and bargains with him.

'Quiero contra el conde una cosa fazer:
al su fuerte amor dexar me yo vençer,
quiero me aventurar e ir me lo yo ver,
todo mi coraçon fazer le he entender.' (633)

Like her Anglo-Norman counterparts, she shows a willingness to give herself over, 'dexar me yo vençer', to his love, 'al su fuerte amor'. This eagerness is matched by her proactive decision to go to see him, 'ir me lo yo ver', and relate her feelings, 'mi coraçon', directly to him, 'fazer le he entender'. Such boldness is also substantiated by her declaration that she wants to seek him out, 'quiero me aventurar', which is possibly a reference to its French cognate 'aventure', one of the characteristic concerns of the *roman courtois*, found in the prologue to *Erec* where the poet announces he will fashion a 'un conte d'aventure' and across similar European texts; it appears frequently in borrowed form throughout contemporary German narratives, such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and *Willehalm*, where it is personified and addressed by the narrator: 'âventiure, also dû mich mans' (I. 55.10).¹²³ In Spanish material the same reflexive verb form employed in the *PGF*, 'aventurarse', is found in the contemporary *Alexandre* of the same poetic form, where Darius declares he wants to take a risk, 'quiérome aventurar' (1696c), which suggests that the word had similar

¹²³As you remind me, Adventure', in *Willehalm*. See *Erec* l. 13. On the frequency of this foreign loan word and its variants in *Willehalm* see Jürgen Vordestemann, *Die Fremdwörter im „Willehalm“ Wolframs von Eschenbach* (Göppingen: A. Kümmerle, 1974), pp 39-41. See also *Parzival*, where the author engages in a long dialogue with the personification in IX. 433.1-434.10. On 'vrou Âventiure' see Linda Parshall, *The Art of Narration in Wolfram's 'Parzival' and Albrecht's 'Jüngerer Titurel'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 169-171. The use of this word is common throughout Gottfried's *Tristan* and also found in *Iwein*. On a different point, it is notable that *Willehalm* is introduced by a long prayer that spans over 57 lines (see I.1.1-I.2.27ff) and is not found in its source material of *Aliscans*, which approximates it to the *PGF* with its similar concerns in the prologue. Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I.1-49.

connotations of enterprise and audacity.¹²⁴ In embracing risk, 'quiero me aventurar', the Spanish heroine of the *PFG* explicitly acts with the same boldness usually reserved for male counterparts such as Alexander or his esteemed adversary Darius, which again suggests she takes more of an active role than usually prescribed to her gender.¹²⁵ The diction in her speech underlines this distinctive independence of spirit, as the generous use of reflexives and first person pronouns in 'me', 'me', 'me', 'yo', and even the possessive adjective, 'mi', underscores her own agency and characteristic willingness to take the initiative. In the *PFG* then, dynamism is presented a normative quality in the female protagonist, rather than a transgression of a gender role, as in *Horn* or *Eneas*.

Indeed, the differences between the prescribed behaviour for Sancha and figures such as Rigmel are made particularly evident by the contrast in the parallel dialogues between the heroines and the minor characters who wait on them. In *Horn* Herselot, the lady-in-waiting whom Rigmel loves, 'Herselot, joe t'aim mut kar tu es [ja] m'amie' (l. 707),¹²⁶ warns her mistress against being too hasty in her efforts to arrange a meeting with Horn through the seneschal: 'Si savra qu'amez Horn e de plus demurra [...] Par le conseil de lui Horn ne vus amera' (ll. 1033-34a).¹²⁷ Moreover, her voice is just one of a whole chorus who make it plain that Rigmel's independent and enterprising behaviour is imprudent, which substantiates the normative passive role assigned to the female protagonist.¹²⁸ In contrast, Sancha's dynamism is encouraged, rather than undermined, by supporting figures, such as the Count of

¹²⁴["I want to take a chance."] Earlier, a young Alexandre is described as seeking adventures in a manner reminiscent of an Arthurian knight: 'fue buscar aventuras, su esfuerço provar' (127b). ['He set out to seek adventure and prove his valour.'] On the use of this word in the thirteenth century refer to *Diccionario*, pp. 458-9. It also appears in the later prose romance, *Amadís de Gaula*, which drew on Chrétien as one of its sources and gave rise to *Don Quixote*. On Arthurian romance, *Amadís* and Cervantes see, for example, Edwin Williamson, *The Half-Way House of Fiction: Don Quixote and Arthurian Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), esp. pp. 37-69 and 90-110.

¹²⁵Moreover, Darius' risk-taking leads to his downfall since he knowingly places too much trust in the treacherous Nabarzanes and Bessus; as such, Sancha surpasses the emperor by managing her risky enterprises better and successfully restoring Fernán to his men.

