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AN HISTORICAL STUDY
OF THE
LEGEND OF GARCÍ FERNÁNDEZ

being a Dissertation presented by
J.E. Plumpton to the University of St. Andrews
in application for the degree of
Bachelor of Philosophy.

Th 5019.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following Dissertation is based on the results of research carried out by me, and that the Dissertation is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree.

(Signed)

C E R T I F I C A T E

I certify that Miss J.E. Plumpton has spent three terms on Research Work and that she has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinances 61 and 50 (St. Andrews) and that she is qualified to submit the accompanying Dissertation in application for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

(Signed)

C A R E E R

I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews in October, 1952, and followed a course leading to graduation in Arts until July, 1956.

On the 1st May, 1958, I commenced research on the legend of Garcí Fernández, which is now being submitted as a Bachelor of Philosophy Dissertation.

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C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Contents	i-v
Abbreviations	vi
I. <u>Introduction:</u> <u>Legendary material in the early Latin and Spanish Chronicles</u>	1-35
(1) The <u>Najerense</u> version	1
(2) The <u>Tudense</u>	3
(3) The <u>Toledano</u> version	4
(4) The <u>PCG</u> version	6
(5) The <u>C.1344</u> version	12
(6) Comparison of the material in these Chronicles	16
II. <u>Themes contained in the Garcí Fernández episode:</u>	36-365
1. The Miracle at the Vado de Cascajares	36-56
(1) Appearance of the miracle in the <u>PCG</u> and <u>C.1344</u>	36
(2) Source of the Vado de Cascajares episode . .	37
(3) Historical evidence for the battle	38
(4) Intervention of the Infantes de Lara, Gonzalo Gustioz and Ruy Velázquez at the Vado de Cascajares	43
(5) Divine intervention in the epic legends . .	48
2. Beautiful or White Hands	57-65
3. Disloyal Adviser theme, and the pact made with the enemy	66-96
(1) Classical, Arabic, and Spanish sources . . .	66
(2) French and Germanic sources	76
(3) Disarming theme	80
(4) Final Remarks - independence of the motifs, and alliance of Christian and Moslem in Spain	87
4. Treacherous women in the epic	97-105
5. The Pilgrimage motif	106-140
(1) Santiago in the Spanish legends	106
(2) Santiago in the Spanish ballads	111

	<u>Page</u>
(3) The pilgrimage motif in foreign epic legends	111
(4) The pilgrim route in epic legend	116
(5) The disguise motif in general	117
(6) Santiago as a pilgrimage centre	124
(7) Rocamadour as a pilgrimage centre	126
(a) The church of Rocamadour	126
(b) Development of the pilgrimage to Rocamadour	128
(c) The pilgrimage to Rocamadour as a literary motif	131
 6. The Revenge theme	 141-211
(1) Possible origins of the medieval Spanish concept of honour, and revenge for adultery in the Middle Ages	141
(a) Honour and Revenge for adultery among the Romans	143
(b) Honour and Revenge for adultery among the Arabs	145
(c) Honour and Revenge for adultery among the Germanic peoples	151
(d) Other possible sources of honour and revenge for adultery	157
(2) Revenge in the Spanish epic	161
(3) Revenge for adultery as a folklore motif . .	166
(4) Revenge for adultery in legends outside Spain	167
(5) Revenge for adultery in medieval literature in general	169
(6) The Salomon legend and its parallels	
(a) Salman und Morolf	173
(b) The Russian version	176
(c) Comparison of the Salomon legend and the "Condesa Traidora"	177
(d) The Russian variants	179
(e) The <u>Historia infidelis mulieris</u> . . .	181
(f) The <u>Polish Walthersage</u>	183
(g) The Portuguese legend of King Ramiro	186
(h) The Aragonese legend of Count Rodrick	190
(i) Li Bastars de Buillon	192
(j) The Indian tale in <u>The Ocean of Story</u>	193
(7) Relationship of the Salomon legend and its parallels with the "Condesa Traidora" . . .	195
(8) Concluding remarks	197
 7. Help given in return for a promise of marriage	 212-231
(1) Motif of the helpful woman who hides the hero under the bed	212

