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978-0-521-06297-8 - The Cantar de mio Cid: Poetic Creation in its Economic and Social Contexts

Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)

I

Historical and theoretical framework

When one approaches a literary text, the experience is accompanied by a set of expectations about its nature that typically concern its aesthetic and moral qualities, its entertainment value, the functions and characteristics associated with genres, its usefulness, and perhaps, on a more sophisticated level, preconceptions about its situation in history and within the general framework of a literary tradition. Readers coming upon the same text will read it differently according to what they expect of it. Likewise, those encountering the same pieces of extratextual information relevant to their reading may interpret them variously according to their model of the text's functions – a model that is in turn the product of their anticipations.

As reading proceeds, the expectations evolve: new information leads to an adjustment in the model. Even in the case of a text that one has read many times, it is not unusual to find aspects that take hold in one's consciousness for the first time, impress us unexpectedly with their importance, charm or intrigue or disgust us in new ways, strike a chord with notes with which they could not harmonize before because the instrument had not been tuned for them, as the effects of experience, with the consequent appropriation of new ideas and perhaps even new affective states, allow us to respond to its richness in previously unattainable ways. Although as a comparatist and philologist trained in the Romance languages and literatures I had read and taught the *Cantar de mio Cid* many times, I was blind to the significance of the role that economic and social elements play in it until a day about a decade ago when I discussed with my colleague Howard Bloch the interpretation of the medieval European economy that the historian Georges Duby had formulated. It immediately became apparent to me that the obsessiveness of the poem's economic themes must be linked in a significant way to the milieu in which it was composed.

This idea was reinforced by comparisons and contrasts with epic poems composed in French and Occitan as well as in other languages outside the Romance family. I would certainly never have written this book were it not for my experiences as a teacher and scholar in the field of Comparative Literature.

The formulation of a model of the text's functions that is adequate for an informed reading includes in the current instance the conceptualization of mental structures both medieval and modern and an awareness of the distinc-

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[More information](#)*The Cantar de mio Cid*

tions between them. Hypotheses need to be scrutinized to establish that they do not presuppose the existence in the Middle Ages of abstractions that are actually shaped by modern notions. It serves no purpose to insist that every step in a chain of reasoning rest upon an element of factual data when the concepts that the data supposedly inform are anachronistic. The concepts of the legal profession, of the economic and social values of the nobility, and of literary artistry that have been introduced into the debates over the *Cid* poet and his intentions during the past three decades frequently betray an insufficient sensitivity to the differences that separate the medieval civilization from the modern.

Inescapably, of course, one always works within the parameters of one's own system of values, which leads sometimes to new insights into the text but no doubt just as often to the blocking of vision and the denial of what to readers and listeners in other times and places was obvious. This book shares with a number of its predecessors a bipartite quality: it is an attempt to read the *Cantar de mio Cid* in ways in which it was perceived by its first audiences; and it is an essay in the history of scholarship, dealing, although at times obliquely, with the perceptions (and occasionally the intellectual myopia as well) of those who have contributed to formulating the expectations with which we come to the poem today.

Among the major literary genres, the epic has been the most readily affected by nationalistic tendencies in scholarship, since traditionally it has figured the most prominently in the consciousness that a people has of its own past. In a number of European literatures the first text of substantial length is an epic poem that, even when it did not recount the founding of the nation, came to serve as a basis for the cohesiveness of the notion of national identity in the consciousness of the people with whom it was linked. Most often the historical consciousness of the nation has singled out an appropriate text to fill a need in accord with the image it wished to project of the national past. In the case of Castilian Spain the choice was not difficult, the accidents of history having eliminated the quasi totality of medieval Castilian epic.

The nationalistic imperative exerts enormous pressure on the model of how the chosen epic text ought to function. Its Spanish manifestation at the turn of the nineteenth century accounts in part not only for the particular interpretations that Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the most influential of *Cid* scholars, imposed on the text, but also, and perhaps more importantly, for the fact that Menéndez Pidal did *not* see in it certain features that seem to cry out for elucidation: its preoccupation with economic detail, its egregious distortion of history, and its suggestion that the hero's ancestry was subject to question. I believe that Leo Spitzer's ascription (1948) of some aspects of Menéndez Pidal's view to his position as a member of the Generation of 1898 is essentially correct.