¹²⁶['Herselot, I love you dearly because you are my friend.'] 'Horn', trans. by Worth.

¹²⁷['He'll know that you love Horn and delay all the more [...] Horn will never love you by his advice.'] 'Horn', trans. by Worth.

¹²⁸Haderof in ll. 824-5 and Horn himself in ll. 1155-1157; cf. Herland's thoughts in ll. 666-7.

Lombardy, as discussed above. Herselot's counterpart, Sancha's own beloved lady-in-waiting, 'una de sus dueñas que ella mucho queria' (628d), gives her mistress the inverse advice when she tells her to go to the count, 'que vayades al conde', and help him, 'no lo deanparedes' (631bc). Moreover, this exhortation to go to Fernán is couched in spiritual language, which continues the trend established by the Count of Lombardy: not only does she argue that her failure to save him from death, 'si muere de tal guisa', would be a great sin, 'grand pecado' (631bcd), as described above, she also appeals to Sancha's sense of piety, 'por la fe que devedes', and relates that she has been the subject of Fernán's prayer, 'contra vos a Dios a querellar', which suggests that their interaction is mediated through God, not unlike that of Felice and the hero towards the end of *Gui*. Sancha's dynamism is therefore not only underscored as correct and necessary through other characters, it is repeatedly endowed with a spiritual dimension that allows Sancha and Fernán's emerging romantic relationship to be integrated into the narrative of Castilian redemption in a way that facilitates the preservation of God's favour for the Christian realm, rather than endangers it, as in the chronicles.

Two further episodes add to Sancha's characterisation as an active female figure who plays a fundamental role in the count's survival, the protection of the realm, and the hero's characterisation as a corrective model of Christian leadership. The episode relating the interaction between the couple and the lecherous archpriest appears almost wholly contrived to underscore the lack of lustful tendencies in Fernán through the contrastive example of the 'arçipreste malo' (646c) and as such forms an integral part of his corrective characterisation.¹²⁹ While the hero is characterised by a complete lack of physical drive that

¹²⁹Other scholars have, on the other hand, seen this episode as gratuitous, with which I disagree: 'La aventura podría perfectamente eliminarse del poema, ya que no altera en lo más mínimo la secuencia del mismo [...] El autor, o la tradición original que va elaborando el poema en su etapa juglaresca, introduce este sabroso episodio que casi parece un entremés cervantino'. See, Fernando de Toro-Garland, 'El arçipreste, protagonista literario del medievo español. El caso del 'Mal Arcipreste' del *Fernán González*', in *El Arcipreste de Hita: el libro, el autor, la tierra, la época. Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, ed. by M. Criado de Val (Barcelona: S.E.R.E.S.A., 1973), pp. 327-36 (p. 328). As I show, however, the episode is far from an interlude of light entertainment: it forms an essential part of the poem's arguments addressing the destabilising effects of lasciviousness, which becomes clear once the

leaves him unable to walk, 'non podia andar', or help Sancha, 'a la dueña non podia ayudar,' the evil archpriest is all too easily spurred on by his bodily impulses: in exchange for their protection, he demands that the count to let him have his way with Sancha, "Conde, si tu quieres que sea en poridat, | dexa me con la dueña conplir mi voluntad" (643c, 656a, 649d); and he moves all too quickly to embrace Sancha, 'con sus braços abiertos iva se la abraçar', the tautology in which suggests an overeagerness or lack of control over his physical impulses. In these negotiations it is sex, rather than marriage, that is demanded in exchange for security, which makes the scene a curious and subversive doubling of the preceding discussion between Sancha and Fernán and so highlights the relative purity of the relationship between the two protagonists. The scene with the archpriest also serves as a test of Sancha's chastity and her ability to ward off unwanted sexual advances. Her successful evasion of the archpriest's attempted rape retrospectively underscores the lack of such aggression from Fernán, particularly when she so willingly went to the hero. Her successful resistance also forms part of Sancha's corrective function insofar as it offers a counteractive response to the earlier sexual violence suffered by Christian women under Muslim rule in the *PGF* who, as 'donzellas hermosas', were defined in similar terms of beauty and purity as the princess (105b). Sancha's ability to defend herself against sexual violence symbolises a new phase in Castilian recovery in which women no longer suffer the male aggression related both to earlier Christian oppression and associated with the last Visigothic kings in both the chronicles and the poem.

Moreover, when the archpriest scene is read alongside earlier romances, it is possible to discern echoes of similar tests undergone by courtly heroines which are here employed to substantiate Sancha's distinctive, corrective role; this again suggests the adaptations of widespread literary tropes for a local, Spanish audience.¹³⁰ Like Enide who in *Erec* refuses a

poem is read within a broader historiographical context.

