

chronistic prosification, the heroic narrative has been preserved well enough to offer invaluable evidence of its anonymous authors' poetic artistry. A sense of doom and fatal inevitability pervades the story. The young nobles' unreflective impetuosity (*desmesura*), Doña Lambra's manipulation and thirst for vengeance, Ruy Velázquez's implacable hatred and ultimate treachery will all lead inexorably to violence, betrayal, and death. The artistic structure, especially in the later *Refundición* recorded in the *Crónica de 1344* and the *Interpolación*, reveals a series of finely crafted parallelisms that show the poetic awareness of generations of *juglares* (minstrels) who gradually elaborated the *Cantar de los infantes de Lara* as we now see it in the medieval sources. The figures of Gonzalo Gustioz and Ruy Velázquez, who are present in both halves of the narrative; Mudarra, whose identical appearance will replicate, in the second part, the youngest *infante*, Gonzalo González, who was killed in the first part; the treacherous vengeance of Doña Lambra, at the beginning, balanced against the justified vengeance of Doña Sancha at the end; the gradual escalation of violent aggressions in the first part echoed in Mudarra's long delayed vengeance in the second part, as he pursues the traitor, Ruy Velázquez, from one town to another, always arriving too late to accomplish his purpose; the recurrent themes of blood, birds of prey, and fatal wedding festivities offer cogent parallelisms and ironic contrasts that strengthen the artistic unity of this admirable narrative.

The *Cantar de los infantes* did not disappear from oral tradition. In 1476 Lope García de Salazar summarized various features of yet another traditional account in his *Bienandanzas y fortunas*, and several *romances viejos* attest to the partial survival of late epic versions in ballad form. The horrendous scene of the seven heads is perpetuated down to modern times among eastern Mediterranean Sephardic Jews as a ballad of mourning (*endecha*), but this cannot count as a song of direct tradition, being based on a late and semi-learned reworking from the final years of the sixteenth century.

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CANTAR DE MIO CID

The *Cantar de Mio Cid* is the only Old Spanish epic to survive more or less complete. It was influential in its day and for some centuries, particularly when a prose version of it was incorporated into the national chronicles: the Cid became the national hero, and the poem about him, the earliest long text in Castilian verse that we have, is a cornerstone of Spanish literary culture. In recent times its poetic qualities and narrative and dramatic power have been amply appreciated.

The poem survives in a unique fourteenth-century manuscript long kept in a convent in Bivar, where the manor of the historical Cid was situated; after many vicissitudes since the late eighteenth century, the manuscript was acquired by the Spanish state in 1960 for the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Closing lines of the text show that it was copied from, or derived in a series of copies from, an original of 1207, the work of copyist or author Per Abbat concluded in May of that year. In its present state the text has 3,730 lines plus its explicit, a few more lines in which a presenter takes leave of his public. Since the first folio and two in the interior are missing, and the scribe writes about fifty lines on each folio, the poem when complete had a little less than four thousand lines, thus corresponding closely (and perhaps not accidentally) to the prime version of the *Chanson de Roland*. The manuscript has some errors of copying and fails to record many line divisions correctly; diverse reasons for this have been suggested, among them that at some stage the work was written as lines of prose (as happened to other verse texts) and was inaccurately reconstituted later. Loss of the first folio prevents us from knowing if the poet gave his work a title, but he would certainly have announced his theme and addressed his audience, as in French epic. The word *cantar* appears within the text (line 2276) when defining one of the three sections into which the work is divided and is used in the chronicles about whole epics; *Poema de Mio Cid* is a common modern alternative, if anachronistic.

The origins and nature of the poem, as of the epic genre as a whole, are much debated. The *Cantar* may have been a member of a possibly large, age-old family of orally generated poems, evolving in an unbroken series of variant versions until (and of course after) being fixed in writing by a scribe who recorded a performance: such is the view of the "oralists." "Neo traditionalists," that is, Menéndez Pidal and his school believe similarly in the antiquity of the unbroken process, the close association of poetic creation with historical fact (thus dating the earliest version of the *Cantar* to within a few years of the Cid's death in 1099, and the present text to about 1140), and the force of the creative variant produced by the *autor-legión* working at popu-