The poem's representation of Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar as a man whose status was measured by the economic value of the booty he acquired through violent means and who was constrained to defend himself against a charge of bastardy

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

Historical and theoretical framework

is surely at variance with the position the Cid has come to occupy in the Spanish public's notion of the Reconquest, that crucible of national identity. While the principal designer of that notion, Menéndez Pidal, was undoubtedly ill prepared for a venture into economic history by the historical school in which he had been trained and unaware that the key lines 3379–80 contain a slur upon the hero's birth, the failure of such a prodigious talent to discover and elucidate these two themes must stem in part from a disinclination to see them. While such a depiction of the hero's activities and of the threat to his reputation did not fit the needs of the Generation of 1898, however, it was not only natural but ultimately flattering in the context of economic and social mentalities that prevailed in the period in which the poem was composed. The epic cannot be insulated from ideological currents any more than other genres – far from it – but on that account we should be even more cautious in distinguishing between its functions in modern consciousness and the role it played in the period in which it was first set down in writing.

A heuristic strategy for reconstructing the interpretations of those medieval poets and scribes who produced and first preserved the texts is to pay increased attention precisely to passages that do not fit the models and expectations that prior scholarship has provided. In the history of paradigms it is most often the details that are in some way unassimilable according to the old model that lead to new formulations. In this regard, historically oriented literary studies proceed no differently from, say, physical cosmology or paleontology. Just as the paleontologist, in looking for clues to the evolutionary pathway of the vertebrate under study, focuses on a morphological feature present at the embryonic stage but absent from the skeleton of a mature specimen, or investigates a seemingly useless appendage that turns out to reveal that the creature is related to a previously unsuspected species, so the philologist is led by the elucidation of obscure or apparently useless textual features to posit new ways to understand the text and, occasionally, a new paradigm. This strategy first led me to want to clarify the etiology and function of the apparently anomalous passage in the *rieptos* scene, which in turn led to a hypothesis concerning the historical milieu in which the poet, on the basis of traditional material, shaped the representation of his hero.

Whether the Per Abbat text itself represents the creation of the poet, that is to say in this instance the person who first gave the literary legend of the Cid substantially the contours in which it has come down to us, faithfully enough to justify speculation about his intentions is, in the last analysis, impossible to determine. Per Abbat was the scribe not of the Biblioteca Nacional manuscript but of an older one in the same line of descent. Modifications introduced between the poem as the poet recited it and the text as Per Abbat wrote it down (see chapter 8), and between his text and the surviving folios of the fourteenth-century manuscript, may well mask important aspects of a prior state. But one must attempt to explain the artifact in the form in which it is extant before going on to hypothesize about other possible forms. After that,

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Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The Cantar de mio Cid*

one is, I believe, not only free to conjecture about what is lost or not directly perceivable, as Menéndez Pidal did so masterfully in his great edition, but even obligated to do so.

The primary object of this book is to reconstruct inferentially the ways in which the poet's earliest audiences understood the text. In fact we have no choice but to infer their interpretations from the text and from the historical milieu to which its analysis leads, since there is no other way of knowing them.

One of my conclusions will be that the poet was himself the receiver of a text that he then transformed into the poem that Per Abbat copied. The poetic legend of Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar came down to the poet in a form that he internalized and re-generated for his own purposes in keeping with the preoccupations of an audience that probably included both nobles and clergy. The poem has an historical kernel, as Menéndez Pidal believed, but it is severely restricted, most of the plot and characterization deriving not from historical events and personalities but rather from the poet's desire to create a poetic fiction that would appeal to his audience. This book thus assumes a double hermeneutic quality: it takes received interpretations of the poem as a given and attempts to correct them in the light of themes that the critical tradition has by and large neglected (or refused) to address, thereby arriving at a new interpretation; and it assumes a model of the poetic process in which the poet received an interpretation of Rodrigo Díaz and transmuted it in the light of his audience's needs. What its conceptions owe to the thinking of María Eugenia Lacarra will be obvious to those who have read her ground-breaking study *El Poema de mio Cid: realidad histórica e ideología* (1980a).

The nature of the evidence available to a person dealing with a society six or seven centuries anterior to his own requires a few remarks, particularly since the history of scholarship on the *Cantar de mio Cid* reflects – inevitably – a series of changes in historical method. What degree of truth is to be assigned to statements about a poem whose text is available in only a single witness, whose author cannot be identified with certainty, and whose date and place of composition are matters of speculation? In the absence of data that might give us a more specific idea of the poem's *état civil*, we are forced to approximate it through a series of inferential maneuvers.

One criterion for judging these inferences is consistency: do the various hypotheses correspond to conditions obtaining in Castilian society in the period to which one assigns the poem?

