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EPIC HEROINES:
A STUDY OF THE ROLES OF WOMEN CHARACTERS
IN THE LITERATURE OF THE CID CYCLE

By

Margaret L. Herbert

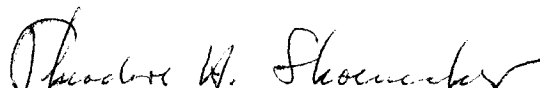
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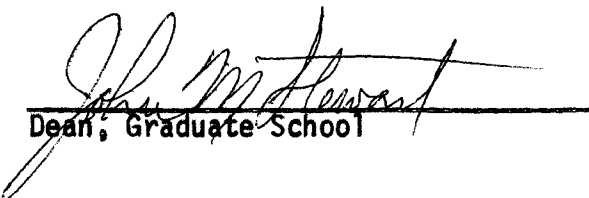
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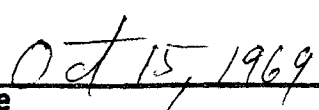
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history-legend of the Cid is not only a unique landmark in Spanish literature, but in world literature as well. In the eight hundred years since the death of this hero of the Spanish reconquest, an extensive collection of legend and literature dealing with the Cid and his contemporaries has appeared. The cycle is one of the most complete in any literature, and Menéndez Pidal pays it due honor when he says: ". . . en ningún otro país, fuera de España, podía hallarse la materia para un libro como *La gesta del Cid*."¹

The legend which grew up almost immediately around the heroic figure of el Cid Campeador has served as source material for authors of all periods and genres, and has even transcended national boundaries to furnish the plot of at least one masterpiece of another literature, Corneille's *Le Cid*.

In Spain, epic poetry, of which the first literature of the Cid is an esteemed example, was in the Middle Ages a national art, of interest to all social classes and types of people. This is in contrast to the French epic, which is a noble, courtly form, intended for an aristocratic audience. The Spanish epic, particularly that of the Cid, is not only

¹Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La epopeya castellana a través de la literatura española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959), p. 12. Hereafter, RMP, *Epopeya*.

about the common people (it is not unusual for the *juglar* to point out his hero's low birth), but is also a work by and for them. The literature which it inspired -- the *romancero* and *teatro nacional* -- are also national art forms, "estas varias formas de un mismo arte nacional, que adentró sus raíces tan profundamente en los recuerdos y sentimientos del pueblo."²

The Spanish epic is marked by an unusual originality:

La epopeya española tiene un mérito absolutamente original. . . Ofrece a nuestra admiración una dignidad constante, un noble porte muy español, y a veces una ternura que conmueve y encanta como flor delicada aparecida de pronto en las quiebras de un áspero peñasco. Su estilo es también muy suyo, y superior al de la epopeya francesa, al menos tal como nos ha sido transmitida: sobrio, enérgico, eficaz, sin lugares comunes, pero rico en esas bellas fórmulas consagradas que desde Homero forman parte del estilo de la verdadera epopeya, impresiona por su sencilla grandeza y sorprende a menudo por un brillo intenso y poderoso. España bien puede estar orgullosa de su epopeya medieval, lamentando las desdichadas circunstancias que han causado la gran pérdida de sus textos.³

The historical truth of the *Cid* has been very ably determined by the great Spanish scholar, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, and is of interest here because of the contrast between the historical realities and the beautiful legend that had been built up by the sixteenth century.

Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar was born in 1043, grandson of Laín Calvo, a respected *caballero* of the minor nobility. Rodrigo's parents, Diego

²RMP, *Epopeya*, p. 15.

³Gaston Paris, as quoted in RMP, *Epopeya*, p. 39.

Láinez and an unknown noblewoman, called Teresa by the legend-makers, held positions in the court of Fernando I, and Rodrigo grew up there in companionship with the *infantes*.

The first battle in which young Rodrigo and Prince Sancho fought was at Graus in 1063, a battle rather ignored not only by history, but also by the legend-makers. Fernando died two years later, leaving his greatly expanded kingdom divided among his five children. Sancho, the oldest son, received Castilla and the services of the young knight Rodrigo de Vivar; Alfonso was named king of León; and García took the northern kingdom of Galicia. On the condition that they should never marry (and thus complicate the succession), Urraca and Elvira, Fernando's two daughters, received a few monasteries within the kingdoms of their brothers. Historians generally agree that the cities of Zamora and Toro were not originally part of the *infantazgo*, but were rather given by Alfonso and Sancho to their dispossessed sisters.

A relative peace prevailed among the royal siblings until the death of the Queen Mother, but in 1068 a five-year civil war began which not only changed history but also gave Spain and the world some of its greatest literature.

Sancho, "al recibir Castilla en herencia, recibía una gran ambición, la ambición castellana."⁴ He went to war almost immediately to consolidate and conquer what he considered his birthright as the oldest son of a powerful Christian king. Rodrigo Díaz was appointed his *alférez* (a high

⁴RMP, *La España del Cid* (Madrid: Plutarco, 1929), p. 181.

military post), and was closely involved in a bizarre feudal diplomacy. It was in the campaign against the Moorish kingdom of Zaragoza that he was given the title of Cid Campeador, and he became famous in other campaigns of the reconquest.

Once the Moorish threat had been diminished, Sancho eyed Alfonso's León, the older, more traditional and respected kingdom; and García's Galicia. Sancho first moved against Alfonso and defeated him but without winning León's crown; two years later both brothers were united against the much weaker García. The youngest king was easily defeated, and he died in his chains twenty years later. In 1072 Sancho again defeated Alfonso, and was crowned king of León, although not without encountering discontent in his brother's kingdom.

Alfonso, considered Fernando's *hijo predilecto*, was saved by the intervention of his sister Urraca. The early historians cannot agree about this brother-sister relationship; some say that it was incestuous, but according to Menéndez Pidal:

los documentos coetáneos sólo nos descubren que el amor entrañable que Urraca sentía por Alfonso la llevó a guerrear y a tender crueles asechanzas a los otros hermanos y quizás a maquinarse un fratricidio, y nos revelan también que Alfonso recién vuelto del destierro, trató públicamente a Urraca como reina, al par de sí mismo, cosa que no hizo con Elvira.⁵

Whatever the truth behind this historical and legendary mystery, it resulted in Alfonso's safety in exile in Toledo. By 1072 Christian Spain was more or less united under Sancho, except for the sparse

⁵RMP, *La España del Cid*, p. 160.

territories of the *infantas*. Sancho, at the peak of his fortunes and power, easily retook Toro from Elvira, but Urraca was not so readily defeated. In league with her beloved brother's dispossessed knights, she organized the defense and resistance of the walled city of Zamora, given to her by Alfonso, probably for that express purpose.

Sancho, in his desire to unify Spain, was politically and militarily justified in his attack on Zamora, a center of resistance and conspiracy against his unified power, but poetic imaginations since the eleventh century have created a cloud of other reasons for the attack.

During the battle and siege the Cid distinguished himself, and low supplies would have ended Zamora's resistance had not a man come out of the historical woodwork, treacherously murdered young King Sancho and disappeared again. "La personalidad de Bellido Dolfos queda casi por completo en la sombra, no sabiéndose nada concreto sobre su naturaleza ni linaje, así como los motivos de su crimen."⁶ Carola Reig goes on in her discussion of the murder to identify the killer as a loyal follower of Alfonso who tried to save Zamora from total defeat and ruin.

The incident is too mysterious to ignore and the later legend claims that Urraca was secretly and perhaps amorously involved in the plot against her brother-king. Many of the supposedly historical accounts in the chronicles record her words: "Yo muger soy et bien sabe él [Sancho]

⁶Carola Reig, *El cantar de Sancho II y cerco de Zamora* (Madrid: Revista de Filología Española, XXXVII, 1947), p. 21.

que yo le haré matar en secreto o a la luz del sol."⁷ The Castilians have been convinced of Urraca's guilt since their king's death. The epitaph on his tomb at Oña is a glaring accusation:

Femina mente dura, soror, hunc vita expoliavit
Iure quidem dempto, non flevit, fratre perempto.⁸

After Alfonso's coronation, Urraca stayed at the royal court, treated as a queen by her brother. Menéndez Pidal says that she lived a secluded life, and reproduces a prayer of confession from her *Libro de Horas* in which the princess crossed out her mother's name and wrote in her own:

Confiésome de cuanto pequé, yo mísera
y pecadora Urraca, por soberbia, en
pensamientos, en palabras, en deleites 9
en incesto, en homicidio, en perjurio. . .

The legend-makers refused to accept this as evidence for her guilt and continued the argument.

Again, whatever the truth, Alfonso found himself back in Christian Spain, hailed as king. The Castilians accepted him on the condition that he swear that he had nothing to do with the murder of his brother. This episode, known as "la jura de Santa Gadea," is carefully defended as historically and culturally true by Menéndez Pidal, but Carola Reig rejects it as a poetic invention.¹⁰ The incident has been part of the legend for some time, and offers several dramatic conflicts to legend-

⁷RMP, *La España del Cid*, p. 205.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 228.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 217; and Reig, 17-18.

makers, whether it happened or not.

The next event of importance was the marriage of Rodrigo and Jimena Díaz, niece of the new king. The marriage was one of political alliance between Castilla and León; the former never quite accepted Alfonso as rightful monarch. In spite of the unromantic nature of the union, poets and novelists of all ages have made it into one of the most immortal love stories in literature.

There were three children: Diego, born in 1075, one year after the marriage, has been ignored by most of the legend-makers, but there are records of his fighting beside his illustrious father. He died before the Cid, in the battle for Valencia. Two daughters, Cristina (b. 1077) and María (b. 1080) are known by their legendary nicknames, Elvira and Sol. Menéndez Pidal believes and carefully documents that they were once betrothed to the counts of Carrión. Such matches would have been, like the Cid's, marriages of political convenience between two powerful and rival factions. The betrothal could only have taken place in 1089 when both María and Cristina were too young (nine and twelve years old) to be married.¹¹ The breaking off of the betrothal, if it happened, was probably seized upon by the eager legend-makers as good story material, and developed. The fact remains that the Cid's daughters did not marry the counts, but rather into noble families: María/Sol married a Berenguer of Barcelona, and Cristina/Elvira, who married the brother of the King of Navarra, became the ancestor of the kings of Navarra and Spain. Alfonso

¹¹See RMP's discussion of this in *En torno al Poema del Cid* (Barcelona, 1963), pp. 118-138.

X el Sabio can be traced back to her.

The Castilian Cid had powerful rivals in the court of Alfonso of León. The King no doubt feared his powerful and popular vassal, and tended toward his own loyal Leonese. The center of Alfonso's support was the Bení-Gómez clan, among whose members were García Ordóñez and the counts of Carrión. The first of these was Alfonso's *alférez* and favorite, the position which the Cid had held under Sancho. The combination of the rivalry and mistrust resulted in the exile of the Cid.

In the twenty years of off-and-on exile, the Cid fought campaigns against several Moorish kingdoms and lesser Spanish lords, but remained loyal to the king who exiled him. He was forty years old at the time of his exile, and at the peak of his power and fortune, and both history and legend record the events in all their epic glory. The high point of his career was the siege and capture of the city of Valencia, after which he moved his family to their new home.

The triumph was short-lived. After the Cid's death in battle in 1099, Jimena tried to hold the city's defenses, but Alfonso withdrew his forces, and Valencia, burned by the retreating Christians, was retaken by the Moors. Jimena died fifteen years after her husband, and the factual history of the Cid came to an end.

His contribution to Spanish history is no slight one. He is recognized by historians as the man who saved Spain and perhaps even Southern Europe from a new invasion and crisis. His holding actions in Spain gave Christian armies a chance to prepare their resistance and offensive against the waves of religiously inspired Moslems.

Fortunately for literature, the Cid is also the hero of a legend which has grown up since his death, and is one of the most completely developed legends of any national history. In addition to the originality already mentioned, the legend is also unique in its historical accuracy:

. . . la epopeya castellana es profúndamente histórica, incomparablemente más que la francesa. . . . Los poemas heróicos tienen un fondo histórico extenso, prolongado a través de toda su acción. . . . La mayor parte de las mejores de las gestas españolas son históricas hasta en multitud de sus particularidades más secundarias; rebosan verdad en el nombre y condición de sus personajes, aún en los de última fila, así como en las costumbres sociales que describen, en los paisajes que ponen por fondo a los sucesos en los lugares que nombran, en la geografía política que la acción supone.¹²

The explanation for this rare historical accuracy in such a popular legend is the abundance of contemporary chronicles written by men who may have even seen the great Cid before his death. It is also true that the actual history is as exciting and suspenseful as any reader or listener could ask for, and the legend-makers recognized it for that.

Nevertheless, the legend does have many elements which were born in imaginative minds and which enhance the adventure story. Menéndez Pidal points out the phenomenon of the reverse development of the early legend.¹³ It is based on actual history and tells of the Cid's exploits when he was a mature or even an old man. The *Cantar (or Poema) de Mio Cid* is the earliest known version of the legend and deals with his last years. As the years and the literature progressed, the poets exhausted the story

¹²RMP, *Epopeya*, p. 36.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 107-118.

possibilities of history and began to go back into his unknown past, and in their imaginations created new legends from vaguely suggestive passages in the chronicles and the *Poema*. The complete legend of the Cid's life has been built up in this reverse manner, as the legend makers moved from his death to his youth in search of new material.

From the same characters and the same basic episodes they drew new elements of love, hate, and honor to more completely develop the legend. The characters upon which the fancy of the legend-makers fell were the women in the life of the Cid -- Jimena, his wife; his two daughters; and Urraca, the sister of the kings whom he served. The episodes which most invited the play of the imagination involved those relationships vaguely indicated in the chronicles between Rodrigo and these four women. History only mentions these "epic heroines" in passing to another great battle, although the situations smack of a good story.

The purpose of this study is to show the development in literature of the roles of the four women characters in the legend of the Cid; Jimena, Urraca, Elvira and Sol (none of the legend-makers calls the latter two by their real names). No one, to this writer's knowledge, has studied this development, although it will be noted that their part in history and literature -- the epic poetry and the chronicles -- is slight but not insignificant, and that it increases rapidly in later literature. By the time of the Golden Age, these epic heroines become central figures in the legend, perhaps surpassing the great Cid himself in some literary treatments.

The literature to be studied spans over eight hundred years and offers a selected view of the Cid cycle. Every available literary

treatment was read; a few are worthy of their heroic descent from the *Poema del Cid* and hold an honored position with the *Poema* in Spanish literature. There are other works which are mediocre, but both kinds represent the influence of the Cid legend, and the imaginative creativity which it inspired.