¹³⁰Cf. de Toro-Garland, 'El arcipreste'; he argues that the archpriest character is an adaptation of a stock figure

count inflamed with desire for her while her beloved lies comatose, Sancha undergoes a test of her chastity and fidelity to Fernán while he is incapacitated and unable to help her.¹³¹

Where she differs, however, is that she is able to defend herself from similarly lustful advances with minimal help from her own weakened beloved who is in chains:

La dueña fue hartera escontra el coronado:
 "Açipreste, ¿que quieres?; yo lo fare de grado;
 por end' nos nos perdremos tamos e el condado,
 mas vale que ayunemos todos tres el pecado."

[...]

Quando el açipreste ovo a questo oido,
 ovo grand alegría, tovo se por guarido,
 verguença non avia el falso descreido:
 confonder cuido a otro, mas el fue confundido.

[...]

La infante doña Sancha, dueña tan mesurada,
 "nunca omne *nado* vio dueña tan esforçada"
travo l'a la boruca, dio le una *grand tirada*,
 dixo *le*: 'Don traidor, de ti sere vengada.'" (651, 653, 655)¹³²

This scene performs several different functions: it provides further evidence of Sancha's initiative, explicitly establishes the iniquity of lustful behaviour, and underscores the relative chastity of both Sancha and Fernán. In the first case, the heroine's dynamism is made evident by the manner in which she takes charge of the conversation with the archpriest, who had previously been speaking with Fernán (649cd). Unlike the hero who is overwhelmed by the situation, 'non serie mas quexado que si l' dieran lançada', Sancha remains calm, acting as if she will give the archpriest what he wants, 'hartera', and interrupts the exchange between the hero and antagonist and then actively engages the archpriest, first by addressing him,

from a long-standing popular tradition.

¹³¹See *Erec* ll. 4704-19.

¹³²[In speaking to the tonsured priest, the lady was artful: 'Archpriest, to your desire I will willingly conform, for thus we shall lose neither each other nor the county; it is better that all three of us atone for the sin.' [...]
 When the archpriest had heard what she wanted to say, he was joyful at having emerged from this well; the false unbeliever was devoid of all shame; he thought to trick another, but the trick was on him. [...]
 Princess Sancha, a lady of judgment so measured – no man has ever seen so courageous a lady – took him by the beard and threw him down hard, saying, 'Traitor, on you I will have vengeance.']

'Açipreste', and secondly by demanding his attention more forcefully with a question, '¿que quieres?' Her initiative is then matched by the violence she directs at him, 'dio le una *grand tirada*' and her harsh avowal that she will avenge herself, 'Don traidor, de ti sere vengada', which she then carries out, indicating an ability to match her words with real actions. Once again, in contrast to Dido, Rigmel, or even Enide, her aggression is not condemned or shown as excessive, but presented as praiseworthy and appropriate, 'dueña tan mesurada'. Moreover, her masterful control of the situation is underscored through the prevalent irony in the scene. She lies to the archpriest, for example, telling him she will do, "yo lo fare", whatever he wants, the irony of which is underscored by the addition of "de grado", as this is far from what she would willingly do. Moreover, this irony is carried through by the anaphora in 'confonder cuido a otro, mas el fue confondido', which underscores both his own self-delusion, as well as Sancha's complete mastery over him. Furthermore, the irony in this scene arises from more than just its internal features. When read within the wider context of the second part of the poem, the whole episode can be read as an ironic inversion or duplication of Sancha's earlier dealings with Fernán. In both cases Sancha bargains and offers herself, while the protagonist and antagonist articulate almost identical responses that indicate they both thought they as good as had what they needed: 'Quando esto oyo el conde, tovo se por guarido' (639a); 'Quando el açipreste ovo aquesto oido' 'tovo se por guarido'. The specific repetition of 'guarido' in the two separate responses to Sancha's interventions highlights the absurd gratuitousness of the archpriest's desires: it is implied that enjoying Sancha sexually is as necessary for him as it is for Fernán to escape prison and be saved from death. Slight alterations underscore his irrational desires: the archpriest's response is slightly extended, as he also shows 'grand alegria' at Sancha's apparent acquiescence, which again heightens the irony of his outrageous expectations. Such superficial similarities in the episodes, including Sancha's second display of negotiation skills, shore up the essential differences in the two sets of interactions between the female and male figures: in the first

scene, the protagonist is motivated by pragmatic considerations, namely to escape, and Sancha offers herself exclusively in terms of marriage; in this second scene, the antagonist is motivated by gratuitous lust and Sancha appears to offer herself willingly without any thought for marriage. The result is the strong condemnation of the indulgence of lustful appetites outside the proper context of political and pragmatic considerations, namely of the kind that were understood to have been displayed by king Rodrigo towards Julian's daughter in the existing narratives.