Does one hypothesis account for the diverse phenomena by simpler means than its competitors (fewer logical steps, fewer premises), all other things being equal? In the absence of specific documentation on the author and his milieu, a series of probabilities converging toward a “best hypothesis” is all that can be hoped for, and what I attempt to present. At times possibilities will have to suffice where probabilities are desired.

One of the conclusions of the present book is that the *Cantar de mio Cid* as found in the extant manuscript² represents an orally composed text. That

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

Historical and theoretical framework

proposition is based partially on an analysis of formulaic density published over a decade ago (Duggan 1974), but also rests upon further analysis of the poem's contents and upon external considerations.

The extended debate over whether the *Cantar de mio Cid* was composed orally or in writing has proceeded with little discussion of a presupposition that deserves analysis. It is often taken for granted that poems elaborated in oral tradition are not as well constructed, as subtle, or as aesthetically appealing as those that were created in writing; or, to state the proposition in another way that amounts to just about the same in this context, that poems written by learned authors (ecclesiastics, for example) are better structured and more sophisticated than the songs of the unlettered.³ This is an assumption that I do not share and that I consider unprovable. I shall return to this issue in the Conclusion.

The *Cantar de mio Cid* is saturated with the theme of wealth: its acquisition, distribution, and benefits, the conduct it inspires, and the moral flaws that unjustified participation in it reveals. As will become clear in chapters 2 and 3, I believe this is the aspect that most clearly sets the poem apart from its medieval congeners in the Romance languages. It is, in fact, an aspect that is so obvious once it has been pointed out that afterward one is struck by the paucity of comment on economic matters in the abundant critical literature that the poem has occasioned. One searches in vain for allusions to it in the works of Menéndez Pidal, who laid the groundwork not only for literary scholarship on the poem but also for historical treatments of the period in which the Cid lived. The collection of economic data is a long process, and while for Spain it was begun during Menéndez Pidal's early career, the kind of historical study that it represents did not reach maturity until the mid-twentieth century. In addition, Menéndez Pidal considered his primary task, at least early on, to be the rehabilitation of Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar, maligned, according to him, by the treatments of previous historians and especially of Dozy. While the image of the Cid that Menéndez Pidal promoted – that of a just, merciful, consistently victorious captain embodying the ideals of military and political leadership – contributed to the rewriting of history in the mode of the Generation of 1898, it is not at all clear that emphasis on the hero's acquisitive qualities, associated in the modern world with commoners of the mercantile class, would have added to the Cid's stature in the minds of the early twentieth-century Spanish public.

The efficacy of many of the arguments of this book, especially those found in chapters 5, 6 and 7, is contingent on dating the poem's composition to the end of the twelfth century. Justification for a dating to around the year 1200 rather than to the mid-twelfth century will be presented here; I will return to the issue of dating in chapters 6 and 8, in which I suggest an occasion on which the *Cantar de mio Cid* might have been composed and discuss further the significance of certain linguistic features, namely the archaisms that mark the poem as one of the earliest Spanish texts of substantial length.

The work on the dating of the manuscript and the dating and localization of

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Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)

The *Cantar de mio Cid*

the poem that has exerted the most influence was carried out by Menéndez Pidal. The manuscript is written in a fourteenth-century hand, which Menéndez Pidal situates early in the century. The poem's colophon includes an indication of date according to the Spanish Era, "en era de mill e cc xlv. años" (i.e. AD 1207), but Menéndez Pidal conjectured, following a suggestion of Tomás Antonio Sánchez, that a third "c" had occupied the space before the "x" in which there are signs of an erasure. Menéndez Pidal also believed that the colophon was composed by the fourteenth-century scribe (1954–56, 1: 18).