After a study of the legend and the legend-makers in the next section, the remaining chapters will be devoted to the growing roles of the four epic heroines and their relationship with the main character of the legend -- el Cid Campeador.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGEND-MAKERS

La historia es oscura cosa
 Y es fuerza que raíz prenda
 En su verdad la leyenda
 Galana y maravillosa.¹

THE CID LEGEND

The difference between the factual history of the Cid and the widely accepted version of the legend can be found mostly in those tales of his youth, and in the descriptions of his relationships with the four epic heroines. The clashing battles were story-worthy enough in their historical glory, and the legend-makers rarely changed the events surrounding them, although they sometimes made him the outstanding figure in events in which he was only an observer.² What makes the legend stand out from history are the tender and sometimes unhappy love stories and the great conflicts of honor which the legend-makers drew from suggestions in the chronicles. History is rarely changed; it is given more romantic and sentimental appeal. The legend-makers stretched history and caused many of the Cid's great *hazañas* to be done during the reign of Fernando I, and had Rodrigo become a hero under him rather than Alfonso. Perhaps they wished to

¹José Zorrilla, *La Leyenda del Cid* (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1882) p. 468.

²For example, the siege of Coimbra took place in 1064, when Rodrigo was too young to have played the greatly expanded role which the legend gives him. His role in Fernando's war with the Holy Roman Empire is an exaggeration as well, since there is no record of the Cid's ever leaving Spain.

take advantage of the possible childhood friendships between Sancho, Alfonso, Urraca, Jimena and the Cid, since the resulting loyalties or rivalries could lead to story-worthy conflicts. This is certainly the case with the latter three, as will be seen later. The presence of Fernando also allows the legend to tell of the unhappy division of his kingdom, and to attempt an explanation of the tragic civil war that resulted.

In the legend, Rodrigo began his military career while still a very young man, and by the time Fernando died, was a renowned and seasoned *guerrero*, called el Cid Campeador. It was also during Fernando's reign that Rodrigo was married to Jimena. This single episode, dispatched in a few lines in historically accurate accounts, has been the happy recipient of more flights of fancy than any other in the legend.

According to the legend, Rodrigo and Jimena are in love and plan to be married. However, in a dispute between Diego Laínez and Jimena's father, the latter slaps Diego, mortally wounding his honor. Diego is too old to avenge the insult, and Rodrigo is the only one of his three sons whom he deems worthy and capable of the task. Rodrigo, heir to his father's sense of honor, overcomes his deep love for Jimena, kills her father, and brings the severed head to Diego in unhappy triumph.

Jimena loves Rodrigo, but is moved by her own honor to demand justice from Fernando. The king is in a dilemma as well; both families are too important to ignore, but justice must be served. Jimena is supposed to have told him that he would not be worthy to be king if he did not punish her father's murderer, but Rodrigo is a powerful and popular knight. In addition to this dilemma, the conflict between love and

honor rages, a conflict which is supremely developed by later legend-makers, notably Guillén de Castro.

Basing his decision on ancient custom, Fernando orders the marriage. Since Rodrigo killed Jimena's protector, he must now fill the position as her husband.

Soon after the marriage, Fernando is on his death bed. He calls in his children and his most faithful followers, and announces the division of his kingdom. To the sons he gives the three kingdoms, and Urraca, disinherited, complains that she and Elvira have rights, too. Some versions say that Rodrigo spoke in her behalf; Fernando grants his two daughters their walled cities. Rodrigo promises the dying king that he will protect the princesses, and the king's last words are a curse upon any who seek to destroy the peace among the new kingdoms. All except Sancho say, "Amén."

Rodrigo leaves his new bride and rides off to battle under the banner of the new king of Castilla, Sancho. It is the Cid who personally captures García and Alfonso and brings his own monarch to almost total power, except for the city of Zamora, ruled by Urraca and her loyal *ayo* Arias Gonzalo.

After Alfonso is captured, Urraca asks for his release. Sancho agrees, on the condition that Alfonso become a monk, and thus ineligible for the throne. Once released, Alfonso flees to Toledo, some say with Urraca's help and connivance. He leaves his vassals at Zamora where they organize resistance to Sancho, who, furious at his brother's treachery (and his sister's too) brings his armies to the walls of Zamora.

The legend suggests that the princess loved Rodrigo since they were children together at the court; and that his loyalty to her prevented him from taking part in the battle against her city. Gambling on that childhood love between Urraca and the Cid, Sancho sends him to the city with a surrender ultimatum, which of course the princess refuses. She bitterly reminds the hero that he rejected her love for that of Jimena. When the Cid returns to his king with Urraca's refusal, Sancho accuses him of encouraging the Zamoran resistance because of his love for Urraca. The Cid denies it and is exiled for a year, but he angrily promises to take four, and prepares to leave.

Later, Sancho's other advisers persuade him to recall his vassal, and the king sends for him. Meanwhile, the treacherous Bellido Dolfos has gained Sancho's confidence. The legend records several warnings from advisers, and the most famous warning comes from within the city of Zamora itself; but the brave young king ignores them all. Under the pretext of showing him a secret gate to the city, Dolfos leads the unsuspecting king away from the Castilian camp, stabs him in the back and flees toward the city. The Cid appears and gives chase, but because he is not wearing his spurs, he cannot catch the killer. Dying, Sancho asks forgiveness and blames only himself for defying his father's last wish and curse.

Within the city, another drama has unfolded. Arias Gonzalo's advice and counsel helps Urraca bear the strains of the battle, but she is desperate to end the siege. His noble, honorable and loyal spirit warns against Bellido Dolfos, to whom, some versions say, she promises to give

her throne or her hand in marriage, if he can lift the siege and help her city. Some later versions say that Bellido was motivated to murder by love for Urraca, and most Castilian historians claim it as fact, but Carola Reig is no doubt correct when she states that the presumed love affair "Parece una invención juglaresca y de origen castellano para quitarle a la hazaña todo tinte heroico."³

After he kills Sancho, Bellido Dolfos disappears from history, and no two versions of the legend have the same fate for him. In some, he is killed on the spot by angry Zamorans; in others he hides or is protected by Urraca; and there are even accounts in which he returns many years later to continue his evil.

The grieving Castilians' reaction is to send a challenge to the Zamorans. The foremost of them, Rodrigo de Vivar, cannot break his vow not to attack Urraca, so Diego Ordóñez rides out with his famous *reto*: he curses the entire city -- old and young, living and dead, the food and water, and even the not-yet born. According to the custom, he must defeat five knights of Zamora in order to prove the charge of treachery which he has launched. Aging Arias Gonzalo immediately prepares for battle, but Urraca's tearful pleas make him stand aside for his four sons, who ride out to meet the challenger.

One after another, the sons of Arias Gonzalo fall before the skilled lance of Diego Ordóñez, but in the struggle with the third, the Castilian champion is carried from the enclosure by his wounded horse, ending the combat. The fate of Zamora is left undecided, but the Castilian version of the legend is convinced of the city's and Urraca's guilt in the murder.

³Reig, p. 23.

Meanwhile, in Toledo, Alfonso has been living comfortably in the palace of the Moorish king Alimaimón. He is in love with Zaida, the daughter of the king; and wants to convert and marry her. One day, the news arrives from Urraca that Sancho is dead. Alimaimón permits Alfonso to leave the city, an action he later regrets, because his former guest captures the city and makes it his capital. The oldest versions of the legend say that Zaida returned to Christian Spain, and with her new Christian name, María, was Alfonso's queen.

The new king immediately encounters resistance, personified in the Cid, from the Castilians. They insist that Alfonso swear that he was not involved in the plot against Sancho; Alfonso agrees, but the *juramento* is an angry exchange between the insistent vassal and the proud king. Alfonso exiles the Cid, and he takes leave of his family and departs on the now famous *destierro*. He heads south, conquering Moors and capturing vast booty, a large share of which he loyally returns to the king. The legend records in glowing accounts the battles of the Cid and his capture of Valencia. Alfonso, grateful to his worthy vassal, allows the Cid's family to join him for what will be the last great adventure in the story.

The Cid's daughters, Elvira and Sol, are eligible for marriage, and the young princes of Carrión, Diego and Fernando are, in Alfonso's opinion, suitable husbands. The Cid does not approve, but because Alfonso proposes the matches, he does not oppose the king's wishes. He gives his daughters large dowries and to his sons-in-law his prized swords, Tizona and Colada. The princes are cowardly and treacherous, and unworthy of their wives. They avoid battles and flee in terror from an

escaped lion, which their father-in-law easily subdues. The good followers of the Cid cover up the cowardice of the *infantes*⁴, but they are still ridiculed. The humiliated husbands decide to leave Valencia and return to Carrión with their wives. Thinking themselves safe from the Cid, the *infantes* brutally mistreat their wives in the oak forests of Corpes and desert them. Elvira and Sol are rescued, and the Cid goes to Toledo to demand justice by combat. Alfonso grants the request, and justice is won through the defeat of the *infantes*. The Cid's daughters are married again, this time to the worthy kings of Aragón and Navarra.

The episode of the *afrenta* and its aftermath is a traditional one, but probably born in an imaginative mind and not in history. Menéndez Pidal accepts the historical reality of the people involved and believes that the legend is not completely false:

La menor veracidad que es prudente reconocer a la afrenta de Corpes será admitir que el Campeador sufrió en su familia un gran desprecio por parte de los Bení-Gómez,⁵

It is possible that the legend-makers were aware only of the historical rift between the Cid and the Bení-Gómez (the broken betrothal perhaps⁶), and created the episode of the *afrenta* to explain or justify it.

As the Cid grew in epic stature he also acquired the heroic characteristic of never being defeated. It is only natural that the legend-makers would want to raise their hero over his enemies and glorify him at their expense.

⁴The term *infantes* does not necessarily refer to the sons of kings; it can also refer to any noble offspring.

⁵RMP, *La España del Cid*, p. 599.

⁶See above, p. 7.

At the end of the legend, the Cid dies in battle, and his body, dressed in full battle armour, is placed upon Babieca, his war charger. Even in death, he inspires his followers to one last glorious battle.

Regardless of the quality of the resulting work, Spanish authors have chosen the legend as a subject for their literary efforts for eight centuries, and continue to do so. The following is a brief summary and critique of several of those efforts; it represents the entire span of Spanish literature and shows the growing importance of the four ladies of the Cid legend: Jimena, Urraca, Elvira and Sol.

LITERARY TREATMENTS

1. Anonymous, *El cantar de mió Cid* (c. 1140)⁷ The first version of the legend is the most outstanding surviving Spanish epic, and has been the object of many volumes of scholarly study, some of them *hazañas épicas* in themselves. Menéndez Pidal, who has done more work on the *Poema* than any other man, has set the date of the nearly-complete manuscript at 1140; its author, he believes, was a man of the village of Medinaceli. This unknown poet was not alone, however; he had earlier sources: the songs of the traveling *juglares* and the work of another man, a poet of San Esteban de Gormaz. This predecessor, a contemporary of the Cid, provided the Medinaceli poet with historically accurate facts — names and places which the later man could not possibly have known.

⁷Edited by RMP Madrid: Bailly-Baillièrre, 1911. Quotations from this and the following literary works are page referenced in parentheses. The *Cantar de mió Cid* is also called the *Poema de mió Cid*, and will be referred to in this paper as the *Poema*.

⁸See RMP, *En Torno*, pp. 107-163.

The *Poema* is based on an actual hero, and is unmarred by supernatural and other unbelievable events. It was written less than fifty years after the Cid's death, and thus retains its historical accuracy and ties to reality. (Contrast this with the French *Chanson de Roland*, written long after the ninth-century battle of Roncesvaux. Notice the influence of the supernatural in the death of Roland.)

The story in the *Poema* tells the legend-history of the Cid after his exile by Alfonso. The lost first portion (perhaps fifty lines) tells the cause of the exile: in the continuing rivalry between the count García Ordóñez and the Cid, the former is captured and imprisoned by his rival.⁹ When the Cid returns to Castilla, the count's friends accuse him of taking more than his share of the king's tribute, and Alfonso unjustly exiles him. The hero leaves his wife and daughters at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, hoping that he will be able to return in order to marry his daughters to suitable husbands and to spend a few days of domestic happiness with his beloved wife.

He goes forth to battle with his vassals, who are as loyal to him as he is to Alfonso. He attacks and captures city after city, always returning Alfonso's share to Castilla. After the capture of Valencia he sends extra booty back, asking that his family be permitted to join him there. The ladies return with the messenger and are received with happiness and love by the hero. The increasing tribute which the Cid continues to send back to Alfonso arouses envy and greed in his Beni-Gómez rivals, and the *infantes* of Carrion see a chance to acquire wealth through marriages to his daughters. The king, wishing to honor his powerful vassals,

⁹RMP, *En Torno*, p.8.

proposes the marriages and pardons the Cid. The hero does not approve of the *infantes*, but the wedding is elaborately celebrated.

The counts give evidence of their cowardice, but the Cid remains blind to it, and even honors them with his swords. After the incident of the lion (purely legendary¹⁰), the young men are thoroughly humiliated and decide to leave Valencia with their wives.

The couples leave with the blessing of the Cid, but he privately expresses his apprehensions as well. After the ladies are rescued and returned to their father, he demands that his sons-in-law be punished as well as make amends to him. At the *cortes*, the swords and dowry are returned by the *infantes*, but a third request for judicial combat is refused. The arrogant princes scorn their wives, saying that they are unworthy of the higher nobility. The rivalry almost explodes into clan warfare: the Cid reminds García Ordóñez of his ignominious capture and the Valencian vassals challenge the counts for their cowardice. Just then, a message arrives from the kings of Navarra and Aragón, asking for the daughters in marriage. The king, satisfied, declares that the duel will be fought in the fields of Carrión. The unworthy husbands are defeated, and the second marriages of the Cid's daughters are more honorable and result in the blood of the Cid flowing in the veins of kings.

The *Poema* is well written, with plot, suspense, climax, humor, emotion, descriptions, and is more than an ordinary adventure story.

El poema nos da, además de multitud de tipos, sucesos y costumbres de época, la más integral representación del carácter del Cid. Atiende a ensalzar la acción guerrera del Campeador, lo mismo que la *Historia Roderici*; y, más animadamente que ésta, expone la incommovible fidelidad del desterrado hacia el injusto rey.

¹⁰See RMP, *En Torno*, p. 23.