The condemnation of such lustful behaviour is established further through the description of the archpriest's lack of shame, '*verguença non avia*', suggesting a contrastive normative model of behaviour that he fails to follow, through which he would have actually shown restraint, like Fernán. Most significantly, and in line with the tone of the poem, the condemnation of such behaviour is substantiated through the use of spiritual language to describe its waywardness, most obvious in Sancha's remark that the proposed union is a sin or '*pecado*'. The archpriest is also described as a '*falso descreido*', or false believer, which not only points to his lack of Christian piety, it also suggests that desiring a union with Sancha without the proper marital arrangements he is treating her lightly and acting in the very manner that Fernán earlier swore against doing with reference to God: '*Quien d'esto vos falliere sea de Dios fallido | fallisca de la vida com' falso descreido*' (640ab). This again underscores their contrastive roles. Moreover, the diction in '*descreido*' aligns the archpriest with the Muslim enemy in the poem, who are described as '*descreidos*' or through its polytonic variants in 117c, 166d, 232c.¹³³ Lustful behaviour is therefore presented as equally antithetical to proper Christian worship. More generally, the description of the archpriest's iniquity in spiritual terms positions his actions in line with other instances of unholy deeds in the narrative, such as the treacherous behaviour of Witiza's sons and Queen Teresa, the levelling of Visigothic defences, and the Muslim enemy, all of which are

¹³³Cf. 60b, spoken by the duped Rodrigo.

specifically associated with the devil in 41bcd, 583a, 68b, 382cd respectively.¹³⁴ Not only do these share the same spiritual waywardness, they all pose threats to the survival of the Christian realm and its leader. It is significant that the archpriest forms part of this discourse. In addition to the suggestions of his spiritual failures, he is characterised by treachery: successive descriptions of him as a 'traidor' are found in 656d and 657a; Sancha calls him 'Don traidor' directly (again ironically given her own deceit), and explicitly articulates the risk his desires pose for the Christian realm of Castile, 'por end' non nos perdremos [...] el condado'. When read in isolation, it is possible to interpret these phrases relating to his treachery and to his spiritual failures as conventional. However, when read in the context of the aforementioned threats to the Castile, the common use of spiritual language and the specific reference to the 'condado' make the archpriest's lustful behaviour a further example of dangers affecting the very survival of the Christian realm. The episode may be interpreted as the poem's implicit intertextual censure of the notorious lasciviousness that so explicitly undermined Iberian Christendom in earlier and contemporary chronicles. In this vein, the spiritual language in this episode also aligns it with the penitential suffering that is necessary within the economy of the narrative for the redemption of the Christian realm. The scene is introduced as another instance of the kind of wretchedness experienced under Arab rule and discussed above: 'veredes quanta coita les quera Dios dar' (645b). The implication is that the archpriest's intervention stands as another spiritual trial, this time specifically sexual in kind, that the Christian leader and his beloved must overcome to regain God's favour. Their success suggests that this episode too forms part of the corrective or redemptive function of the second part of the poem in which Fernán, and in this case Sancha, continually addresses and avoids the errors of the past that threatened Christian power both inter- and intratextually. The princess's successful efforts to ward off sexual aggression from the archpriest antagonist with very little help from her beloved become more than a display of

¹³⁴See Queen Teresa's depiction in 583a.

her chastity and strength, in which she echoes and surpasses courtly heroines who undergo similar tests, such as Enide or Fenice in *Cligés*. Instead, widespread courtly tropes are reworked within a stronger spiritual discourse to distance the rising Spanish leader from the remotest suggestion of the sexual aggression or proclivity towards lasciviousness that received so much emphasis in Christian historiography. As such, the couple's cutting down of the archpriest, 'su cuchiello en la mano ovo a ellos llegar | ovieron le entramos al traidor de matar' (656cd), may not only be read as an indication of their ability to overcome trials and defend their newly-formed identity as a couple, or as their successful resolution of a recurring literary and historiographical problem of erotic temptation outside marriage, but also the symbolic excising of sinful lust, here represented by the archpriest, from the narrative of Castilian supremacy and identity.¹³⁵ Like the count of Lombardy before him who acts as proxy for Fernán and takes on the romantic responsibility in courting Sancha, the archpriest character acts as a kind of a parallel substitute for the hero, albeit a perverse one, who serves to preserve the hero's spiritual integrity by providing a focal point in which all possible sexual connotations arising from the hero's new union with Sancha are concentrated instead. Such a scapegoat is perhaps particularly expedient in this scene, as he serves to expel the stronger erotic undertones arising from the couple's furtive, solitary journey into the woods by night, which is similar to those undertaken by lovers such as Tristan and Iseut, 'vieron un monte espesso, fueron se asconder, | e overion allí la noche atender' (644cd).¹³⁶ The archpriest figure provides the sole explicit outlet for sexual allusions