Despite discrepancies among the three *cantares* in the average number of lines per *tirada* and in the preference for various vowels at the assonance, Menéndez Pidal at first believed that the poem was the work of a single author (1954–56, 1: 72–3, 122–3). In 1961, however, he published a study in which he modified his long-held opinion about the poem's unity: it was now to be attributed to two poets, the first a near-contemporary of Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar from San Esteban de Gormaz, and the second an inhabitant of Medinaceli working sometime between 1123 and 1146 (194) and probably in 1140 (196–7; see below), long enough after the events to have forgotten that, contrary to what the poem represents, Medinaceli was not in Christian hands during the lifetime of Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar. The poet of San Esteban de Gormaz, living at a time when the details of the Cid's career were still well known, would have recounted betrothals between the Infantes and the Cid's daughters, rather than the unhistorical marriages, and would have told how they were broken off when Alfonso became angry with the Cid in 1089 and imprisoned his wife and daughters. To the poet of Medinaceli Menéndez Pidal attributed a greater story-telling freedom, *reformas novelescas* (192), and a diminished knowledge of the hero's life. Among this second poet's many innovations would have been the extensive role played by Alvar Fáñez, the conversion of the betrothals into marriages, transformation of the breaking off of the betrothals into the *afrenta de Corpes*, the introduction of the character Avengalbón and the episodes of the lion and the three judicial duels, and the error of having the Cid's daughter María (the poem's Sol) marry the Infante of Aragon. The poet of Medinaceli would have altered the *Cantar del destierro* little, the *Cantar de las bodas* substantially, and the *Cantar de Corpes* extensively, and Menéndez Pidal went to great lengths detailing exactly which passages he identifies as belonging to each poet.

In the section of his edition devoted to dating the text, Menéndez Pidal based his conclusions on three main points: 1. The poem styles Alfonso VII "el buen emperador" (l. 3003) without naming him, which shows that the king, who died in 1157, must have been present in the memories of both poet and audience (1954–56, 1: 21–2; see also 3: 1167–8). 2. The lines "Oy los reyes d'España sos parientes son,/ A todos alcança ondra por el que en buen ora nació" (ll. 3724–5 of Menéndez Pidal's critical text) imply that most, if not all, of the reigning families of Spain were related to the hero. Contrary to another of the poet's claims, however, the Cid's daughters were never queens

Cambridge University Press

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Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Historical and theoretical framework

of Navarre and Aragon. Rather than placing too much weight on the accuracy of the two lines, then, one is better advised to identify an event of some resonance that might have impelled the poet to make such a statement, which for Menéndez Pidal was the marriage in 1151 of Blanca of Navarre, the great-granddaughter of Rodrigo Díaz, to Sancho III “el Deseado,” or better still their betrothal which took place under dramatic circumstances in 1140. In addition, the poet’s error in calling the husband of one of the Cid’s daughters the Infante of Aragon whereas she actually married Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona could perhaps best be explained if one supposed that the poet (the second poet, according to the revised theory of 1961) lived in the period in which the count’s son, Ramon Berenguer IV, was regent of the kingdom of Aragon, namely 1137 to 1162 (1954–56, 1: 22). 3. The *Poema de Almería*, written after the conquest of Almería in 1147 but before Alfonso VII’s death ten years later, includes the lines:

Nullaque sub celo melior fuit hasta sereno.
 Ipse Rodericus, Meo Cidi sepe uocatus,
 De quo cantatur quod ab hostibus haud superatur,
 Qui domuit Mauros, comites domuit quoque nostros.
 Hunc [i.e. Alvar Fáñez] extollebat, se laude
 minore ferebat.
 Sed fateor uerum, quod tollet nulla diorum:
 Meo Cidi primus fuit Aluarus atque secundus.

(cited here after Juan Gil [ed.] 1974: ll. 232–8)

Menéndez Pidal took this passage, which refers to the hero with the epithet “mio Cid” characteristic of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, as a reference not merely to a song about the hero, but – and he insisted on this point – to the text preserved in our manuscript (1954–56, 1: 23–31; see also 3: 1169–70). These arguments led him to date the poem between 1140 and 1157, and the poet’s pronunciation of the sound proceeding from Latin short *o* in stressed position as *uo*, an archaicism even in the second half of the twelfth century, persuaded him to propose the earlier rather than the later date.

Specifically, then, in the last decade of his life Menéndez Pidal suggested that the poem was composed in 1140 in more or less the form in which we have it, that is in the form given to it by the second of his hypothetical two poets, for the marriage of the Cid’s great-granddaughter with Sancho “el Deseado,” later to be Sancho III of Castile (see also Menéndez Pidal 1961: 196–7, where he assigns the 1140 date to the second poet, and Catalán 1985: 818–19). But since the poet’s representation of the Cid’s daughters’ marriages is patently unhistorical, Louis Chalon is right in asking (1967: 232) why a poet would have invented for such an occasion a totally fictitious story about the failed marriages of the ancestors of one of the contractants, marriages that supposedly took place only fifty years before the date of composition.