Pero el poema además se fija en otras cualidades íntimas, como la gran benignidad del vencedor para con los moros, y sobre todo añade la nota entrañable del amor familiar, elevado a inspirador de la conducta y a estímulo del valor heroico del Cid, pues el corazón del caballero siempre animoso se exalta al sentirse en la batalla contemplado por los ojos de doña Jimena y de sus tiernas hijas.¹¹

The Cid is seen not only as a conqueror and hero but also as a father who wants to see his family content.

The *Poema* is more a sociological commentary than an adventure story.¹² Its scenes of family life and tender parental love, the Cid's often-expressed desire to marry his daughters well, and his outraged response to their suffering is as good a documentary of eleventh-century life as any. There is social clash between the lower nobility which the Cid represents and the villains of the arrogant upper classes, represented by the Beni-Gómez; and record of the means by which the clash is resolved.

2. Anonymous, *Cantar de Sancho II y cerco de Zamora* (c. 1160).¹³
A second epic, written after the *Poema*, but covering earlier events, deals with the civil war between Fernando's children, and is included in the Cid cycle because that hero plays a minor role. Later legend-makers increased the Cid's part after he had become literarily famous. Although the poem itself was lost, the plot has been preserved in the *Primera Crónica General*; from that and a few surviving old ballads on the subject,

¹¹RMP, *La España del Cid*, p. 7.

¹²See RMP's discussion in *Epopeya*.

¹³See note 6, p. 5 above. Hereafter *Cantar*, not to be confused with *Poema de mió Cid* (*Poema*).

at least two reconstructions have been attempted. Puyol y Alonso's version¹⁴ was not available, but Carola Reig's award-winning (and more recent) rendition is an excellent one. Northup says that the original poem must have been "by far the most artistic poem of the Spanish Middle Ages, one of the most imposing works of genius which Spain ever produced, worthy to rank among the best heroic poems of the world literature."¹⁵

Like the *Poema del Cid*, the *Cantar de Zamora* is essentially historical and the legend drawn from the *Cantar* is almost the same as the history. Although the poem is Castilian, it shows little of the prejudice against the Leonese and the Zamorans which later legend-makers felt. Arias Gonzalo is just as brave, noble and loyal as his Castilian counterpart, Diego Ordóñez. There are heroes on both sides, and none of them stands out superlatively, nor is there a declaration of the guilt or innocence of Zamora. Even the murder of Sancho is made to be more an act of desperate patriotism than a foul crime of treachery. The poem is truly national in its scope and reflects a spirit of unity and reconciliation after the chaos and disagreement of the long civil war.

The *Cantar* is not without dramatic elements which give it the position which it deserves. Carola Reig supports Northup's assertion in her own work, and adds:

El drama de Zamora es el drama de la ambición, que arrastra al crimen, a la catástrofe; ambición de mando único, justificada siempre históricamente por necesidad política; ansia de poder, de dominio total, que arrastra a los hombres y a los pueblos en una carrera ciega hacia su destino.¹⁶

¹⁴Juan Puyol y Alonso, *Cantar de gesta de don Sancho II de Castilla* (Madrid: Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas, vol. I), 1911.

¹⁵George Tyler Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (Third edition, revised by Nicholson B. Adams, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 37.

¹⁶Reig, p. 58.

In addition to those epic struggles, there are the strong characters of the brother kings and their sister. Sancho, "violento y enérgico," Alfonso, "prudente y hábil," and the "débil e incapaz" García¹⁷ are well developed, even in the prose skeleton of the chronicles. Passions run high, and in the atmosphere of fratricidal war all of the characters acquire epic stature, but Urraca stands out above them all.

3. Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica General* (1284).¹⁸ The bare prose chronicles can never possibly replace or compete with the imagination of the epic poetry, but they do represent an attempt to record as history ancient myths and prosifications of the lost *cantares de gesta*. The *Primera Crónica* is the most important and readable work of the genre in Spain. It tells the unadorned legend, without any of the conflicts between love and honor which the sixteenth-century legend-makers attached. It is to the credit of the conscientious historians who compiled it that they retained the imagination and creativity of the epic poets and *juglares*, and the *Primera Crónica* is full of romance, adventure and interest.

They drew scattered pieces of history and legend from older Latin and Moorish chronicles, lost epics, and manuscripts found in cloister corners. However, at the time when the *Crónica* was written, the legend was already growing and the Cid was firmly established as a popular hero. The tone of the narration is definitely one of veneration for the hero as the epitome of epic manhood, and his role in history is no doubt exaggerated. And because the chronicle is the oldest preserved work of the genre, it served as the source for later legend-makers, who, of course, continued the noble tradition.

¹⁷Reig, p. 11.

¹⁸Edited by RMP, Madrid: Gredos, 1955.

4. Anonymous, *La Crónica Rimada* (XV century).¹⁹ In complete contrast to the *Primera Crónica*, the *Rimada* is a crudely versified redaction of a prose reconstruction of a lost member of the "degenerate epic" genre, the *Mocedades de Rodrigo*.²⁰ It is four times removed from the historical accuracy, realism and sociological interest of the *Poema*, and has little of any of those qualities. Its eleven hundred lines deal with the history of the Spanish reconquest from Pelayo (eighth century) through the imagined youth of the Cid, and ends before his exile by Alfonso.

The rhymed narrative is riddled with meaningless and unrelated people and places, and does not elaborate on any of the important events, which certainly do invite it. The *Rimada* does serve a purpose in providing a basis for the greatest legend-makers of all -- the anonymous creators of the *romances*.

In the early part of the Cid's story, the episode of the killing of Jimena's father is introduced for what may be the first time. Rodrigo, spurred by his father's affronted honor, kills the Conde Lozano. Jimena, left an orphan, comes to the court of Fernando asking for protection and the king proposes the marriage. Rodrigo is pictured as an arrogant and rash rebel, completely out of his traditional character as a devoted and loyal servant of the king. Much to his anger and disgust, he and Jimena are betrothed, but the settlement does not really affect him. After the marriage, he leaves his wife and home and rides off to war. Jimena disappears into domestic life as the *Rimada* continues to related her husband's fictitious adventures.

¹⁹In Agustín Durán, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. XVI (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1912), pp. 653-662.

²⁰Northup, p. 49.

The *Rimada* is not great literature; it will never be in the same august league with the epic poetry or with the masterpieces it might have inspired. The legend is crudely handled, the characters are poorly described, and the atmosphere is one of feudal rivalry between petty nobles rather than an epic struggle between heroes. Nevertheless, the elements are there, and it remained for later legend-makers to create from this unpolished first attempt the beautiful legend of the Cid's youth that we have today.

5. Anonymous, *Romancero del Cid* (XV and XVI centuries).²¹ The battle over the origin of the Spanish *romances* goes on, and is not of real interest here. What is important is that they flourished in the Spanish renaissance and that most of the non-historic Cid legend came from that period. The anonymous *romances viejos* are the most traditional, and are probably fragments of lost epic poems. However, most of the ballads in the *Romancero del Cid* are later productions, written by recognized poets, such as Sepulveda, Escobar, and Timoneda. The differences between those older ballads and the sixteenth century imitations are many and obvious. A traditional *romance* is similar to the vigorous epic poetry from which it came. It plunges boldly into the high points of the hero's life, assuming that the listener (for they were meant to be heard) knows the details. Although the sophisticated poets of the *romances eruditos* imitated the style of the medieval ballads, they could not capture the vitality and spirit of their predecessors. The narration tends to be

²¹In Agustín Durán, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. X (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1916), pp. 478-575.

prosy, since the sources were the chronicles, but the ballads do tell the most interesting versions of legend to that time.

The legend is told compactly, and the story moves rapidly, without much descriptive digression. The development of the conflicts between love and honor begins in the ballads, and it is here that Jimena begins to acquire her heroic stature. More attention is paid to the ladies: there are whole *romances* which only describe the elaborate wedding of Rodrigo and Jimena; the colorful costumes, the gay *fiestas*, the important guests, the beautiful bride and the humble groom, promising her:

Aquí estoy a tu mandado,
Y en lugar del muerto padre
Cobraste marido honrado. (#739, p. 486.)

The others reveal the bride's sorrow at being separated from her warrior-husband. She complains to the king that the Cid spends more time in battle than he does with her, and demands of Alfonso:

¿Qué ley de Dios vos enseña
Que podáis por tiempo tanto
Cuando afincaís en las lides
Descasar a los casados? (#757, p. 495.)

After the birth of her child, dressed in her finery, Jimena goes to the *misa de parida* (#759, p. 495.) And later in the *Romancero* she returns as the loving wife and mother, demanding vengeance for the outrage committed upon her daughters. She sends her husband to avenge them, advising him:

No aceteis del Rey Alfonso
Excusas, ruegos ni dones;
Que mal se cubra una injuria
Con afeite de razones. (#870, p. 551.)

And at the end she is the grieving widow:

¡Ay amarga soledad,
 Como al sufrimiento enseñás
 A sufrir contra justicia
 Tan penosa y triste ausencia! (#900, p. 569.)

Urraca appears often in the ballads dealing with Sancho's reign. She, as a member of the royal family, places the spurs on the Cid's feet at his knighthood ceremonies, and her complaint at being disowned by her father (*Morir vos queredes padre*) is one of the older and more famous *romances* in the collection. Later on, she intercedes for her imprisoned brother Alfonso, and reminds Sancho that, as children, he had promised her a *don*. She demands and receives it from the unwilling king. And when, before the siege, Sancho sends the Cid with the ultimatum, the brave queen sends him away:

Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo,
 El soberbio castellano,
 Acordásete debería
 De aquel buen tiempo pasado
 . . .
 Pensé de casar contigo
 No lo quiso mi pecado
 Casásete con Jimena,
 Hija del conde Lozano:
 Con ella hubiste dinero
 Conmigo hubieras estado. (#744, p. 505.)

Zamora prepares to resist, and Urraca depends upon her aging *ayo* for advice and encouragement. When he prepares to go out and fight Diego Ordóñez, she reminds him that her father had entrusted her welfare to him (#792, p. 511.). She sadly assists the old man to arm his sons for combat (#793, p. 512) and delivers their eulogy when it is all over (#800, p. 516.).

However, the ballads were intended as tales of the exploits of the great heroes of Spain, and most of the *Romancero del Cid* deals with him and his real and legendary adventures. The other characters who

surround him are important because of their association with him. The more traditional the ballad, the more likely it is to deal with epic battles and encounters at the expense of love, honor, and the women left behind. But they do show considerable imagination on the part of the legend-makers who wrote them; particularly the *romances* which deal with those new elements. That the men who wrote them did bother to describe the anger and grief with which Jimena demands justice for her father's death (#732-736, pp. 482-485), her unhappiness at being left alone, and her outraged grief after the attack on her two daughters shows that they were interested in her as a separate character. Urraca, a strong figure in the earlier literature, emerges in a different light as the balladeers' imaginations created her secret love for the Cid. And even the Cid's two daughters, who are not even mentioned in some chronicles (not considered here), acquire a voice of their own to reproach their cruel husbands (#863, p. 548) and ask for help and justice (#864, p. 548). It is true that the voices are small and are one of the later additions to the *Romancero*, but they are there.

The real glory of the Cid ballads is the use to which the later legend-makers put them. Much like the *juglares* who imagined whole new episodes from mere suggestions in the chronicles (the love between Urraca and the Cid is such a creation), the playwrights and novelists since then have drawn new and powerful characters from the small weak voices in the ballads.

6. Guillén de Castro, *Las Mocedades del Cid* (1521).²² The Golden Age of Spanish literature produced many new versions of the old *leyendas*,

²²Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1913.

and the Cid legend proved to be one of the most popular and successful. The masterpiece of the legend is the *primera comedia* of Castro's *Moedades del Cid*. Drawing material from the action-packed *Romancero* rather than the feudal atmosphere of the *Rimada*, Castro immortalized the conflict between love and honor waged in the hearts of Rodrigo and Jimena.

The play has action and reaction, conflict both hidden and obvious, and characters *de carne y hueso*. When it was written, the plot was already quite familiar, leaving little room to alter the main events. The important part of Castro's drama is not the noisy battles, although there are several, but the characters themselves. The two great themes of love and honor permeate every scene, and are the primary motivation for the main characters.

From the beginning, Rodrigo and Jimena are deeply in love, and the necessity to kill her father creates an almost unbearable struggle for the young knight. And Jimena is literally torn in two:

La mitad de mi vida
Ha muerto la otra mitad. (p. 58, ll. 1085-6)

She swears to pursue her "adorado enemigo" (p. 58, l. 1095) and to avenge her honor, but he has already come and thrown himself at her feet:

. . . mejor es que mi amor firme
con rendirme,
te dé el gusto de matarme
sin la pena del seguirme. (p. 59, ll. 1106-9)

. . .
. . . mas en tan gran desventura
lucharon a mi despecho
contrapuestos a mi pecho
mi afrenta con tu hermosura. (p. 60, ll. 1128-31)

The suffering lovers part, and Rodrigo rides away to war, after accepting the good wishes of Urraca, who secretly loves him. Following the

great battle with the five Moorish kings, Sancho, an egotistical and arrogant young prince, swaggers in, loudly claiming that it was he who frightened the enemy away. He insists that he was driven by the thought of harm coming to his brothers and sisters. But Urraca was also in the battle and had fought bravely; superstitious Sancho sees bad omens in her unfeminine strength and bloody sword. This brief interchange between brother and sister sets the stage for Sancho's attack upon Urraca's walled city in the second play.

Rodrigo returns triumphant to the court, but Jimena is there as well, demanding justice and vengeance:

Rey, rey justo, en tu presencia
 advierte bien como estamos:
 él ofensor, yo ofendida;
 yo gimiendo, y él triunfando,
 él arrastrando banderas,
 y yo lutos arrastrando,
 él levantando trofeos,
 y yo padeciendo agravios,
 él soberbio, yo encogida,
 yo agraviada, y él honrado,
 yo afligida, y él contento,
 él riendo, y yo llorando. (p. 91, ll. 1161-72)

The king does not know how to handle the situation, but all agree that a marriage would be the best solution. He appoints Rodrigo as his champion in a duel with the Aragonese champion, don Martín. The duel is a traditional one: rather than shed two armies' blood over the contested city of Calahorra, the rival kings decide to settle their disagreement by a single combat. Jimena, sadly determined to receive justice, declares that she will marry the man who brings her the head of her father's murderer. The duel is made into a battle of jealousy: don Martín reveals that he wishes to marry Jimena by winning the combat. Jimena discovers this from a rude letter from the Aragonese champion, and finally gives in to her broken heart:

Soy desdichada, . . . ; Ay Rodrigo,
Yo te mato, y yo te lloro! (p. 134, ll. 2217-8)

The suspense is carefully built up as the entire court awaits the result of the duel. A servant rushes in, and announces the arrival of the victor, who bears Rodrigo's head. Jimena sorrowfully asks that she be released from her vow and be allowed to retire to a convent; but Rodrigo enters, bringing his very-much-alive head. Fernando orders the marriage to proceed, and Urraca, whose secret love for Rodrigo is thwarted, is left bitter and alone.