¹³⁵To go further, the archpriest's death could be interpreted as the symbolic excision of the popular, folkloric forms from a new 'sen peccado' narrative of the *mester de clerecía*. If he is taken as a version of a stock figure from an older tradition, as argued by Toro-Garland, then his death is a metatextual symbol of the eradication of rougher, more popular tropes in the more self-consciously erudite and authoritative *PFG*, if indeed such a clear-cut division can be made. In this way, the archpriest's death could be seen as the poem's expunging not only of the ubiquitous topos of royal and clerical lust in earlier and contemporary chronicles, but also of narratives of a less erudite nature from oral tradition. However, such an opposition between the folkloric, oral tradition on the one hand, and the learned *mester de clerecía* narratives on the other is not unproblematic, especially since some material is found in both forms, such as Julian's betrayal which appears in both ballads and in the *PFG*. On the problems of making such strict delineations see Deyermond, 'Mester'.

¹³⁶In Bérout's version they leave the court following king Mark's efforts to punish their adultery and live

in the narrative, both intra- or intertextual, and so functions as a kind of scapegoat for the lustful behaviour associated with past Christian leaders whose death symbolises the complete purging of this sin from the new Castilian countship and facilitates a more positive integration of female figures into the narrative of Christian Iberian political and spiritual supremacy.

The extent of this integration and Sancha's depiction as an essential participant in the consolidation of Castilian power is at its clearest in the episode describing Fernán's return to his forces.¹³⁷ The men not only receive her as their lady as they go to kiss her hand, 'Fueron besar las manos todos a su señora' (683a), they also hail her in a manner suggesting that she, like Fernán, is the redeemer of Castile:

"Fiziestes nos merçed, nunca otra tal oviemos,
quanto bien nos fiziestes, contar non lo sabriemos;
...
si non fuera por vos, cobrar non lo podriemos.

intimately together in the forest for some time: 'En la forest de Morrois sont, | La nuit jurent desor un mont'; 'Sor son ami dormir se vot [...] eisi font longuement | En la forest parfondement' (ll. 1275-6; 1302-4). ['In the forest of Morrois they slept that night on a hillock'; 'She wanted to go to sleep in her lover's arms [...] long did they lead such a life in the forest.'] Moreover, Iseut later identifies their love as a sin, "ce fu pechiez", for which the hermit Ogrin counsels repentance: 'L'ermite Ogrins molt les sarmone, | Du repentir conseil lor done' (ll. 1393-4). ['The hermit Ogrin preached to them at great length and advied them to repent.'] When read alongside the lovers' behaviour in the *PGF*, this episode suggests the similar potential for sin in the relationship between Sancha and Fernán, especially given their parallel clandestine activity in the woods that suggests similar sexual possibilities for their own extra-marital interaction. Intertextually the hermit scene in *Tristan* also adumbrates the sinful dimension of the lovers' relationship in *Gui*, which the hero must then expiate through a penitential pilgrimage and a change in his motivation for knightly deeds. Together the *Tristan* episode and Gui's relationship with Felice contrastively show how the love between Sancha and Fernán is of a different, chaster kind for which no explicit penitence is needed, although it is by no means free from erotic connotations. What matters, it seems, is that the new lovers refrain from indulging any lust, even when the opportunities are very much present. For example, the sexual potential in their pre-marital relations is patent when the couple share a close physical intimacy in the scene where Sancha carries Fernán on her back before they enter the woods (643cd). This is especially the case if their interaction is read alongside Tristan's ruse to carry Iseut on his back over a mire, a description which is itself brimming with sexual connotations that are later substantiated by Iseut herself. See ll. 3824-3955; 4197-4216. As such, the *Tristan* intertext substantiates any initial suggestion of sexual behaviour when Sancha carries Fernán. Moreover, the comparison with Tristan also shows how the roles are reversed in the Spanish narrative, which appears to be consistent with Sancha's characterisation as a second Fernán. Similarly, the couple's presence in woods and the mitigation of erotic connotations through the archpriest they meet there can also be linked to the more general use of extra-societal space in the poem for the protagonist's positive characterisation. For example, Fernán becomes more pious when he leaves society proper and resides at the hermitage of San Pedro de Arlanza. It is here that he understands that God's favour has been bestowed upon him and is assured of future victory. See 226-249 and 392-419. In differing ways then, these three experiences in extra-societal space contribute to his characterisation as a more pious and devout, who both enjoys divine favour and succeeds in avoiding the same sins as his predecessor Rodrigo through whom the Christian realm was lost.