Several of the supplementary observations Menéndez Pidal added to his edition beginning in 1944 concern dating. He remarked that, according to a study of Eduardo de Hinojosa (1899), the legal procedures and institutions

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Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)

The *Cantar de mio Cid*

reflected in the poem correspond to those of the twelfth century and not the beginning or middle of the thirteenth, a finding that Menéndez Pidal viewed as supporting his dating (1954–56, 3: 1165–6). In addition he noted that various linguistic traits – including the patronymic in *-oz*, syntactic phonetics (“*tovelo*” for “*tuve te lo*”), *uó* or *o* as the reflex of Latin short *o*, extensive apocope of the personal pronoun, the post-positive use of *ser* and *aver* as auxiliaries when the main verb begins the hemistich, and the graphy *Oiarra* for *Ocharra* – were archaic features (3: 1166–7); that the poet only uses the names of characters who actually existed in history (3: 1168–9); and that the reference to the king of the Montes Claros in l. 1182 is best explained as stemming from a period in which the Almoravid Empire existed, i.e. before 1146, during which time a struggle between the Almoravid emperor and the king of the Montes Claros in Morocco was still plausible (3: 1170).

The numismatist Felipe Mateu y Llopis devoted a study (1947) to the types of money mentioned in the poem. The Christian monetary system of the time of Alfonso VI was based on the *dinero* (ll. 252, 804, 3734), a coin made of billon, whence the reference in l. 64 to a *dinerada*, the value of one *dinero*. The *dinero malo* (ll. 165, 503, 1042) refers, according to Mateu y Llopis, to a debased billon coinage, one made with an alloy that held a reduced silver content, and since the *dineros* of Alfonso VI were not debased, the poet must be living after the period in which counterfeit coins began to appear, that is to say the beginning of the twelfth century, or, more probably, after the introduction of coin made from poor alloys under Urraca or Alfonso VII.

The only way a person could possess coins of gold and silver in the period in question would be to acquire Arab money, such as the gold *dinares* of Yusuf ibn Texufin, which normally entered the Christian kingdoms in the form of tribute. The *morabetino* or *maravedí*, a gold Almoravid coin, did not make its appearance until after Alfonso VIII conquered Murcia (1172) and in fact although gold and silver Arab coins play a role in the poem, it nowhere mentions them by name – in contrast to the Oxford *Chanson de Roland* which mentions *manguns*. Mateu y Llopis takes this absence of the *maravedí* to indicate that the *Cantar de mio Cid* developed before the coin was introduced into the Christian economy (54), and concludes that, to judge from the money that appears in the text, the earliest layer of the poem dates from the first third of the twelfth century (56).

The chronological results of Mateu y Llopis’s investigation are not as sound as they might at first appear, however, since they are based upon an *argumentum ex silentio*: because the poet (that is to say, in this case, the poet responsible for the earliest layer of fabulation) does not mention a certain type of coin, he must not have known that coin, or at least must not have lived when it circulated in the Christian economy. In fact other solutions present themselves; the *maravedí* could have been introduced during the poet’s adult lifetime, and he would then have known better than to include it in a narrative about the reign of Alfonso VI; or his omission could simply be a matter of chance and thus not a clue to intentionality or chronology at all. It is

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Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Historical and theoretical framework

preferable to interpret the findings of Mateu y Llopis more conservatively, then, and say simply that the depiction of coinage in the *Cantar de mio Cid* is not incompatible with dating some aspects of the poem to the first third of the twelfth century, but that it does not rule out a later date of composition for the extant state of the text.

Only a few scholars took exception, beginning in the 1950s, to Menéndez Pidal's conclusions on dating, notably Russell (1952) and Ubieta Arteta (1957).

Ubieta's stand against the 1140 date culminated in the publication of his "El *Cantar de mio Cid* y algunos problemas históricos" in 1972, a study that was published in book form in 1973. After reviewing Menéndez Pidal's arguments for dating, Ubieta turns to the study of, successively, geographic-historical anachronisms, geography, historical data, anachronistic historical personages, characteristic institutions, features peculiar to the Aragonese dialect complex, and the historical evolution of the Cid legend.

Basing himself on paleographic data, Ubieta believes that the extant *Cid* manuscript was copied in the mid-fourteenth century rather than early in the century, perhaps in the vicinity of Burgos (15). He also interprets various conflicts in the poem – those between the Cid and the Infantes de Carrión, the Cid and the count of Barcelona, the Cid's men and the Infantes – as reflecting anti-nobiliary sentiments and thus perhaps responsible for arousing the interest of the fourteenth-century scribe (14–15).