	<u>Page</u>
(2) Help for a promise of marriage in Classical Literature	215
(3) Help for a promise of marriage in Irish Folklore	216
(4) Help for a promise of marriage in medieval Literature and Legend	
(a) In Spanish legends	216
(b) Outside Spain	220
(5) Doña Sancha as a female type	224
(6) Conclusions	226
 8. Cutting off and carrying the heads of the dead as trophies	 232-242
(1) Classical references	232
(2) References in Irish literature	233
(3) References in medieval French literature	236
(4) References in the Poetic Edda and the Völsunga Saga	238
(5) Historical evidence for this practice	238
 9. Names of Garcí Fernández's wives	 243-272
(1) Proof that Garcí Fernández's wife was Doña Aba	243
(2) Derivation of the name, and the origin of Doña Aba	247
(3) Relationship of Doña Aba with her legendary counterparts	252
(4) Date of Garcí Fernández's marriage, and death of Doña Aba	255
(5) The name Argentina	257
(6) The name Sancha	260
(a) In history	260
(b) In Castilian epic legends	262
 10. Massacre of the monks of Cardena	 273-303
(1) Evidence for the tradition	273
(2) King Zepha	277
(3) Date of the massacre	279
(4) Garcí Fernández's connection with the monastery	289
(5) Name of the abbot of Cardena	290
(6) The number 300	292
(a) 300 in Spanish epic legends	292
(b) 300 in foreign medieval literature and legend	294

	<u>Page</u>
(7) Conclusions	295
11. The Death of Almanzor, and the battle of Calatañazor	304-336
(1) Calatañazor and Almanzor's death in the Chronicles	304
(2) Calatañazor among the historians	308
(3) Calatañazor itself	318
(4) Chronology of the <u>Tudense</u>	320
(5) Punishment by dysentery	322
(6) Appearance of the mysterious fisherman by the Guadalquivir	324
(7) General remarks	326
12. The Death of Garcí Fernández	337-365
(1) His death in the Chronicles	337
(2) His death among the historians	340
(3) The date of Garcí Fernández's capture and death	344
(4) The site of Garcí Fernández's capture	348
(5) Date and circumstances of Sancho García's rebellion	351
(6) Fate of Garcí Fernández's body after death	356
(a) In Córdoba	356
(b) At Cardena	358
III. <u>Themes contained in the Sancho García episode:</u>	366-404
1. Handing over of sister to Moorish king as a condition of peace	366-374
2. The Poisoning Theme	375-397
(1) The Rosamund legend	375
(2) Ballads with a parallel theme	380
(3) The Cleopatra legend	382
(4) Irish legends containing the poisoning motif	384
(5) The Tristan legend	386
(6) An Oriental parallel	387
(7) Conclusions	389
3. Foundation of San Salvador de Oña	398-404
(1) Historical Reasons for the foundation of Oña	398
(2) Derivation of the name of the monastery	400
(3) Conclusions	401

	<u>Page</u>
IV. <u>Almanzor and the Moors in the Spanish epic legends:</u>	405-449
(1) The "Condesa Traidora" legend	406
(2) Legend of Fernán González	407
(3) Legend of the Seven Infantes de Lara	411
(4) Legend of Abbot John of Montemayor	425
(5) Concluding remarks	438
V. <u>Concluding chapter:</u>	450-507
1. Preliminary considerations	450-480
(1) Growth of an epic legend, and the double aspect of the "Condesa Traidora"	450
(2) Hostility towards the French	455
(3) Relationship of the "Condesa Traidora" with <u>Beuve de Hantone</u>	465
(a) Anglo-Norman version	466
(b) The mainland French versions	470
(c) The "Condesa Traidora" as the source of <u>Beuve de Hantone</u>	475
(d) <u>Daurel et Beton</u>	476
2. Conclusions	480-507
(1) Relation of epics with history	480
(2) Historical elements in the "Condesa Traidora"	482
(3) Fictitious elements in the "Condesa Traidora"	490
(4) Folklore parallels	492
(5) Limited field of the epic legends	493
(6) Unity of the "Condesa Traidora"	499
Bibliography	508-520
Periodicals	521-522