¹³⁷On this scene see Hazbun, 'Female Foundations', p. 31

Sacastes a Castiella de grand cautividat,
fiziestes grand merçed a *toda* cristianidat,
mucho pesar a moros, esto es *la* verdat,
esto vos gradesca el Rey de Magestat."

Todos, ella con ellos, con grand gozo lloravan,
tenian que eran muertos e que resuçitavan;
aquel Rey de los çielos bendezien e laudavan
el llanto fazian en grand goszo tornavan. (684-686)

The men's speech summarises Sancha's defining characteristics that include her role as the *sine qua non* of the Castilians' recovery of lost territory and divine favour. The complete dependence of this recovery on Sancha is once more acknowledged, 'si non fuera por vos', continuing similar arguments made earlier by other characters, as discussed above. This time, however, it is the whole Castilian army who together voice this argument, symbolising a new, widespread and specifically martial recognition of her importance. Sancha's indispensability is now articulated by more than the lone voices of single figures from other parts of society, whether intimate members of the household, like her lady-in-waiting, or unknown members of foreign elites, as represented by the count of Lombardy. This praise now comes in univocal form from the entire warrior section of society, the very backbone of Castile itself, which not only continues the concern in the poem with the wider community, shown above, it also symbolises the constructive relationship between Sancha and the martial concerns of the realm, which is suggested too by their explicit appreciation of the immeasurable good she did them, 'quanto bien nos fiziestes, contar non lo sabriemos'. Through Sancha's distinctive reception as their lady, she becomes a vital part of a communal Castilian military identity, moving beyond other female protagonists such Jimena who does this on an individual level for the Cid or Enide whose official power is only perfunctorily recognised by the wider court.¹³⁸ This indispensability is similarly reflected in the language. For

¹³⁸Jimena mostly provides motivation for the Cid alone. However, the important escort that the Cid arranges for his wife and daughters, reminiscent of a heroic list, suggests that his force's martial efforts can also be motivated by female presence. See ll. 1453-69. Note that his men are rewarded for their military skills in

example, the conditional clause arising from the imperfect subjunctive in 'fuera' and the conditional in 'podríamos' conveys the impossibility of securing recovery without her intervention. The diction in 'cobrar' too makes her part of the overriding loss-and-recovery argument, or exile-and-return theme of the poem, which is described in identical terms throughout and is announced in the prologue: 'commo fueron la tierra perdiendo y cobrando' (5b). As such, Sancha's actions are made a necessary part of the ongoing efforts to recover Visigothic losses for Castile that form the basis of the poem.

Moreover, the language here also shows the widespread recognition of Sancha's importance for the spiritual status of the Christian realm. This is first most patent in the way the men thank God, the 'Rey de los çielos', and praise Him, 'bendezien e laudavan' for the deliverance that Sancha brings about, while also proclaiming that she herself is deserving of His thanks, 'esto vos gradesca'. However, it is the diction in their address that heightens the impression of Sancha as a redeemer for the realm. Their argument that she saved Castile from great oppression, 'Sacastes a Castiella de grand cautividat', again indicates that she saved the whole realm by rescuing their lord, but also posits that she, like Fernán, enjoyed the power to liberate the Christian realm from suffering similar to that experienced under Arab rule where there was also 'cautividat' and downfall, 'muchos eran muertos, muchos cativados' (85b). Moreover, when read in conjunction with the prayers in the poem, the similarities in diction make her appear even more strongly as a figure of redemption. The specific reference to her ability to save them, 'sacastes', is reminiscent of the long, similarly communal, prayer to God made earlier by the Christians under Arab rule with echoes of the conventional *Ordo commendationis animae*, found in 'saqueste a Daniel de entre los leones' (108b).¹³⁹ Fernán also uses similar language when he prays to God for help in freeing

defending Valencia with marriages to the ladies-in-waiting of his household, suggesting that the reinforcing relationship between conquest and women extends to more than the Cid and Jimena. See ll. 1763-7. On Enide's recognition, compare the long description of Erec's crowning with that of his wife, conveyed by a single verse: 'Puis ont Enide coronee' (l. 6879).