It remained for a French dramatist, Pierre Corneille, to bring the cycle to its true glory. Although his play was inspired by Castro's drama, "Corneille puts the material into the straitjacket of the unities, lops off extraneous episodes, substitutes taste for picturesque crudity. But many of his most telling lines are lifted direct from his source. Castro, if unable to produce a masterpiece, at least inspired one."²³

7. Guillén de Castro, *Las hazañas del Cid* (1621).²⁴ Castro's second play deals with the siege of Zamora. It is a drama of conflicting loyalties: the Cid's to Sancho versus that of Arias Gonzalo to Urraca. But the beauty of the play is the accumulating sense of epic frustration: Urraca, bitter over her rejected love; Arias Gonzalo, too old to defend his city, watching his young handsome sons die; Diego Ordóñez, unable to save his king's life, despairing that he could not avenge his murder either; and finally the Cid, caught in the middle, trying to serve an arrogant and unjust king while honoring his own vow not to attack Zamora.

²³Northrup, p. 287.

²⁴ Madrid: Ediciones de "la Lectura", 1913 pp. 147-286.

Castro is one of the last legend-makers to implicate Urraca in the murder of Sancho. When Bellido Dolfos tells her of his plan, she tells him:

¡Calla,
 si es trayción; y en mi querella
 escusará el no sabella
 la culpa de no escusalla!... (p. 178, ll. 608-10)

And after the deed is done, she protects him, telling Arias Gonzalo to put him in chains, but not to kill him (p. 222).

8. Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, *Don Sancho en Zamora* (1792).²⁵

The eighteenth century in Spain produced few masterpieces, and the literature of the Cid cycle is slight. The French neoclassic scorn for the clashing glory of epic battles left the Spanish heroes rather ignored in libraries.

But there was one poet, who, although an *afrancesado*, did revive the once popular theme in a completely national genre -- the eight-syllable *romance*. *Don Sancho en Zamora* is almost Romantic in its descriptions of Sancho's soldiers in shining armor, their helmets glittering in the sun and their pennants trembling in the wind; and Urraca's beautiful ladies-in-waiting. The action in the 144-line poem is reduced to dialog, but the essentials are there: Urraca complains to Sancho that he is defying his father's dying wish and that he is causing Christians to die at the hands of other Christians. She then turns to the Cid and accuses him of betraying their childhood love; he can only reply that his duty is to his king. Bellido Dolfos openly threatens Sancho from the walls of Zamora, and both Diego Ordóñez and

²⁵In *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. II, edited by Buenaventura Carlos Arribau (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1909), p. 10.

Arias Gonzalo give warnings of their action — the former delivers a preliminary challenge and the brave Zamoran accepts as Dolfos leaves the city to carry out his plan.

9. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, *Arias Gonzalo* (1882).²⁶

Rivas' five-act tragedy was begun while he was in exile on Malta, but never produced on stage because he did not like it. His play is inferior to Castro's version of the siege of Zamora, which he used as a source. The neoclassic influence is strong in Rivas; he observed the unities of time and place, packed the entire action into less than a day and had much of it, told second-hand by pages and messengers. Nevertheless, there are hints of Romanticism in the strong emotions of the characters, who are often melancholy and sensitive.

Although Arias Gonzalo gives his name to the drama, the interest in him is soon diverted to Gonzalo, his youngest son, whose burning but unrevealed love for Urraca paints him as a true Romantic hero. He is drawn by his own unhappy destiny, acts on youthful impulse, and expires in the last scene with Romantic ardor. His amorous declarations tend to destroy the epic force of the Zamora episode, and they show the Romantic's interest in the love story rather than the intense frustrations of Arias Gonzalo.

Rivas chose to minimize the importance of the father and perhaps sacrificed a great tragedy for a mediocre one, made so by the son's melancholy sentiment. There is a suggestion that the author was aware of the epic potential in the suffering figure of the old man in his closing lines:

²⁶In his *Obras Completas*, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1945), pp. 172-742.

Libre está Zamora,
mas ¡ay! ¡cuánto le cuesta a Arias Gonzalo! (Act V,x)

10. Estanislao de Cosca Bayo, *La conquista de Valencia por el Cid* (1831)²⁷ No other foreign novel has had such an influence on Spanish literature as Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. After 1830, Spanish Romantics imitated him, usually without the success of the Englishman, and most didn't even bother to disguise their blatant imitations. A new and welcome interest in Spanish history and legend replaced the sterile Neoclassic ban on such things; and a flood of historical novels appeared. The *Ivanhoe* story, with its handsome, melancholy heroes, clamorous battles, and beautiful damsels, is easily recognized in its Spanish costume, and many of the details of the stories have nothing to do with the legends they related. The Romantic legend-makers sought to hispanicize Scott, and used any Spanish hero who could fill Ivanhoe's place. One critic aptly described those attempts which dealt with the Cid legend: "We have Scott, but not the Cid."²⁸

Cosca Bayo's historical novel on the Cid legend shows a large and obvious debt to Scott. There is an unknown knight who pines in the properly Romantic manner for the love of Elvira, the Cid's daughter. She and Jimena have been captured by the king of Valencia, Abenxafa. He is a cruel tyrant, but enamored of Elvira. Her unknown lover is tricked (by none other than ever-treacherous Bellido Dolfos, now a renegade) and captured, but finds an ally in one of Abenxafa's servants who is a secret Christian.

²⁷In *Antología de la novela histórica española* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1963), pp. 221-320.

²⁸Cony Sturgis, "The Romantic Novel of the Nineteenth Century", in *Hispania* 19:415-420 (December, 1936), p. 418.

The king's ardor grows as he tries to change Elvira's scorn to love, but his efforts are thwarted by the Cid and his knights. There is an enormous battle in the end between the Moors and the Christians, in which all of the villains are ignominiously defeated. The Caballero del Ermiño (Elvira's lover) is revealed as don Ramiro, prince of Navarra, and he and his love are betrothed. The story ends with the Cid's death (perhaps an attempt to return the tale to legendary reality?), and his body is carried to San Pedro de Cardeña for burial.

The novel is unworthy of the legend and of the Cid because of its Romantic idealization of all the characters into unbelievable embodiments of virtue and evil. The plot is derived from Scott and not from the legend, nor does it add to the noble tradition. However, it is notable that Cosca Bayo chose to make the Cid's daughter Elvira (Sol's role is minor) his heroine. He attempts to explain the fate of that nebulous figure, Bellido Dolfos, and introduces don Ramiro as a character. The prince and his future brother-in-law are mentioned in nearly every previous version of the legend, but never appear in person to claim their brides.

11. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *La jura en Santa Gadea* (1843)²⁹

The Romantic interest in the old legends inspired Hartzenbusch to develop the episode of Alfonso's succession to the throne after Sancho's death. His play is a confrontation of strong wills, with the Cid at the center. He clashes with Alfonso over the matter of the *juramento*, and with Jimena (not yet his wife) because he so stubbornly insists on the

²⁹Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1964.

ancient Castilian law. Alfonso seeks to unite his divided kingdom through marriages: the Cid to Sancho's widow, Alberta; and Jimena to don Gonzalo Ansúrez. Complicating this even further are the realities of love. The Cid and Jimena are in love with each other, but Alberta loves him, and his most loyal knight, Alvar Fáñez, secretly loves Jimena. Alberta suffers because she knows she will never have the hero's heart, and Alvar Fáñez is far too noble and chivalrous to declare his love for his liege's lady.

Gonzalo Ansúrez flatters Alfonso and constantly chips away at his king's esteem for the Cid, saying that the hero had been in the plot with Bellido Dolfos and Urraca to kill Sancho. (Gonzalo had killed the traitor and claimed that this lie was Dolfo's death confession.) Gonzalo seeks to assume the Cid's honored place at the court, and the rivalry between the two finally breaks into a duel. Gonzalo defeats his opponent, but dies soon after, confessing that Bellido Dolfos had revealed that only he and Urraca were involved in the plot. The loser, thought to be the Cid, is really Alvar Fáñez, fighting in his lord's place. Jimena and her true love are reunited, and Alfonso finally promises to submit to the Castilians' wishes. At the ceremony, the Cid makes the king swear three times, and the offended monarch becomes so angry that he exiles the Cid. Before he leaves with his own loyal vassals, the hero promises to return and marry Jimena, and poor Alberta goes to a convent.

Although there is little memorable poetry in the play, it is well-written: the best effects of suspense and climax are sought and achieved, and the tensions between the characters are very well done. The Cid remains the typical epic *guerrero* who answers his lady, "Entre el deber y

el amor/ Lo primero es el deber." (p.125, ll.646-648). The other characters, however, are not the traditional figures of the legend, and there are new elements which Hartzzenbusch added. Alvar Fáñez, traditionally the Cid's strong right arm, is placed in a role in which his legendary figure does not fit, that of a pining romantic; and Gonzalo Ansuréz, a completely new character, plays the hateful role of Garcia Ordóñez rather poorly. The role usually filled by Urraca is taken by Alberta, who is one of the best characters in the play; she never detracts from her position as a woman, a widow and a queen. She is a noble sufferer; protects Jimena, her rival; and only once admits her secret love:

Yo amé también a Rodrigo
Y él no lo supo jamás. (p. 182, ll. 2178-9).

The play is unusual in that it puts the marriage between the Cid and Jimena back into its proper place in history, even if some of the relationships between the characters are fictitious.

12. Ventura García Escobar, *El Cid: drama histórico* (1846)³⁰

The Cid's daughters are central figures in the *Poema del Cid* even though they are not the main characters. After the *Poema*, interest in them declined, and very little was seen or heard of them in a long time. When García Escobar wrote his four-act tragedy, he introduced a new element, that of the continuing love between Sol and Fernando de Carrión in spite of the cruel *afrenta* and the angry reaction of the Cid.

The play opens after the incident, when the Cid has gone to Toledo to appeal to Alfonso for justice by combat. Sol does not want Fernando to die, because she still loves him, and in vain does her sister remind

³⁰ Madrid: Manuel de Rojas, 1859.

her of the family honor. Meanwhile, Fernando's crafty uncle, don Suero, urges his nephews to renounce their rights to their *condado* and go into exile in return for a royal pardon. Fernando, confessing his love, accepts the proposal because he does not want to hurt his beloved any more. The king, still sensitive over his humiliation at Santa Gadea, banishes the angry Cid and orders his daughters to return to their husbands. As a worthy daughter of the Cid, Elvira tears up the renunciation document of the *infantes* before the king's eyes.

The people of Toledo close off their city, because they are unwilling to accept their hero's exile. Don Suero, bitter since the episode of the lion humiliated him and his nephews, goes so far as to urge them to ambush their father-in-law. Fernando and Sol discover that it was don Suero who convinced the former of his wife's faithlessness (which caused his jealous fury at Corpes), and the young prince swears vengeance on his uncle. But the Toledans are unaware of these developments, and, in an angry mob, move against the *infantes*. The Cid saves his sons-in-law and even their unworthy uncle from the mob and asks Alfonso to pardon the people of Toledo.

Sol, realizing that her husband's life is in danger, asks the king to intercede in the duel which her father has demanded and received, but since it is an affair of honor, only the Cid can save Fernando. Sol convinces her father that her beloved has been deceived, but they arrive too late at the battlefield. All three of the men of Carrion have paid with death for their cruelties and their insults to the Cid's honor.

Escobar's drama is far from achieving the literary appeal of some of its predecessors. His language is pompous and inflated, and the Cid

is made almost superhuman in his generosity and courage in trying to save Fernando. The story is not part of the legend, but is of importance here because of Sol. She is the central figure, and the idea of her love for Fernando is an interesting one. He is weak and hardly worthy of her, but she so loyally defends him that one feels sympathy rather than hatred for him.

13. José Zorrilla, *La leyenda del Cid* (1882)³¹ As popular and inspiring as the Cid story was, few authors were moved to write about the entire legend. Each legend-maker chose isolated episodes from the life of the Cid and compressed the rest of the legend, if indeed they did that much. Each author could always assume that his public was completely aware of the events not mentioned in his own version.

Zorrilla undertook to write the complete legend in one colossal *romance*. He was an old man and poor, motivated perhaps more by poverty than inspired by genius, and the result is little more than hackwork. But it is the only complete version of the legend, and does have a beauty of its own. Menéndez Pidal calls it ". . . una amplia paráfrasis del *Romancero* aceptado todo él, sin selección histórica, ni apenas artística, de los varios materiales poéticos en él amontonados," but at the same time, admires it as the perfume of a last and unexpected bud on the aging tree of Romanticism.³²

Zorrilla used the *Romancero* liberally and literally in his work, which tells the entire life of the Cid and even introduces his mother.

³¹Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1882.

³²RMP, *Epopeya*, pp. 235-236.

(She only appears once before in the literature -- in the second line of the *Crónica Rimada*.) The familiar legend, with every detail elaborated and colorfully enhanced, is related in nearly 19,000 lines of verse. Zorrilla gathered ideas from every legend-maker since the *Poema* and put them all into his own work and style. It was only natural for him to put in his own imaginative contributions as well.

His most creative endeavor is his treatment of Bellido Dolfos, who reappears as the vengeful adviser to the counts of Carrion. He had been in hiding since Sancho's murder, carefully planning his revenge on the Cid. The marriage of Elvira and Sol and the cruelties to them are all part of his scheme; the *infantes* are just tools for his revenge. It is an utterly fantastic story, but without a doubt, the most imaginative recreation of the traitor in all literature.

It is difficult to distinguish between the actual legend and Zorrilla's imagination, but all of the legendary elements of love and honor are included in his *Leyenda* and the main characters play their traditional roles.

14. Eduardo Marquina, *Las hijas del Cid* (1908)³³ The approach of the twentieth century marked the end of the Romantic interest in Spanish legendary past. The interest in the past glory of Spain faded with the smoke of the Spanish American war. Spain's then-current problems rather than the tarnished golden past were the object of concern among intellectuals and writers. Tastes changed, and one critic even urged writers to "echar doble llave al sepulcro del Cid para que no volviese a cabalgar."³⁴

³³Madrid: Renacimiento, 1912.