lar level; they seem not wholly to exclude writing from both the original composition and transmission process, and hold that texts were memorized as well as extemporized for performance. In the “individualist” view, all such poems are relatively late compositions by authors of at least modest learning, in writing. Their sources included not only folk memory (in the case of the Cid, local knowledge and pride in Burgos, the home of the hero) but also written history, archival materials held in a city or monastery, French epics known from auditions and in writing, and in certain cases Latin texts known in extracts, the whole being moulded by the individual poetic imagination into a coherent literary construct. Facts of history that were known might be used but much adjusted for literary purposes. In this view, the poet was a responsible public figure who may well have had to please a royal or noble patron with an appropriate message about contemporary political and military concerns—in the case of the *Cantar*, perhaps legal reform, kingly duties, action against the Almohads, and relations with the Spanish Moors—while genealogical and monastic connections were relevant also. Many in consequence would now date the *Cantar* to the first years of the thirteenth century, perhaps to 1207. It is notable that Duggan, a convinced oralist, has original arguments in his 1989 book for a date very close to this, and very precise, too: “in the year 1199 or, more likely, 1200.”

As for the place of composition, Medinaceli or elsewhere in the frontier region of southeast Castile, Burgos, and even Navarre, have been recently proposed. Smith is the only student to argue that the *Cantar* was the first work of its kind in Castilian, an effort (with features denoting a tentative or experimental composition, but masterly too) to provide Castile with a national poem to rival the best French *chansons de geste* he knew so well; and that he triumphantly succeeded and even outdid his models.

Discussion of the metrical structures of the *Cantar* is conditioned by the above views: the poet may have followed traditional practice, or invented a new system that was then followed in other epics. His lines are assonanced and grouped to form *laises* (*tiradas*, *series*), as in French. Starting and ending a *laisse* obeys some observable but rather loose criteria, such as changing a speaker or a place. The line has a clear caesura. Line lengths vary greatly, continuing to do so even after adjustments (on which editors more or less agree) have been made to the manuscript readings. Probably no syllable count is applicable, the system having a basis of stresses, still variable but typically two or three to each hemistich. This accentual system obviously contrasts with the syllabic bases of French. Many of the poet’s lines are pleasingly rhythmical, and

many too have the extra force of internal assonances both “horizontal” and “vertical,” enriched rhyme, and so on.

The poet’s language is simple, direct, evocative, notably economical, with a special power in the direct speech that forms a high proportion of the text. The epic is essentially narrative, and we are occasionally reminded of the presence of the narrator, but analysis in terms of drama is very rewarding, especially when we bear the listening public in mind and assume the presenter’s ability to vary his voice and reinforce diction with mime and gesture. Power of language is not much affected for moderns by the strongly formulaic nature of much of the rhetoric (proof for some that this and other poems were orally generated, for others adapted in part from French and then imitated in native ways, and equally useful in the written medium). Many stylistic features and much of the direct speech were preserved in the prose versions of the chronicles; any may thus have been influential in the very creation of Castilian prose discourse.

Those acquainted with the Cid of the ballads and Golden Age plays, with Corneille, and with the film, will be surprised to discover the unromantic, earthy, middle-aged hero of the *Cantar*. He enshrines virtues obviously thought important to the poet and his public and has a pleasing modernity in some ways, too. In the first *Cantar* he is unjustly exiled by his king and forced to make his way with a few followers into Moorish lands, where he starts to win wealth and local power. At first no more than a gentlemanly brigand, as his army grows he eventually defeats a semi-royal personage, the count of Barcelona, and the forces of his state, winning immense booty. He follows this at the start of the second *Cantar* by capturing Valencia and defeating the vast army of Almoravids sent to recover it, appointing a bishop and settling in the city with every sign of intended permanence, especially by sending for his family—Jimena, two daughters, and their entourage. The two young Infantes de Carrión are attracted by the Cid’s wealth and, with direct approval and involvement from the crown, marry the Cid’s daughters after the hero has been received back into royal favor. The *Cantar* ends on a triumphant note but with a hint of foreboding. In *Cantar III* the infantes disgrace themselves by cowardice when the domestic lion escapes and in battle against King Búcar’s Moors. Having lost face, they resolve to avenge themselves by an outrage against their wives, whom they automatically repudiate, committed while journeying to their homeland. The collective dishonor caused to the Cid’s family and men is washed away when the hero wins his action in the royal court assembled in Toledo (the high point of the poem’s rhetoric) and when his men

later defeat the Infantes and their brother in judicial duels. The daughters, recovered from the outrage, marry Iberian peninsular royalty, and the Cid dies peacefully in honor, assured that his line will continue royally (a claim amply justified in historical reality by the poet's time). At all points the author's precision in terms of geographical locale, routes, the seasons, even the time of day, convinces us of the essential truth of his tale. Some themes will be evident from the foregoing synopsis, but all are best followed up in the now immense bibliography, since emphasis has varied.