¹³⁹These numerous references to liberation are mostly conveyed by 'libraste' or 'valiste', however. See

Castile from suffering, 'que yo saque Castiella del antigo dolor' (185d), 'que yo pueda a Castiella d'esta premia sacar' (571d).¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the men repeatedly refer to her mercy, 'Fiziestes nos merçed', 'Fiziestes grand merçed', which again suggests that she is regarded as a holy being, capable of both of freeing Castile from wretchedness and endowing it with divine favour. As such, Sancha's reception here signals more than her thankful acceptance by the Castilian military as their lady for rescuing their leader. It also indicates that she too is part of the discourse of redemption or 'return' to spiritual favour that pervades the second part of the poem. Here too she serves as a corrective figure, whose characterisation had earlier allowed the recognised past sins of lust to be avoided, and whose intervention here brings such salvation to Castilian society, 'tenian que eran muertos e que resuçitavan', that she is equal to Fernán or Pelayo and possibly even Christ in the way she is addressed. Such transformative power and ability to 'sacar' Castile from suffering is further highlighted by the balanced, contrastive phrasing within single verses in both 'muertos' and 'resuçitavan', and in 'llanto' and 'grand gozos'. Moreover, the dramatic changes instigated by Sancha are also reflected in the difference between her past and present relationship to the Arab enemy. Whereas earlier she abetted them, as the count of Lombardy warned, "andan los moros alegres" (624d), her actions are now recognised as having the opposite effect, "mucho pesar a moros". The men also add that this is true, 'esto es *la* verdat', underscoring the conclusiveness of her once uncertain position. The strong sense of change pervading the passage suggests that Sancha brings about a second dawn in the narrative of Castilian recovery. Indeed, the Castilians' helplessness without Fernán that she rectifies is a doubling of a similar instance of lordless despair occurring between the fall of the Visigoths and the advent of the hero: 'Eran en muy grand coita españoles caidos [...] commo omnes sin señor,

105c, 106abc, 107a, 108c, 109ad. On the prayer in the *CMC* see E. Michael Gerli, 'The *Ordo Commendationis Animae* and the Cid Poet', *Modern Language Notes*, 95.2 (Mar., 1980), 436-441.

¹⁴⁰Note that this is also used in the *Alexandre*, but here the focus is on Greece, rather than Castile, and there is no reference to a long period of penitential suffering as offered by 'antigo dolor' in the *PFG*: "¡[...]por que saque a Greçia de grant tribulación!" (l. 122d). "[...] that I might free Greece from her trials so great."

tristes e desavenidos' (161ac). It is not just Fernán who saves Castile from suffering, but also Sancha.

As discussed above, Fernan's own reliance on her, as well as that of the realm, point to her essential participation in the consolidation of Castilian power and her role as the female equivalent to Fernán.¹⁴¹ Moreover, her own characterisation as redeemer, her proactivity in her relationship with the hero, the spiritual tone in which that union is concluded, and her ability to deflect sexual aggression from other Christian figures, indicate her function as a corrective model of behaviour that allows the implicit sin of lust to be purged from the account of Castilian supremacy and successfully integrates the female figure not just into the context of warfare, as in *Horn* or the *CMC*, but into the very formation of Castilian identity. In this the *PFG* moves beyond the presentation of female figures and their relationship to the protagonist found in *Horn*, the *CMC*, *Gui* and some *roman courtois* such as *Erec*. Sancha is not simply a passive figure of martial motivation for the hero, as for the *Cid* or *Horn*; in restoring Fernán she is an active and equal facilitator of military success for the whole realm, and one whose boldness is praised, rather than condemned, and presented as the normative behaviour. Moreover, unlike the distracting figure of Felice who is accordingly excluded from *Gui*'s mission to undertake a penitential pilgrimage for redemption, Sancha's presence serves the very opposite purpose: she is not only integrated into Castile's spiritual exile-and-return by helping Fernán, she herself is able to redeem others. Both *Gui* and the *PFG*, as well as other works such as Chrétien's *Perceval* and Wolfram's *Willehalm*, pose similar questions about women's proper place in the spiritual

¹⁴¹The similarity between the two protagonists is even more evident in the later prose version of the poem found in the *Estoria de España* where Sancha frees Fernán from a second imprisonment by dressing him in her clothes: 'Et levantose la condessa de muy grand mannana quando a los matines, et vistio al conde de todos los sus pannos della. Et el conde mudado desta guisa fuesse pora la puerta en semeiança de duenna.' ['And the countess rose early in the morning at the hour of Matins and dressed the count in all her clothes, and the count, so transformed, went to the gate with the appearance of a lady.'] This use of unfitting clothing to indicate the unjust treatment of the hero complements the scene in *Horn* where seneschal Herland's rags similarly uphold a world-upside-down theme in which the antagonist wrongly hold power. See ll. 3691-9.