³⁴Joaquín Costa, quoted by RMP, *Epopeya*, p. 236.

But the legend remained, and after twenty-five years of being ignored, reappeared in Marquina's theatrical symphony. Inspired by the *afrenta* de Corpes incident in the *Poema*, he wrote his dramatization of the epic poem.

Marquina's delicate and refined poetry make the story of the *afrenta* a beautiful and heart-rending lyric poem. He adds some new elements which were already there: the love of the Cid and Jimena for their daughters, and their desire to protect them; and the powerful sense of honor which has dominated the Cid and his family from their earliest epic beginnings. The author has added, or perhaps increased, the already existing love between the two sisters, as well as the concern of their cousin Téllez Muñoz and their father's lieutenant, Pero Bermúdez.

The *infantes* are most unlikeable and unpleasant: they are without honor, courage or scruples. They carouse and plot with the Moorish enemy; They are rude, disrespectful and vengefully cruel to their wives.

The best characters are the Cid and his two daughters. He is pictured as an aging warrior and father who bears the weight of command and a family crisis on his shoulders. He is not the proud and defiant hero of the epic battles -- his speeches are filled with anguish, his beard is white, and he is an old man who wants his noble line to continue through his only daughters.

The story is uncomplicated: Marquina presents the Cid's family in Valencia before the fateful marriages; the hero's wife and daughters live a pleasant life, although Jimena worries about her husband because he can never relax or escape from the worries of conquest. Although Alfonso has exiled him, he remains loyal, and when the king asks that he marry his

daughters to the court favorites, Fernando and Diego of Carrión, the Cid consents, hopeful that the marriage will result in noble offspring.

The *infantes* appear on the scene, making themselves despicable from the beginning. The Valencians think them cowards and indeed they are. Instead of following their future father-in-law into battle, they go to the palace of a crafty *mora*, who betrays them to her countrymen. The princes are saved by the loyal men of the Cid, returning victorious from the battle. The soldiers, not wanting the dishonor of the *infantes* to fall upon their lord and his daughters, tell everyone that the two cowards were the champions of the day -- killing the enemy leader and capturing their standard. The *infantes* are believed by the Valencians to be suitable husbands for the daughters of the Cid and they are married.

Sometime after their marriage, the husbands take their wives and leave Valencia, and one dark night, the daughters find themselves alone in a gloomy forest. They are both terrified, but refuse the help offered by an old man who comes to help them. The *viejo* hides a whistle in a hollow tree, telling them that they can use the whistle to call for help, should they need it. The girls realize later that the old man was their father, too proud to admit openly his great love for his family; he cannot allow himself to fret and worry audibly about his daughters as a father often does. It is an interesting element in the play; a tender but agonized revelation of parental devotion.

The husbands return and start drinking. They become obscene and cruel in their inebriation and attack and beat Elvira and Sol. The physical pain is considerable but the mental anguish of dishonor is too much for Elvira, who runs into the woods, screaming blood vengeance. Sol finds and

blows the whistle, and her father arrives quickly. He too promises a vengeance similar to that of his youth, when he avenged his own father's dishonor with blood.

The outrage is partly avenged at Alfonso's court, when Fernando is killed, but Diego escapes. The tragedy continues because Elvira is nowhere to be found. The family mourns, but they do not give up the hope that she may still be alive. The Cid mourns only as a strong but aging hero can. The kings of Navarra and Aragon have asked for the hands of his daughters, but this time he leaves the decision to Sol. He begs her to marry so that the blood line of Vivar will continue; he begs her on his knees -- he has never done that to any man.

Sol, at first remembering the unpleasantness in the woods, refuses, but when she thinks of her father, she consents to the marriage. Soon after, Elvira comes in "con traje de combate, horribilmente pálida" (p. 195). She has completed the vengeance begun when Fernando was killed in the duel, but is mortally wounded, and exhausted physically and spiritually. She collapses in death as the trumpets announce the arrival of the two kings.

The suffering Cid ends the tragedy by announcing that death reigns, that the Moors will re-occupy his city and only his corpse will ride out to combat them.

The beauty of the play is its poetry. There is nothing ugly in it. The true sufferings are not physical: the terrible agony of dishonor and the frustrating pain of being able to do nothing to relieve a loved one's suffering. The Cid is seen in a different light as an aged father, and one thinks of Diego Laínez in the *Mocedades*, but this father has much heavier burdens and greater honor.

The language of the play is beautiful: it is poetry rather than dialog, and makes the play a private family scene upon which the reader or the audience eavesdrops. There are none of the sword-clashing battles of a movie spectacular; rather the play is an inner battle which requires characters of more epic proportions.

15. Rafael Pérez y Pérez, *La eterna enamorada* (1968)³⁵ Spanish literature ceased to be cultivated during the war years (1936-39), and after a relative calm returned, so did literature, particularly the novel. In recent years, there has been a tremendous output of short paperback novels intended for the not-so-wealthy but large reading public in Spain. The novels are written by incredibly prolific writers, and Pérez y Pérez is one of those "one-man novel factories." He has written hundreds of short-lived novels, and one of them, *La eterna enamorada*, retells the story of the Cerco de Zamora essentially as it has come down through ballads and legends. However, the author adds several new elements to his version of the story, which is not meant for mature readers looking for great literature.

The basic action is the same as that of more respectable versions of the legend, but there is always a third party to all of the discussions. Rodrigo Hallado, a young page in the court of Urraca, was found one day as an infant in her bedchamber and raised by the tender-hearted queen as her own son. She gave him the name of the man she had always loved, but could never have, Rodrigo de Vivar, and added the title "de Castilla."

The story opens just during the great battle between Sancho and Alfonso, both of whom Urraca loves, although the latter was commended to

³⁵Barcelona: Juventud, 1968.

her care, and she feels a special responsibility toward the young king. She fears that her ambitious brother Sancho will ruin them all, especially when Alfonso is imprisoned after his defeat. The queen decides to go to Sancho and ask for her favorite brother's freedom; she takes her lady-in-waiting doña Aldonza, and of course, her faithful young page.

It is not really Urraca who gains freedom for Alfonso, but doña Aldonza, who, it is revealed, was once in love with a certain Ordoño Galíndez, none other than the *infante* Sancho in disguise. They meet again, in darkness, and she reveals the secret birth of their son, the page Rodrigo. Sancho still loves her, adores his son, and promises to recognize them both as soon as he controls Christian Spain.

Sancho spares his brother but sends him to a monastery, where he will be expected to take vows. Alfonso's faithful lieutenant plans with her council to fight to the death for her city. Bellido Dolfos, one of her knights, bitterly proclaims his love for her, but she rejects him. He says that he can lift the siege; she suspects he intends to murder both Sancho and the Cid and refuses to have anything to do with such plans. However, she does mention that although her love has already been given (to the Cid), her throne is available to the man who can save her city, and the traitor goes to work.

The Zamorans suspect that something evil is afoot, and doña Aldonza goes out late at night to warn her lover. Sancho laughs at her fears and she returns to the city. Bellido Dolfos approaches him with his lies and leads the young king away and kills him, but afterward, is nowhere to be found. Urraca is truly shocked and the whole town knows that it was the unlikeable Dolfos who committed the bloody deed. Because the killer is

not handed over, the Castilians challenge the entire city and Arias Gonzalo's sons die in the legendary manner.

Meanwhile, ten-year old Rodrigo is rather oblivious to the struggle and goes for a walk with his dog, a gift from his doting but unrecognized father. It is the young page who discovers Bellido Dolfos' hiding place and the furious townspeople kill the traitor on the spot. Alfonso returns from exile with his beloved Zaida, accepts the condition of the oath, but his first act as king is to exile the Cid. Urraca persuades both men to relax their stubbornness, and the exile is postponed. Urraca asks that she be allowed to retire to a castle, and does so. The remainder of the story is a totally fictitious accounting for the characters. Zaida becomes a saintly recluse and clairvoyant, young Rodrigo falls in love with Arias Gonzalo's granddaughter, and although Urraca is revealed as "la eterna enamorada", she is the least of them, in that Pérez y Pérez does not develop the many possibilities suggested by the legend. (The encounter between the Cid and Urraca when he delivers the ultimatum is not even mentioned.)

The story is almost infantile in its interest, with little emphasis on the great *hazañas*. The great Cid is a minor character, because Pérez y Pérez spends his time on the women in the various love duets he has created. The role of Rodrigo adds an idyllic element, and the idea of Sancho's illegitimate son does make an interesting story. For a ten-year old, he is much too interested in psychology (it is he who analyzes her broken heart, for she says nothing), and too involved in political affairs to be very interesting himself.

CHAPTER III

JIMENA

También tengo obligación
de ser heroína.¹

Jimena has the most established legendary personality of any of the heroines of the Cid story. As the wife of the great Cid, she attracted the attention of the earliest legend-makers, and she appears in nearly every version of the legend, even if only for a brief moment. Because of this constant interest in her, writers after Castro were not as free as their predecessors to speculate on her personality, which had become a fairly stable one, and their works tend to lack the force and power of some of the earlier versions.

Because the historical Jimena appears late in the Cid's life and the legendary Jimena plays such an important part in his youth, one historian attempted to prove that there were two different wives of the Cid -- Jimena Díaz and Jimena Gómez.² However, history and legend recognize only the former, whose participation in the life of the Cid has been increased through backward buildup of the legend.

There are many twelfth-century documents which prove the wealth and nobility of the historic Jimena. Her marriage to the Cid was indeed an alliance of political and economic convenience and brought a considerable

¹Zorrilla, p. 90.

²RMP. *La España del Cid*, p. 136.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 845, 864, 869, 880, 882, 884.

Throughout the rest of the poem, Jimena is seen only as the "mujer honrada," held in the highest esteem by all the men who surround her. The poet aptly describes the separation as painful as the pulling of the nail from the flesh. The sorrow of being separated is no less than the great joy and celebration of the reunion in Valencia. When the king of Morocco attacks the city, Jimena is afraid and turns to her husband. He comforts her, saying that he becomes even braver when she is there watching in him.

She has nothing to do with the marriage arrangements for her daughters, but like any mother, is glad that such good marriages have been made. The Cid confides his own misgivings to her, saying that Alfonso arranged the match rather than he, but she does not seem to pay any attention. When her daughters prepare to leave, Jimena embraces them:

¡Andad fijas, daqui el Criador vos vala!
 De mi e de uestro padre bien avedes nuestra gracia
 Hyd a Carrion do sodes heredadas,
 Assi commo yo tengo, bien uos he casadas. (p. 81, ll. 2603-6)

And after that, she does not appear again in the *Poema*. The role is small but important, because the poem is a picture of family life, and Jimena is definitely part of the Cid's family. Every time the hero speaks to her, it is only in terms of tender endearment, and she responds to him in a similar but less vocal manner. She is a good wife and mother; these are the characteristics which are important to the poem, the poet, and his audience. Her beauty, wealth and nobility mean nothing and are not mentioned, but her sorrowful weeping, her joy, her fears, and her love for her husband are.

The Cid shows no less emotion in the same situations, without detracting from his epic stature. But this does not mean that Jimena's

powerful emotions make her an epic heroine. Her role is secondary to that of her husband and her importance is relative to him: when he is near her, what she says and does is important; when he leaves her, she is not mentioned.

The *Primera Crónica* purported to tell the history of Spain; history is usually made up of wars, and Jimena plays a greatly diminished role in that thirteenth-century version of the legend. The tender goodbyes of the *Poema* are omitted in the chronicle's narration of the Cid's adventures which are of more historical interest. The description of the reunion between the Cid and his family is prosaic and although it describes the same events and reactions, there is little of the tender familial joy which the *Poema* conveys.

However, the chroniclers' interest in Jimena seems to increase as the narrative continues. They mention that she dressed her daughters in their finery to meet their husbands for the first time, but later had her doubts about the marriage. In the one hundred and fifty years since the *Poema* described her joy at the marriages, the legend-makers changed her attitude. In the *Primera Crónica*, and in every subsequent version of the legend, Jimena's words are similar to these:

Non tengo por buen recabdo que las uestras fías
dexedes uos tirar del uestro poder et leuarlas a
otra tierra, ça commo estos uestros yernos son
enemizados et fechos mucho a su voluntad, si se
les antoiare, fazerles an mal et desonrrarlas an,
et desi ¿quien gelo yra demandar? (p. 607)

Her suspicions are proved correct, and the chroniclers describe her sorrow and apprehension during the three days that her daughters are missing (p. 614). And after her husband's death, she does not want him to be placed in a coffin; rather she wants her daughters to see him, "su rostro et los oios. . . tan frescos et tan apuestos" (p. 639). The

Crónica continues the legend to include Jimena's life after the death of the Cid, and her own burial at San Pedro near her husband.

The Jimena of the *Crónica* is still referred to in expressions of her relationship to the Cid -- "su mugier, Ximena" -- but she has begun to acquire a separate personality. The chroniclers describe her actions and feelings apart from the Cid: preparing her daughters for marriage, and her mourning of their suffering. She does not say very much; even less than in the *Poema*, but her own words are those of caution and doubt. She questions her husband's judgment in permitting the king to marry his daughters to the *infantes*, and in doing so, separates herself from him. The thirteenth-century legend-makers considered her story-worthy enough to tell of her devotion to her dead husband and of her children's similar devotion to her after her death (pp. 641-2).

Although the *Crónica Rimada* is a poor piece of literature, it is the poetic remains of the *Mocedades de Rodrigo*, one of the pseudo-epic poems written by men who, seeking new material, began to create in their imaginations the youth of the Cid. It is the *Rimada* that first introduces the potential dramatic conflict of the Cid's marriage; that is, the killing of Jimena's father. And although the unknown author did not develop his creative invention, "percibía bien lo dramático del conflicto suscitado en el alma de Jimena por la suma de afectos y deberes tan apuestos como el rencor de un homicidio y el duelo del matrimonio."⁴

None of the characters of the *Rimada* version of the legend play their legendary roles; and the dispute between Diego Laínez and Jimena's father is a rivalry between two powerful and feuding factions in the court

⁴RMP, *Epopeya*, p. 49.

of the weak and indecisive Fernando. The Conde Lozano is killed by Rodrigo in a raid by the men of Vivar. His sons are captured and released by the young victor, and want revenge, but Jimena calms them by promising to ask the king for justice, and so she does:

Rey, dueña so lasrada, e aveme piedat,
 Orphanilla finqué pequeña de la condesa mi madre
 Ffijo de Diego Laynes fissome mucho mal;
 prissome mis hermanos, y matóme a mi padre
 A vos que sodes rey -- vengome a querrellar
 Señor, por merced, derecho me mandat dar. (p. 654)

It has already been mentioned that Rodrigo does want to be married, but accepts Fernando's decision, and Jimena disappears from the *Rimada*. Her small role is almost insignificant because the poet ignored her dramatic possibilities in favor of relating other incidents, most of which are non-historical adventures in which the Cid could not have participated.