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CANTARES DE GESTA See POETRY, SPANISH, LYRIC, TRADITIONAL

CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA See ALFONSO X, ELSABIO, KING OF CASTILE, POETRY AND PROSE WORKS

CANTAR DEL CERCO DE ZAMORA

Briefly summarized in the *Crónica Najerense* (1143–1157) and known in greater detail in partial prosifications absorbed by Alfonso X's *Primera Crónica General* (*Estoria de España*) (1289) and the anonymous *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla* (ca. 1300), the epic poem of *El cerco de Zamora* (*The Siege of Zamora*) helps prepare the events of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and, in its own right, is one of the most important *cantares de gesta* (epic songs).

The narrative concerns the following events: On his deathbed, Fernando I of Castile and León divides his kingdom among his three sons, giving Castile to Sancho, León to Alfonso, and Galicia to García, and leaving the city of Zamora to his daughter, Urraca. Sancho usurps his brothers' lands and imprisons García, while Alfonso flees into exile in Toledo. Sancho then lays siege to Zamora. Pretending to flee from the besieged city, a treacherous *zamorano*, Vellido Dolfos (Bellidus Ataulfus), ingratiates himself with the Castilian king and, promising to show him a secret door through which his troops can enter and capture the city, lures Sancho into going alone with him to

inspect the city's walls, fatally stabs him in the back, and then flees back to Zamora. The Zamorans imprison Vellido, but a Castilian champion, Diego Ordóñez, challenges the city and its inhabitants to prove in single combat that they were not involved in Vellido's treason. By law, anyone challenging a city must fight against five consecutive champions. One after another, confident in the justice of their cause, three sons of the venerable Zamoran patriarch, Arias Gonzalo go out to meet the Castilian challenger and are killed, but the third Zamoran champion, Rodrigo Arias, seriously wounds Diego Ordóñez and mortally wounded himself, strikes Ordóñez's horse, which flees, carrying the Castilian challenger outside the legally prescribed battle area (*cerco*).

The judges (*fieles*) then declare there should be no more fighting and refuse to designate a winner. Vellido's punishment is left unspecified and Alfonso returns from exile in Toledo to take over a reunited kingdom, after swearing (perhaps equivocally) that he was not a party to his brother's death. The epic thus ends on an inconclusive, ambivalent note, but such an ending, which at first glance might seem to be a flaw, rather represents one of the lost poem's major achievements. At a time when the concept of a united Spain did not yet exist, the *Cerco de Zamora* achieves a suprarregional perspective in which no one is totally to blame and no one is completely vindicated, instead, a complex human situation is evoked in all its conflictive ambivalence. Who is guilty, García, who first gave Sancho the excuse to usurp his brothers' lands? Sancho, for his impetuousness, greed, and ambition? Alfonso, who may somehow have plotted Sancho's death? Urraca, for having (unwittingly?) fomented Vellido's treachery? The Cid, who failed to advise the brothers, as he had promised the dying King Fernando? All share in the tragedy of this Hispanic *Iliad*.

The structure of the *Cerco de Zamora* is eminently familiar. Like the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Infantes de Lara*, a family quarrel leads to a treacherous outrage, for which vengeance must later be exacted and order eventually restored. That here vengeance is avoided and judgment is withheld distinguishes the *Cerco* as a remarkably innovative poem. But the lost poem (or poems) consulted and partially prosified in the *Estoria de España* and in the *Crónica de Castilla* are not our only available witnesses. A number of late-fifteenth-century chronicles, undoubtedly reflecting contemporary oral tradition, do specify the traitor's punishment. Here, like Ganelon in the *Chanson de Roland*, Vellido Dolfos is tied hand and foot to four wild ponies and is torn apart. Two brief epic poems, *La partición de los reinos* (*The Division of*