development of the hero, yet provide very different solutions. In one way, Sancha's development from threat to salvation, corresponding to Fernán's imprisonment and release, could be interpreted as a metatextual comment on the wider European literary debate about the extent to which women and *eros* endangered or motivated heroic enterprise, particularly when this was directed towards God, which in Spain is resolved more generously in the *PPG* than by the equivalent female characterisation in the Insular *Gui*. The *PPG* also appears to respond to more widespread questions about the feasibility of continuing to realise heroic feats after a protagonist has secured his beloved. Like Erec et Enide, Fernán and Sancha are not only tested individually, but also in their ability to overcome challenges as a couple, as evidenced by their joint efforts to kill the archpriest, in which the Spanish heroine surpasses Enide in her ability to act. The couple's equality again points to Sancha's role as a kind of second Fernán. In a mid-thirteenth poem so patently focussed on Castile, it is possible to see Sancha's comparability with the hero and his repeated reliance on her as a compensatory device designed to give special attention to the contemporary power of León. Moreover, as the representatives of the two realms, their mutually beneficial and spiritually sanctioned union could be read as a compensatory homage to the emergence of Castile-León in 1230 under Ferdinand III that overrides some of the more dubious representations of León in the poem, as found in Queen Teresa's characterisation, for example. Moreover, their union could be read as a more forceful correction of the past tensions between the two realms if their relationship is interpreted as the appropriation by the Castilians, represented by Fernán, of the female element in León and the subsequent symbolic establishment of a future hereditary line that brings both kingdoms together.

As shown above, different discourses from historiography, courtly romance, folkloric narratives, hagiography and the Bible are reworked and presented within the verse-form of *mester de clerecía* of the *PPG* in order to offer a new, distinct narrative of Castilian military and spiritual supremacy in the vernacular without the loss of authority that combats the more

noxious elements in the existing narratives, particularly with regard to the destabilising effects of erotic desire. Given the wider scope of the work and its rewriting or corrective tendency, the *PFG* could be considered as a pointed 'translation' of earlier Latin narratives, like the *Roman d'Eneas*, which presents the same narrative with very different emphases. In the *PFG*, those patterns of behaviour that are associated in earlier works with the fall of Visigothic power, such as the neglect of military practice and a disinclination for warfare are here portrayed in spiritual terms as something sinful, which shows that the work constitutes a departure from earlier narratives such as *Horn* where non-combative policies also put Christian kingdoms at risk, but are not described as inherently sinful. Interpretation of the *PFG* is aided by reading narratives with a strong *reconquista* rhetoric, such as the *DRH*, which shows that the work is more the product of an ongoing historiographical tradition that sought to justify the hegemony of Iberian Christian kingdoms through a contrived appeal to a Visigothic precedent, than a biographical, heroic narrative in the manner of the *CMC* or other European works such as the *Chanson de Roland* or *Willehalm*. Notwithstanding, the work arguably retains some of immediacy found in heroic and courtly poetry, as well as ballads, particularly in the interaction between Fernán and Sancha. In this the *PFG* goes beyond all three of the preceding texts discussed in this thesis: like *Horn* and the *Cid*, the hero integrates a plurality of concerns, namely God, the land, and women and, similarly to *Gui*, redeems himself and the land from the earlier sins, but does this not by rejecting Sancha, but allowing her to participate in the spiritual and political emancipation of Castile. The result is a new narrative celebrating contemporary Castilian identity as a combination of military prowess and spiritual worth inherited from the Visigoths for a new generation and a wider audience.

EPILOGUE

All four works show a preoccupation with war and conquest, which are common themes in heroic poetry. What distinguishes these from many other such poems is their optimism. Their triumphant tone and the assured success of the exile-and-return heroes in these works is bolstered by the successful amalgamation of discourses from *chanson de geste* and the *roman courtois*. The easy integration of these literary arguments is reflected in the English and Spanish heroes' characteristic ability to serve a number of interests, such as Christendom, love and God. Although this research was conceived to challenge arguments about Anglo-Norman poems through discussion of Spanish works, the thesis opens the possibility of further investigation of other works from different linguistic traditions which engage with similar problems yet produce different results. Particular examples include works from the Middle High German corpus, such as *Das Nibelungenlied*, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, and *Herzog Ernst*. The ambiguous recognition of the outsider Siegfried at the Burgundian court in *Das Nibelungenlied* renders him a pertinent counterpart to Horn and the Cid. However, in contradistinction to his perfect, unchanging counterparts, Siegfried betrays himself and fails to combine courtly and warrior qualities successfully, which eventually leads to the breakdown of society, rather than its transformation into a superior realm. Like the primary texts discussed in this thesis, *Willehalm* shows a preoccupation with love, warfare against the pagan enemy and devotion to God. However, these are not so easily integrated in the work; the tension between these interests gives the work an ambiguity that is lacking in Anglo-Norman and Spanish works. Lastly, *Herzog Ernst* offers a different model of amalgamation of discourses. In its use of an exile-and-return structure in conjunction with descriptions of adventures in the Holy Land, the work approximates *Gui* but has no similar spiritual dimension. Like the other works, *Ernts* reflects its particular combination of influences from the *roman courtois* and the representations of eastern realms found in other texts such as *chanson de geste* and the *Gesta Francorum*.

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