Jimena's character does acquire some strength, however, when she tries to end the bloody feud between her brothers and Vivar; and although she does not know the young man who killed her father, she marries him. It is worth noting that she does not marry her father's murderer out of love, but only for her protection, since she is now an "orphanilla."

The *romances*, based on the characters of the epic poetry, return to the traditionally noble personalities, but also take advantage of the new plot elements suggested by previous legend-makers. The Jimena of the ballads is strong and fearless in the masculine atmosphere of the court. She confronts the king himself with his indecision in the matter of justice for the killing of her father, and tells him boldly that he does not deserve to be king if he does not serve justice, and

later in the story reproaches him for taking her husband away from her. Her relationship with the Cid is considerably developed. Her first words to him are angry and challenging:

Mátame, traidor a mí,
No por mujer me perdones,
Mira que pide justicia
Contra tí Jimena Gómez. (# 32, p. 483)

After the elaborate marriage, Jimena takes up the wifely position described in the *Poema*, and expresses her love for her husband, asking him:

Rey de mi alma, y d'esta tierra conde,
¿Porqué me dejas? ¿Dónde vas? ¿Adónde? (#745, p. 490)

. . .con larga ausencia
A Jimena quitáis vida y paciencia. (#747, p. 490)

The tender sorrow of Jimena's letters to her husband reveal her loving heart more than any previous description of her. The writer of those particular *romances* managed to capture the feminine charm and sweet tenderness of the lonely wife and communicate it in his poetry.

However, Jimena never loses her fire, and it is again aroused after the abuse of her daughters. She spares none of it in her angry instructions to her husband. She is no coward, but at the same time retains all her femininity. She is a lady of noble blood and is treated accordingly by the legend-makers. Her elegant finery, so carefully described, only furthers that impression. It is in the *Romancero* that Jimena becomes a candidate for the title of "epic heroine." She has a personality of her own, distinct from that of her husband. The legend-makers are interested in her as a unique person, with feelings to which she responds in her own way.

In Castro's first play Jimena acquires an epic stature of her own, equal to that of the Cid. Her desire for revenge is no less than his; and the pain and frustration caused by her persecution of her beloved is certainly greater. She suffers nobly, and never uses her sex as a tool against the honorable and chivalrous men around her. Her love for her father and for Rodrigo is strong and the clash between the two would have destroyed a lesser heroine. She retains the bravery imparted to her by the *romances*, and her stormy and determined demands for justice cause Fernando to complain:

Tiene del Conde Lozano
la arrogancia y la impaciencia.
Siempre la tengo a mis pies
descompuesta y querelosa. (p. 100, ll. 1935-8)

When the king and his nobles try to trick her into admitting her love by telling her that Rodrigo is dead, she at first reacts with surprised grief, but quickly recovers and renews her determination for vengeance, all the while inwardly suffering because of the conflict between her love and her honor.

She is a character apart from the great Cid: she initiates action, motivated by her own deep feelings, and causes a reaction in others -- the love of Rodrigo, the jealousy of Urraca, and the annoyance of the king. Castro's Jimena is at the peak of her development -- she is far above the Romantic sentimentality with which the nineteenth-century legend-makers endowed her. Her tears are noble and completely free from any suggestion of the maudlin floods which devastate so much of the Romantic literature.

After Castro immortalized her, Jimena became a popular character with later legend-makers, but they could not reproduce the same epic per-

sonality which he gave her. Although Hartzenbusch managed to create a noble figure in Alberta, his Jimena:

. . .es aquí la histórica Jimena Díaz, hija del Conde de Oviedo y prima de Alfonso; pero su figura sin relieve es la de una de tantas heroínas románticas, víctimas pasivas del destino o de las pasiones de los demás más que de las propias; su voluntad no se rebela casi nunca y sus acentos no logran conmovernos.⁵

Zorrilla, seeking to capture the entire cumulative personality of Jimena, made her an almost incredible combination of superlatives -- the most beautiful, gracious, devoted and *honrada esposa* in eternal Spain. She is too perfect, and when Zorrilla attempts to convey her suffering in the noble tradition of Castro, he only makes her seem rather ridiculous: queens and goddesses just don't suffer as Jimena suffered. However, it is Zorrilla who finally put the words in Jimena's mouth, which Castro had proved to be true:

También tengo obligación
de ser heroína. (p. 90)

Other legend-makers, choosing to deal more with her daughters, cast Jimena in a motherly role which does not seem to fit. Presumably because Scott had no mothers in his *Ivanhoe*, Cosca Bayo pays little attention to his heroine's mother, although she does not want for honor, the scorn she displays to Abenxafa, and devotion to her family. García Escobar pictures the Cid's agonies of fatherhood and old age, but Jimena does not interest him. Not even Marquina's lyrical re-creation of the *afrenta* manages to capture the personality which was developed by Castro and his predecessors.

⁵RMP, *Epopéya*, p. 196.

At the height of her development as an epic heroine, Jimena is noble, brave, loving and always feminine. She has no evil thoughts toward anyone, but insists on maintaining her own personal dignity and integrity in her relationship with those around her. She is most like the Cid; she is as perfect an example of Spanish femininity as he is of manhood. Her devotion, loyalty and conduct are as ideal as his. The other three ladies of the legend cannot make such a claim. She is the strongest and most noble female character of the legend, and a worthy wife of the great Cid. Although she is not pictured as a superhuman goddess, Jimena is as perfect a woman as any in literature, and there are probably few women like her, just as there are few men like her husband.

CHAPTER IV

URRACA

En esta suerte ha de ver
 mi hermano, que aunque muger,
 tengo en el braço valor.¹

Urraca, called "la reina de Zamora" by the citizens of that city, is a very different historical and legendary character. Jimena gradually attracted the attention of the legend-makers because she was the wife of the Cid; Urraca was always important as the sister of Sancho and Alfonso, and the ruler of the city of Zamora. She is not a legendary heroine in the same way that Jimena is, because she is a strongly motivated, courageous and independent character in the earliest epic poetry; she was "born" with her epic stature. But many later legend-makers tried to supersede her with other heroes -- Arias Gonzalo, Diego Ordóñez, or the Cid -- and other heroines -- Jimena and Alberta -- and Urraca struggles to maintain her position among them. She withstands the Castilian judgment against her, but the pressure of her popularity with the legend-makers has nearly destroyed her.

There is not very much information about the historical Urraca. Her role in history is undeniable, even though it may have been a bloody one. She was born in 1033, the eldest daughter of Fernando; never married, and was very much involved in the civil war with her brothers. Her relationship with them is clouded by legend and the Castilians' hostility toward her. They say that her love for Alfonso hardened her against all others,

¹Castro, p. 87, ll. 1562-4.

including her brother García and sister Elvira. How important was her advice to Alfonso both before and after his succession to the throne? She did nothing for García when he was imprisoned (some say that it was her advice that put him there), but rushed quickly to Alfonso's defense. How she convinced Sancho to release Alfonso is unknown, as are the details of the latter's escape to Toledo. No one knows for sure what her part in Sancho's death was, and there is no accepted proof of her threats against his life. However, she was obviously politically astute and quite capable of handling her own affairs.

The epic heroine Urraca is the woman pictured in the *Cantar de Zamora*, the lost epic poem re-created from the chronicles and the *romances*. Urraca is a strong character with intense and consistent feelings which reveal her as a complex woman of *esfuerzo viril* who has a feminine tenderness only for her brother Alfonso. She is the only woman in the poem (her sister Elvira has always been ignored by the legend-makers), and the *juglar* endowed her with a rather unfeminine shrewdness and hard-heartedness.

When her dying father divides up his kingdom among his sons, she demands her birthright and threatens dishonor to the family if she isn't recognized:

Morir vos queredes, padre
 Sant Miguel vos haya el alma;
 Mandastedes vuestras tierras
 Á quien bien se os antojara.
 Diste á Don Sancho á Castilla
 Castilla la bien nombrada.
 Á Don Alonso á León,
 Y á Don García á Vizcaya.
 Á mi, porque soy mujer,
 Dejáisme desheredada:

Irme he yo por estas tierras
 Como una mujer errada,
 Y este mi cuerpo daría
 A quien se me antojara,
 A los moros por dinero
 Y a los cristianos de gracia.
 De lo que ganar pudiere
 Haré bien por vuestra alma --
 Allí preguntara el Rey:
 -- ¿Quién es esa que así habla?
 Respondiera el Arzobispo:
 -- Vuestra hija Doña Urraca.
 -- Calledes, hija, calledes,
 No digades tal palabra,
 Que mujer que tal decía
 Meresce de ser quemada.
 Allá en Castilla la Vieja
 Un rincón se me olvidaba,
 Zamora había por nombre,
 Zamora la bien cercada;
 De una parte la cerca el Duero,
 De otra, Peña tajada;
 Del otro la Morería:
 ¡Una cosa es preciada!
 ¡Quien os la tomare, hija,
 La mi maldición le caiga!
 Todos dicen amen, amen,
 Sino Don Sancho, que calla. (#763, p. 498)

And although she weeps when García attacks her early in the war,² she is unforgiving later when he is in chains in Luna castle, and does nothing for him. But how different she is when Alfonso is in the same position! She hurries to Burgos, fearful for his life, and uses all her influence with Sancho as his older sister to obtain Alfonso's release.

Todo lo femenino que hay en ella, esa fibra de debilidad que hay en lo más hondo del corazón de la mujer más varonil, se polariza hacia Alfonso, incapacitándola para todo otro amor, para toda piedad. Lejos del desterrado [Alfonso], piensa siempre en él, tanto que, muerto Sancho, caliente su cadáver, su primer acto es enviar a aquél aviso para que vuelva a recibir la corona de Castilla y de León, corona que dejará huellas sangrientas en sus sienas.³

²See *Primera Crónica*, p. 497.

³Reig, p. 52.

The prose redactions of the *Cantar de Zamora* report her promise to have Sancho killed and that she did not stand in Dolfos' way when he reported his plan to her: "Pero non te mando yo que tu fagas nada del mal que has pensado."⁴

The Urraca of the *Cantar* is a spirited princess who inspires the heroic devotion of her vassals, a brave woman pursued and attacked by her brothers, and a queen who is unafraid and makes bold plans which she fully intends to carry out. Some versions of the legend have her appear weak and helpless before the heroic figure of Arias Gonzalo, but the poetic subterfuge does not hide the real Urraca. She does need the men to fight for her city, but not to protect her. She cannot ride into battle, although she would probably like to. She is never a helpless female; rather a determined, independent and perhaps vengeful woman. Nor is she ever a villainess; rather a lonely and heroic queen who defends herself against her enemies. She never knows triumph and is never defeated; she asks no pity and receives none. Her position in the *Cantar de Zamora* is that of the central figure in a Greek tragedy: she does not shrink from the most horrible crime, and whether she was actually involved in the plot against Sancho or not, the fact remains that the thought crossed her mind and that she did nothing to stop Bellido Dolfos.

This Urraca is dependent upon no one else in the drama of Zamora, and there is no other character who can call himself her equal. The men can only fight as honorable soldiers; Urraca sends them out, she controls the city. Without her, there would be no action, no epic confrontation,

⁴*Primera Crónica*, p. 510.

and perhaps Sancho would not have been killed. This Urraca has dignity and courage; she knows what she must do, and she does it.

Did she have Sancho killed? She is certainly historically and legendarily capable of such an action, although no one will ever know for sure. For the legend-makers, the question of her guilt depends upon the loyalty of the writer: the Castilians declared her guilty, the Zamorans proclaimed her innocent. Nearly all the authors make it clear that she was aware of the plot and did not (or was unable to) do anything. The question of her guilt is debated only by the early legend-makers, those before Castro, whose literary efforts served as source material for the re-creations of the *Cantar*.

After the *romances*, Urraca's character and importance have been played down. As Jimena's influence and role grow, Urraca's diminish, perhaps because of Jimena's growing epic stature. Urraca never completely loses her epic characteristics of nobility and courage, but later legend-makers wreak such havoc with her relationship with those around her that she loses the strength and independence which the *Cantar* gives her.

From the report in the *Primera Crónica* of Urraca's words to the Cid (reminding him that they were raised together) in rejecting Sancho's ultimatum, the writers of the ballads created the unhappy love affair of the *Romanceero* and every version of the legend since. One of the most famous ballads -- "Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo" -- presents the princess as not only in love with the Cid but at one time hoping to marry him. She bitterly reminds him that he chose Jimena over her, even though it was she, Urraca, who put his spurs on his boots at his knighthood ceremonies.

From that suggestive beginning, legend-makers continued the development of the legendary love. By making Urraca and the Cid childhood sweethearts, the authors discovered another love and honor conflict, in which the Cid, after having rejected Urraca, must again meet her, as an enemy against whom he must fight. There are many story possibilities in this situation, and they were all developed at Urraca's expense.

Castro was the first to take advantage of the dramatic possibilities suggested by the *Romançero*, and he succeeded not only in producing a good story, but also in covering up the traditional personality of Urraca with the romantic rags of a love triangle.

In the first play, she appears as the brave princess who is also Jimena's rival. The two ladies clash only once, but because Rodrigo never once expresses any love for Urraca, the meeting is not violent. It is a typically female dispute over beauty: Rodrigo, talking only to his beloved Jimena, speaks of the equal joys of her love and her beauty. Urraca rather cattily suggests that she is Jimena's equal in the latter category. Jimena graciously ends the short interchange:

Solo sentí
el agravio de tus ojos
porque yo mas estimara
el ver estimar mi amor
que mi hermosura. (p. 37, ll. 704-8)

After that unpleasantness, Castro keeps them apart. Urraca doesn't ever stop trying, and before Rodrigo rides away to war, she reminds him:

No es imposible, Rodrigo
el igualarse las dichas
en desiguales estados
si es la nobleza una misma. (p. 71, ll. 1385-8)

Rodrigo replies chivalrously to this, and never once gives her a reason to believe that he loves anyone but Jimena.