Ubieta takes up Menéndez Pidal's arguments one by one. He demonstrates that numerous documents dated as late as 1224 and literary texts up to 1270 simply call Alfonso VII "Imperator" or "Emperador" without naming him (22–3). The line "Oy los reyes d'España sos parientes son" must refer to the kings of Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Portugal, in which case those kings could not all be said to descend from the Cid until the early years of the thirteenth century, that is to say after Berenguela and Urraca, the daughters of Alfonso VIII of Castile, married respectively Alfonso IX of Leon in 1197 and Alfonso II of Portugal in 1201 (28; for a critique of this idea see Lapesa 1985: 33–5). Derek Lomax later proposed reading the verb of this line as an historical present, in which case it may refer simply to the Cid's daughters' betrothals to the infantes of Navarre and Aragon as depicted in the poem itself (1977: 75).

Eduardo de Hinojosa's studies on legal institutions, notes Ubieta, led Hinojosa indeed to the conclusion that the poem was composed in the twelfth century, but in the second half of the century rather than specifically toward its midpoint. Considering himself unqualified to judge Menéndez Pidal's linguistic arguments, Ubieta passes over them. The abundance of the names of characters who really existed in history he rejects as a criterion of dating. The reference to the king of the Montes Claros is ambiguous, since there are ranges called the Montes Claros in Spain as well as in Morocco and in any case the reference would only be useful in fixing a *terminus a quo* (32–3).

Ubieta agrees with Menéndez Pidal that the Latin *Poema de Almería* refers

Cambridge University Press

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Joseph J. Duggan

Excerpt

[More information](#)

The *Cantar de mio Cid*

to songs about the Cid, but not to *this* song. In a related development, Miguel Barceló (1967–68) has found that the epithets “Campeador” and “Cid” are distributed sequentially in the *Linaje navarro del Cid* (dated to before 1194), “Campeador” being found exclusively up to the narration of the siege of Valencia, “Cid” from that point to the end. Since the *Linaje* does not follow the version of the hero’s life contained in the *Cantar de mio Cid*, but nevertheless uses the epithet “Cid,” Barceló contends – against a claim of Menéndez Pidal – that the use of “Cid” was not confined to popular poetry in the twelfth century and that the *Poema de Almería* does not necessarily refer to the epic. He concludes furthermore that the traditions characterized respectively by the two epithets did not converge until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. I concur that the *Poema de Almería* does not necessarily allude to the *Cantar de mio Cid* as we have it, but it does refer to a poem or poems in the tradition of the Per Abbat version; the companionship in arms that the *Poema de Almería* posits between Rodrigo Díaz of Vivar and Alvar Fáñez, unattested in history and in fact impossible for the period in which the poem situates it, is sufficient to establish the link with the epic tradition, and the shared use of the designation “mio Cid” does nothing to detract from that conclusion.

Among the geographical anachronisms that Ubieto Arteta discusses, perhaps the most telling is that in the poem Medinaceli is treated as a Christian stronghold whereas it was held by the Bani Hūd dynasty of Saragossa, then by the Almoravids, until it was conquered by Alfonso “el Batallador” in the period 1120–22, with the exception of a four-year interval beginning in 1104, five years after the death of Rodrigo Díaz (Ubieto Arteta 1973: 37–9; see also Menéndez Pidal 1954–56, 1: 74 and 3: 1172). Another apparent anachronism, the mention on two occasions of Mont Real (ll. 863, 1186), that is Monreal del Campo, a town established only in 1124 (1973: 40), is not necessarily problematic since the poet may only be using Mont Real as a point of geographical reference: l. 863 may be understood as “y ffinco en un poyo que es sobre [the present] Mont Real,” and a similar construal is possible for l. 1186, “amaneçio a mio Cid en tierras de Mon Real.” The same might be said for the poet’s mention of Cetina in l. 547, and Derek Lomax has further pointed out (1977: 78) that the formal establishment of a town often followed its settlement and even its naming. The attribution of Montalbán and Huesa to the jurisdiction of the count of Barcelona in ll. 951–9 appears to fit only the historical situation of the period after 1154 (1973: 48).

The denomination “Valencia la mayor” for the city that the hero conquers indicates to Ubieto that the poet must have been composing toward the end of the twelfth century or later, since, as Menéndez Pidal believed (1954–56, 2: 873), he appears to be distinguishing the city on the Mediterranean coast from Valencia de Don Juan or Valencia la Alcántara, towns that only took on the name “Valencia” in that period (1973: 68). Rafael Lapesa has pointed out, however, that the poet occasionally uses *mayor* in a positive rather than a comparative sense (see ll. 2023, 2176), even employing the phrase *Barcelona la*