Urraca watches Jimena and Rodrigo suffer their agonies of love and honor in conflict, and comments bitterly on their continuing and deepening love (pp. 92-3 and 96-7). To Arias Gonzalo, she confesses her love and refuses his advice to marry another man. (Castro suggests that Urraca never married because of her unrequited but eternal love. This idea is continued by some other legend-makers, notably Pérez y Pérez and Rivas, who replaces the Cid with Arias Gonzalo's son.) When Rodrigo is fighting don Martín, Urraca silently suffers with Jimena; when he returns victorious and is betrothed, the loser comments bitterly:

Ya del corazón te arrojé,
¡ingrato! (p. 145, l. 2997)

This picture of an acid-tongued third side of a triangle is what separates the heroine of the *Cantar de Zamora* from that Urraca of later versions of the legend. The brave, opinionated, and fearless queen becomes a spiteful and jealous female. (She is however, very human; women are apt to be more like her than the ideal represented by Jimena.)

There is another side of Urraca which Castro and some of his literary descendants partly developed; a different character more in keeping with her epic personality. Urraca the princess is honorable, noble and brave, even though she has been rejected. She understands the sense of *pundonor* which forced Rodrigo to kill Jimena's father, and she defends him and his action (p. 144). After the battle with the Moorish king, she tells her arrogant brother Sancho:

En esta suerte ha de ver
mi hermano, que aunque muger,
tengo en el brazo valor. (p. 87, ll. 1562-4)

She is stronger in character than Sancho, who is somewhat afraid of her. She scorns his ignorance of his royal responsibilities because she is so

aware of her own, and she knows that he does not like her and that they will come to blows sooner or later. Her royal responsibility conflicts with her love for Rodrigo, and she knows which she must choose in the end. Once in a while, her traditional epic personality shows through in this noble acceptance of her fate -- she knows that she cannot have Rodrigo's love. It remained for Corneille to remove Castro's mask of bitterness from Urraca and develop her as the future queen who suffers her own conflict of love and royal honor with dignity. His Urraca is not a jealous and bitter woman at all -- she approaches her lost epic stature.

This second side of Urraca is only suggested in the first of Castro's plays; but in the second, he does not choose to develop it. He makes her more and more helpless and dependent upon Arias Gonzalo:

Arias Gonzalo, si al consuelo mío
no acude tu valor y tu consejo,
fuerte es la pena, mugeril el brio. (p. 158, ll. 183-5)

. . .
cansada estoy de temer,
y muerta estoy de llorar. (p. 177, ll. 580-3)

She loses more strength, both as a woman and as an epic character, as the drama proceeds: her complaints become sighs of "¡ay desdichada!" Her action is reduced to obedience to her *ayo* and her role to that of a minor character. She knows of Bellido Dolfos' plan, but tells him not to elaborate it, so that she will be able to plead ignorance of the deed. The decisive and spirited princess of history and of the *Cantar* cannot make herself act, let alone others. Castro borrowed heavily from the ballads, but failed to grasp the virile spirit which they gave her. She who used to control the men around her with controlled tears now lets her tears flow at the slightest provocation. She does recover a little of her tra-

ditional fire when she sends the Cid away after rejecting the surrender proposal, but the words are lifted directly from the *romances* and are inconsistent with the personality which Castro has created for her.

Although Urraca weeps in Moratín's dialog version of the siege, she does have the strength to reproach Sancho and the Cid for their attack on her city. Her complaint to her brother is a reasonable one, without any helpless pleading:

Cuando debiera Castilla
 Libertar a toda España,
 Con foso cercas mi muro,
 Tu hueste mis campos tala.
 Y azarques y sarracinos
 En Segovia juegan cañas,
 Y en Zocodover con cifras
 Resplandecen sus adargas.
 Y guarte, no llegue el día
 Que dándoles tú la causa,
 Vengan a beber sus yeguas
 Del Duratón y el Arlanza.
 Ambicionando lo ajeno
 Que tu padre nos dejara,
 Con los cristianos aceros
 Viertes la sangre cristiana.
 ¡Oh cuánto fuera mejor
 Esas iras emplearlas
 Contra quien viera lo que es
 Unido el poder de España! (p. 10)

Sancho replies arrogantly, "Soy rey. Esto digo, y basta." She reproaches the Cid for betraying her love, and "con la color demudada" he mumbles about his duty to the king; but neither man can stand up to her.

The Romantics could not resist the temptation offered by Castro's development of Urraca's love. In *Arias Gonzalo* she reaches a new low as a pining and melancholy "heroine." She is weary of the battle when the play opens and is controlled by Arias Gonzalo and his sons. She is ready to surrender to Sancho, but the honorable men will not let her; their valor inspires "digna admiración" (p. 717) in her.

The ultimate insult to the once dignified queen of Zamora comes in the character of the passionately pining Gonzalo Arias, who adores his lady from afar and confesses to her that he breathes only to die for her (p. 723). She is unaware of Dolfos' plan to kill Sancho, and shows her "profundo dolor" at her brother's death and shrieks what a *horror* it is (p. 726). At the end she mourns the death of her champion and Arias Gonzalo's son:

¡Valiente campeón! ¡Héroe glorioso!
 ¡Oh injusta suerte! ¡Embravecidos astros!
 Vive como mereces, y recibe
 el galardón que a tu valor consagro.
 ¡Oh Dios! ... El hielo de la muerte
 lo embarga ya ... ¡Gonzalo, mi Gonzalo! (p. 742; V,x).

Such a figure offers little interest and is so far from the lady of the *Cantar* that she is almost unrecognizable. If Rivas was attempting to recapture the heroine of Zamora, he succeeded only in producing an unheroic, fearful and weak female who cowers at her brother's threats and is ready to surrender at the first threat. Only once does she show herself to be brave, and her words are strange in the mouth of such a helpless figure. She responds to the Zamorans' pledge to resist:

Y yo lo acepto con el alma toda
 y también juro al Cielo que entre tanto
 que mi pecho respire, nunca, nunca
 será Zamora presa de tiranos.
 Y aunque débil mujer, a vuestro ejemplo
 vestiré cota y ceñiréme el casco,
 y con vosotros guardaré mi herencia
 la vengadora lanza fulminando. (p. 717; I,iv).

Such a pathetic figure could not possibly inspire authors and Hartzenbusch went so far as to replace her with another lady. Alberta plays the role of the woman in love with the Cid, which Urraca should have had.

The latter is also declared guilty in Dolfos' death confession, but nobody cares, because attention is focused on Jimena, Alberta, and the Cid.

Zorrilla drew his basic characters from the *romances*, so the Urraca of *La leyenda del Cid* does have some of her traditional epic character. Her words are bold and fearless, those of the ballads, and her actions are unencumbered by amorous entanglements. She protects her interests and extracts a promise from Sancho that he will grant her "una gracia o una vida" (p. 128) when she should choose to ask for it. That promise and her resemblance to her mother make Sancho grant Alfonso's release, and Urraca arranged his escape to Toledo. Sancho lays siege to the city:

¡ Bien Zamora se defiende!
y aunque bien Sancho la ataca
la estrecha, más no la ofende;
cuanto en ira él mas se enciende
mas firme está dona Urraca. (p. 285)

Her relationship with Bellido Dolfos is left mysterious: she and everyone else are attracted to the hateful man because of "algo sobrenatural" (p. 288) which all see in him. However she is kept free of any complicity in Sancho's death:

Dolfos no tenía cómplices
de su traición la secreta
causa la saben solo él,
Dios y el diablo que le tienta. (p. 315)

After the murder, she meets the traitor and furiously demands why he dared such an action. He replies that because she rejected his love, he will tell everyone that she was his ally. Urraca asks, "¿Quién osará pensarlo?" and he replies:

Todos en cuanto mi lengua
lo diga, y quedará póstuma
en la historia la sospecha. (p. 320)

Zorrilla is also one of the few who does not develop her relationship with the Cid, although he comments on the incident of her putting the golden spur on the Cid's foot at his knighthood ceremonies:

y porque se la puso trémula,
roja y con los ojos bajos,
dieron en decir que fueron
de chicos enamorados.
Si fueron o no, lo saben
ellos y Dios: los hidalgos
jamás fían los secretos
del corazón a los labios. (pp. 166-7)

He keeps Urraca in her historical role as the ruler of Zamora. She is not involved with Jimena, and her only reference to the Cid's marriage is in the traditional words of the popular *romance*, "Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo."

She is described as "previsora, sagaz y astuta . . . y siempre dada a la intriga." She has "más firmeza, más vida y más decisión" than her brother Sancho, and she does not tremble before him (p. 368). It is Urraca who stubbornly resists the Castilians' attack on her city, and although she does not plan her brother's death, she does not mourn him; instead she writes to Alfonso:

Dios me perdone olvidar
por el rey vivo al rey muerto. (p. 326)

But Zorrilla does not choose to honor her as an epic heroine. She is not one of major characters, nor does she have the independence of action and influence on the other characters which she has in the *Cantar* and which Jimena has had since Castro.

The Urraca in Pérez y Pérez' novel is a twentieth-century creation, and an unrecognizable figure. She is so much like Jimena that she fits neither personality: she is loving, devoted, pious and unruffled; with only as much strength as any normal woman in present-day Spain. She never

raises her voice, and is the epitome of constitutional monarchy. She asks for, receives and respects the opinions and advice of her many counselors and even of her adopted son, and it is out of the question to expect any heroic conduct from her.

She does love the Cid, quietly and without any unqueenly open emotion; and it is revealed that she really could have married him, in spite of their unequal ranks, but she graciously stood aside for Jimena, who, because her father was dead, needed protection. This Urraca shows no resemblance to the intensely feeling, determined heroine of the earliest legend. Even the bitter *quejas* of Castro's Urraca are more in keeping with the real heroine than this idealized, motherish and unbelievable "eterna enamorada."

Why did the legend-makers change Urraca the epic heroine? After Castro crystallized her love for the Cid and the legend declared her innocent of any part in Sancho's murder, they seem to lose interest in her. Now that the legend had placed all of the blame on Bellido Dolfos, there was no longer any of the mystery of a "whodunit" story surrounding her. And of course, the great Cid could not have any connection with a possible murderess.

The heroine of the *Cantar* is in every way the equal of the Cid Campeador: her honor, determination and spirit make her worthy adversary for Sancho and his *alférez*. As Jimena's stature increases to that of her husband, Urraca's slowly shrinks and disappears. Did the legend-makers see a threat to Jimena from Urraca? Was Urraca too strong and vigorous for the chivalrous Cid and his devoted wife? Or were two epic heroines too much for one epic hero, so that Urraca was changed? Jimena, as the ideal wife and mother, offers no threat to the Cid, she complements him well when

she is at her peak development. Urraca, on the other hand, could only clash with him, and does, even when she is characterized as helpless and *mujeril*.

Only in Castro's dramas are these three characters equal to each other in epic stature. Each powerful individual is motivated by honor and love; each one acts, reacts, and causes reaction in others to an almost equal degree. Their sufferings are equally great, but Castro did not make Urraca bear her burden with the same epic dignity. In the last scenes of both *comedias*, she loses the footing from which she had maintained her epic stature. She does not retire with dignity; rather muttering bitterly (p. 145) or blandly giving best wishes to Alfonso and his bride (p. 286). Neither exit is worthy of her.

CHAPTER V

ELVIRA AND SOL

Ellas son mugieres y vos sodes varones
 En todas guisas mas valen que vos.¹

The Cid's daughters are in an unusual position in history and legend. They were born after their father had already become famous, and as the daughters of a celebrated hero should have been in the historical and legendary limelight. Yet there is very little information about them, and few legend-makers ventured to speculate what Elvira and Sol might have been like. What little historical personality they might have had has long been lost, and their legendary character is derived entirely from the *Poema*. The legend-makers assumed Elvira and Sol to be worthy daughters of the Cid and Jimena, and made them as honorable and noble as their parents.

In the familial atmosphere of the *Poema* the daughters' role is an important one, even though they do not appear often in person, and rarely say anything when they do. They are the chief concern of the heroic and doting father, who weeps because he must leave them unmarried and unprotected. He thinks constantly of them while he is away, and proudly shows them his city of Valencia as their "heredad" when he is reunited with them (p. 53). The great love which the Cid feels for his daughters is obvious and often expressed. It is equalled only by his honor and his loyalty to Alfonso; he permits the undesirable marriage only because he cannot refuse his king. He never accepts the *infantes* as worthy sons-in-law, but only privately to Jimena does he confess his misgivings about

¹*Poema del Cid*, p. 102, ll. 3347-8.

the marriage. Looking back through eight centuries of character development, we of the twentieth century are surprised that the Cid is not more vocal in his protest. But Menéndez Pidal and other historians point out that such royal arrangements were a common occurrence, and the *Poema* is a notable example of description of contemporary customs. Alfonso speaks of the marriage as an honorable one, and the Cid, at least in public, agrees. He bows to his king's wishes, but refuses to be a part of the arrangements: the only acceptable form of protest. He senses that his daughters will not be happy, but it is too late to do anything, even if his honor would permit him any action.

The *infantes'* cruelty in the oak grove is motivated by a desire to avenge the humiliating incident of the lion at Valencia; they want to repay offended honor with offended honor. That same honor is what sends the Cid to Toledo, demanding justice. His first civil claims are for his swords and the riches he gave to his sons-in-law, and the court returns them. But his demand for justice for the dishonor done to him through his daughters is resolved in bloody combat. The honor of Elvira and Sol is not mentioned; their father is scorned through them. The point is that it is the Cid's honor which is insulted and avenged, and the daughters are only the means. They are not important in their own right as individuals, in spite of their father's love and concern. The Cid is the hero of the *Poema*, and his family, loved and protected, is too far within his sphere of influence to shine on its own. His glory is their glory; their dishonor is his dishonor.

There is no distinction in the *Poema* between Elvira and Sol: they appear and act together, although Sol speaks for both of them: she begs

her husband and his brother to kill them rather than ignominiously beat them (p. 85), and later she asks her cousin for water (p. 87). However, the poet probably chose Sol over Elvira because the former's name fit more easily into the poetic necessities of meter and assonance. Later legend-makers make Elvira more vocal in her protests.

The writers of the *Primera Crónica* showed a little more interest in the Cid's daughters as people, perhaps because of the time lapse. Thirteenth century Spain was probably unaware that Elvira was older and that she married Diego; or such facts did not interest those who heard the *juglares*. The girls still appear and act almost as one, but do show enough independence to accept an old man's advice to wait in a small village until their father does something about the *infantes'* action (p. 611).

It is still the Cid's honor which is outraged and avenged, and Elvira and Sol are not consulted before they are married. The radiance of the Cid's glory is too much for the faint spark of character which Sol shows in these early versions of the legend. She protests in the *Poema*, and in the *Crónica* voices the decision to go to the village, and mourns her dead father (p 639) without any mention by the chroniclers of Elvira, but she hardly achieves noteworthy independence of action in those brief appearances. Indeed after she is married for the second time, she is referred to as the wife of don Sancho of Aragón. Surely she was better known as the Cid's daughter!

There is also a marked lack of interest in Elvira and Sol in the *romances*, perhaps because the legend-makers were concentrating on Jimena; or because, as their sources were not interested in the Cid's daughters,

neither were they. In the *Romancero* Elvira and Sol are sensitive to their honor and that of their father, but the latter is still the more important. The girls are treated together, and although their beauty is lauded, their heroic characteristics are not recognized, if indeed they are there. The ballads are devoted to the heroic actions of the Cid; it is his honor which is the subject of the duel with Carrion. There is even less interest than in the *Poema* in his family life, and the older the *romance*, the smaller the role of Elvira and Sol.

In a later *romance*, the poet describes the beauty of the Cid's daughters in flowery language:

Allí en la blanca azucena,
Muestra el lirio su color,
Y en dos albas claras bellas
La grana por arrebol:
Dos cielos que llueven perlas, etc. (#863, p. 548)

Such *belleza* is unable to do more than pathetically call to the Cid to avenge his honor. The girls speak of his "valor," his "honor," and his "brazo fuerte," and offer a pitiful spectacle "dando gritos al cielo" (*Ibid.*).

It was the Romantics who first saw Elvira and Sol as heroines, although the view was a sentimental one. Cosca Bayo overlooked the earlier legend-makers who gave Sol of hint of independence and chose Elvira as his noble and honorable heroine. She is not merely the Cid's daughter, rather a Spanish Lady Rowena who loves and inspires her unknown knight with her beauty and her own courage. This Elvira spurns the amorous advances of Abenxafa with an angry scorn reminiscent of *Ivanhoe's* lady, but at the same time is not unlike the young Jimena.

In the tradition of Romantic heroines, Elvira is beautiful, devoted and tender-hearted; her tears flow easily and profusely. She is femininely brave, but quite willing to let the men protect her. Above all, she remains chaste and honorable, and her pure innocence is far from question. Yet under the Romantic rags, Cosca Bayo's Elvira is a heroine. She acts independently and rarely turns to others for support or advice. Ramiro, a true Romantic hero, lives only for his beloved; Elvira definitely causes action and reaction in him, but her seeming helplessness and unnecessary tears make her unworthy of her heritage.

Sol only appears once in the novel; it is she who brings the news of the capture of Jimena and Elvira. She has avoided capture by playing dead, but once safe in her father's arms, she becomes a whimpering child (p. 230), and it is doubtful if she could do anything worthwhile except inspire her father's vassals to action as a properly Romantic heroine:

. . . los atractivos de doña Sol hicieron subir el valor de los guerreros al último cielo del entusiasmo. (p. 233)

Romantic heroines, no matter how noble they are, have all of the feminine weaknesses and none of the strengths; perhaps because the pining and melancholy heroes would prove too effeminate in comparison with stronger heroines. Fortunately Cosca Bayo's novel is not generally considered a significant part of the Cid cycle, and his unworthy and soon-forgotten heroines have not remained to taint the as-yet blank characters of Elvira and Sol. But their potential as ladies of independent action is one positive contribution of his sentimental ladies.

García Escobar apparently tried to preserve the feminine helplessness of Elvira and Sol in his version of the *afrenta*, but, if so, happily he

failed. In spite of his descriptions of their pitiful weeping in the woods and the idealized characterizations of the Cid, Elvira and Sol begin to emerge as characters in their own right. Elvira is her father's daughter and speaks often of her own honor and bravery. Sol only weeps when they are alone in the woods; Elvira tries to comfort her, but soon drops her tenderness for a determined plan for vengeance:

. . .yo uniré a vuestra voz la queja mía,
 público haciendo mi funesto agravio
 sobre el supremo estrado de Castilla.
 No por mí, mas por vos, por esa honra
 prenda de tantos siglos sin mancilla
 que es la herencia sin par de nuestra casa
 y de esas canas la aureola invicta;
 por el honor de España, que a las damas
 rinde caballeresca idolatría,
 y al mundo enseña cual los hombres deben
 a la débil mujer parias rendirla,
 y por las nobles hembras castellanas
 en mí todas dolientes y ofendidas,
 las que a su honor clarísimos en Simancas
 salvar supieron con su sangre limpia
 a las que dan ejemplo en las historias
 que debemos legar a nuestras hijas. (p. 15)

Poor Sol does not want her beloved Fernando to die. Elvira scorns her compassion and reminds her of her more-important honor. But Sol does not care, and reserves her right to weep. The king himself wonders about his vassal's daughter who so boldly claims vengeance. He asks, "¿Si serán como su padre?" (p. 36) and plans to keep both of them in the court where he can control them. Elvira's audacity in tearing up his proposals to settle the dispute with the *infantes* amazes the entire court, inspires her father, and terrifies her meeker sister.

Sol, so helpless and apathetic in questions of honor, becomes a different woman in the defense of her love. Fernando tells her how much he

loved her, so much that jealousy caused him to hurt her. She discovers that it was don Suero who purposely caused Fernando's jealous outburst, and she cries angrily:

¡Y no matasteis a ese hombre!
 Enseñadmele, que ansío
 cubrirle de aprobio y cieno,
 y arrancarle el velo impío
 y con el acento mío
 aterrarle, cual un trueno. (p. 53)

When he offers to die for her honor, she hushes his words, saying that she will face the angry mob so that he may escape through a hidden gate, to which she gives him the key. Fernando's love for Sol makes him a far different character than the legend. He is humbly penitent before the Cid and Sol, honorably brave in the face of danger, and quite willing to die for his dishonorable behavior. Sol tries to convince her father that Fernando is innocent, and when she fails, prepares to go to battle herself and save her husband.

The story is unfaithful to the legend and poorly written, but it shows even more the heroic possibilities of Elvira and Sol. They are completely independent of their father, rarely appear with him, and their determination exceeds his. It is Elvira's honor and Sol's love which become personal duties for the girls, and the Cid is only an observer of their actions.

Elvira and Sol are separated from each other as well. They clash over honor and love and each goes her separate way to defend her own interests, in unfeminine combat if necessary. Elvira is strong and scornful while her sister weeps; Sol returns to the court to defend her beloved after Elvira flees to San Pedro for protection from the king. They have become heroines worthy of their heritage; independently motivated to heroic actions of nobility, honor and love.

They overcome García Escobar's Romantic idealizations and the passionate outbursts of the men around them with difficulty; he did not wish to make them too strong. The ending of the play is poorly handled; the author does not account for his heroines, and what might have been a beautiful tragedy is a poor triumph which returns at the end to the subject of the Cid's honor rather than that of his daughters.

It is in Marquina's drama that Elvira and Sol, already heroines, acquire more believable personalities. They, along with their father, are the best characters in the play. Sol is pictured as an immature and sensitive girl who is rudely exposed to her cruel treatment and who becomes more mature as a result of her unpleasant experience. Elvira's behavior is reminiscent of her mother's noble action in the *Moedades*, although Jimena never suffered such cruel indignities. Elvira's concern for her own honor and that of her family, as well as for the protection of her younger sister, make her a true daughter of the Cid. She is a well-developed character who admits her own fears to her weeping sister:

Yo creo que sólo para
sufrir he venido a la tierra. (p. 125)

The pain of dishonor is too much for her and she flees rather than face her father. Unlike García Escobar's Elvira, this lady actually carries out her vengeance against Diego. She is a heroine of few words and much action; she is not dependent upon the men around her and does her own will. She is stronger than Sol, who is only a child and doesn't understand what is going on around her.

Because she doesn't understand, Sol turns to her family for advice and protection. She is a contrast to her sister: when Jimena tells her

daughters stories, Elvira prefers a tale about a girl, who, dressed in armor, avenges her father with his bloody sword; but Sol likes a tender and sad story about a dying princess. Her tender heart is further revealed when she hands out food and money to the poor Moorish children. Later, she tearfully buries her head in her sister's lap and cannot believe that Elvira is afraid too. Elvira's passionate hatred for Diego and insistence on vengeance horrify Sol's more delicate senses. She recognizes her father in his disguise and calls to him, but Elvira, realizing that he does not want to be recognized, quickly hushes her sister. Sol is bewildered by the *infantes'* drunken behavior; Elvira is fully aware of their intentions and scornfully reproaches them. Sol finds the whistle and calls for help, but Elvira thinks only of her dishonor and vengeance. Waiting out the painful days of her sister's absence, Sol can only say, "Si Elvira estuviese aquí" (p. 168), and remember earlier and happier days with her. In the end, however, she forgets her own sufferings and consents to be married again. Her aging and weeping father begs her to marry again so that his house will continue, and Sol, changed from the frightened girl she has been, answers him:

¡Padre! ¿Y dudaste de tu hija un momento?
 Cuando me has dado entera tu vida
 ¿quieres que yo no te entregue la mía?
 ¿Piensas que lloro por mí? Yo estoy hecha
 al sufrimiento y me queda ya poco;
 que el sacrificio el deber lo haga menos:
 yo ya renuncio a mi dicha: quisiera
 ser cosa muerta en las manos de todos
 y no hacer bien ni hacer mal a nadie:
 mi corazón yo no quiero regirlo
 que el darlo es duro y es duro negarlo:
 tómalo, padre, y haz de él lo que quieras. . . (pp. 189-90)

She is no longer helpless and dependent; the decision is her own, made because of her love for her father. Her noble reaction is hardly compatible

with the weeping and helpless girl of the earlier part of the play; she shows a heroic indifference to her own heart's sufferings and an awareness of her father's pain.

In spite of Marquina's artistic skill, it is doubtful if the Cid's daughters can maintain their epic position. They are the least of the four heroines of the legend, because there is no historical background on which legend-makers can build epic characters. Their development was begun in the nineteenth century by Romantics who pictured them as swooning damsels in distress. They inspired the men around them, but as heroes the men were just as unworthy as their ladies. Contemporary authors are not interested in developing the epic literature cycles, and the shallow growth of Elvira and Sol will probably not flourish. They have not been developed enough to survive, even if an interest in them should be revived.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

There is an interesting phenomenon in nearly all the legends of Spanish epic literature: that of the presence of women characters in important roles in the legend. King Rodrigo is led to his downfall by Florinda la Cava; Fernán González is twice rescued from prison by his wife Sancha; doña Lambra plans the murder of her seven nephews, the *infantes* of Lara; and Mudarra's mother keeps the spirit of vengeance strong in her infant son. A study of the growing roles of all of these ladies would be an interesting study, but this particular paper is concerned only with the Cid, who along with don Juan and don Quixote, is the best known of the Spanish heroes. There are four women in his life, more than in the lives of his epic colleagues; and he has, perhaps, been eclipsed by his wife and Urraca in the course of their literary development.

The cause of this development could be twofold: a) a universal and eternal interest in a good love story, whenever the least hint of one occurs, causes authors to develop it into a major plot element; b) authors, interested in the characters, attempt to create women who are just as capable of heroic sufferings and noble actions as the men; hence the expression "epic heroines."

The four ladies of the Cid legend are different kinds of heroines but they all deserve the title. Elvira and Sol, the youngest and least developed, will probably be remembered as the noble and brave ladies of Marquina's play. They may not be forgotten as was their brother. Jimena,

as the ideal epic wife and mother, was the most obvious choice of the legend-makers. Her development came early and quickly in Spanish literature, and she is an immortal literary and legendary character who will always be a part of Spanish literature. She has survived the bungling Romantic imitations and will outlast the lack of interest in her; she will be at her husband's side as long as he remains a part of Spanish literature. It is unthinkable that he would be forgotten in the land he defended any more than don Quixote would.

Urraca, an epic heroine in her own right from the beginning, was brought into the Cid legend by intrigue-seeking legend-makers. Her epic character was gradually degraded until she was unrecognizable as the powerful queen of Zamora. She is the most interesting figure in the legend, and in this writer's opinion, is the best character in the literature of the Cid cycle.

She is stronger than any of the ladies, and many of the so-called heroes who fight for her. She is a lady of positive action, motivated by powerful interests. Her heartless plan to kill Sancho is tempered by her sufferings in the *Mooedades*. The bitter reaction of her rejected love is human and understandable, but she never arouses pity, an emotion she would not understand. The mystery which surrounds Urraca has led to the development of literature which is suspenseful and exciting. Jimena lends herself to love stories, but Urraca is a heroine of virile action and epic decisions. She is the only lady in Spanish legend who is a queen and a possible murderess. The legend-makers chose not to convict her; a less heroic woman would have been forgotten in spite of her role in history. It is a pity that in removing her guilt they also weakened her character,

but it was inevitable. The real Urraca would have contemplated murder, and by showing her as horrified by the thought, the legend-makers took away her strength. All the heroes have devoted and loving wives; Urraca is the only woman who can claim to be an epic sweetheart who didn't live happily ever after. The legend-makers who tried to fit her into a mold of a too-feminine, loving and tender-hearted woman destroyed the real Urraca. She is a contrast to Jimena, not a complementing sister figure.

It is doubtful if there will be another memorable contribution to the Cid cycle in this age of paperback novels, science fiction-come-true, and wide-screen spectaculars. The literature of the cycle is very complete, and most of the story-worthy episodes of the legend have been developed in recognized masterpieces and in works of lesser stature. If there is a renaissance of interest in the epic literature, will the Cid legend and its heroines capture the fancy of legend-makers as it did in the previous eight-hundred years?

Jimena and Urraca reached and surpassed their development as epic heroines; Elvira and Sol barely achieve a memorable stature in Marquina's play; is that the climax of their development? Will their epic stature decline as did Jimena's and Urraca's?

Present-day authors and readers tend to move toward stark realism, drab and ordinary reality, or even tales of fantasy and imagination. It is the predominance of internal action which characterizes most modern literature rather than epic clashes of love and honor. We tend to find incredible the bravery and nobility of Jimena, Urraca, Elvira and Sol because they are so unlike any women of the twentieth century. Modern heroines are not expected to defend their honor or make epic decisions. The realism of the Cid is not our realism, and his heroism is not our heroism.

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