Abbreviations

BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
BH	Bulletin Hispanique
BRAH	Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia
BZRP	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie
C.1344	Crónica de 1344
CVR	Crónica de Veinte Reyes
EMO	La España Moderna
FFC	Folklore Communications
F.Gz.	Poema de Fernán González
GRL	Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur
His	Hispania, Madrid
HR	Hispanic Review
ITS	The Irish Texts Society
JS	Journal des Savants
MAe	Medium Aevum
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MP	Modern Philology
Najerense	Crónica Najerense
O	Ogam
PCG	Primera Crónica General
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
R	Romania
RABM	Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos
RCo	Revista Contemporánea
Rev. Celt.	Revue Celtique
RFE	Revista de Filología Española
RHi	Revue Hispanique
RIA Publications	Royal Irish Academy Publications
RR	Romanic Review
RTRP	Revue des Traditions Populaires
Silense	Historia Silense
SKAW	Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna
Sp	Speculum
Toledano	De Rebus Hispaniae
TOS	Transactions of the Ossianic Society
Tudense	Chronicon Mundi
ZCP	Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie
ZDA	Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Litteratur
ZDMS	Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde
ZRP	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

I. Introduction

Legendary material in the early Latin and Spanish Chronicles.

This study of the legend of Garcí Fernández⁽¹⁾ is based primarily on the different versions in the following Chronicles:

(a) Crónica Najerense (c. 1160).⁽¹⁾ This gives the earliest known version of the legend in Latin, and it has been published by G. Cirot in the Bulletin Hispanique.

(b) The Chronicon Mundi (= the Tudense) of Bishop Lucas de Túy (completed c. 1236), also in Latin.⁽²⁾

(c) The De Rebus Hispaniae (= the Toledano) of the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1243)⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ in Latin.⁽³⁾

(d) The Primera Crónica General de España (= the PCG) (c. 1289), which provides the first known version in the vernacular.⁽⁴⁾

(e) The Crónica General de 1344 (= the C. 1344).⁽⁵⁾

In this introduction I propose to summarise the content of the legend as it appears in each of these Chronicles, and then to make a few observations concerning its growth. In the subsequent chapters, I shall examine in detail the different incidents and motifs occurring in the legend, in an attempt to trace their origin, and separate historical from possible folkloric or literary elements.

(1) The Najerense version

The Moorish king, Almanzor, sent a message of love to Garcí Fernández's wife, the Countess of Castile, enquiring whether she

(i) Following Pidal, I shall refer to this henceforth as the "Condesa Traidora" legend.

(ii) This Chronicle was finished in 1252, according to Babbitt, T.: Observations on the "Crónica de Once Reyes", HR, II, 1934, p. 204, n. 8.

would rather be a queen than a countess. She proved susceptible to his flattery and, believing Garcí Fernández was the only obstacle in the way of her ambition to be queen, resolved on his death. She deliberately weakened his horse by feeding it on bran instead of barley, so that it would fail him in the hour of need. When Christmas approached, she persuaded Garcí Fernández to send home all his forces to celebrate the festival with their families, and then informed Almanzor. On Christmas Day, Almanzor came with his army to plunder Castile, and Garcí Fernández was forced to meet him with his few remaining knights. During the battle, Garcí Fernández's horse fainted under him, weakened by the Countess's action. The Count died in era 1033. (6)

Almanzor later laid waste Castile, persecuting the Christians, destroying their fortifications, and terrifying Garcí Fernández's successor, his son, Sancho García. The new Count took refuge with his mother, sister, and vassals in the castle of Lantarón. The Christians were unable to withstand the attacks of the Moors, and eventually Sancho came to terms with Almanzor by handing over to him his sister.

The Countess, whose ambition to reign had not been satisfied, still hoped to marry Almanzor, and to facilitate this, she decided to kill her son with a poisoned drink. However, God thwarted her plan, for on Sancho's return from an expedition, a Moorish slave girl warned him, advising him not to drink the potion. Sancho entered his palace on horseback and, feeling tired, asked for a drink, as was his custom. His mother brought it herself in a

silver cup, as though she were honouring him. Sancho invited her to drink first, and when she refused he forced her to do so. She expired at the first draught, so falling into her own trap. (7)

Subsequently, Sancho caused Almanzor's death, for the Moor burst while fleeing from an encounter with him. The date is given as era 1040. (8) Sancho later advanced on Córdoba, which he destroyed, and he took back Garcí Fernández's body from Córdoba for burial at the monastery of Cardena. (9)

(2) The Tudense

Although this Chronicle does not relate the epic legend as such, it provides important details concerning Almanzor's death.

Vermudo II of Leon requested the assistance of King García of Pamplona and Count Garcí Fernández against the Moors. In response, King García sent Vermudo a large part of his army, and Garcí Fernández led his into battle in person. Although Vermudo was so ill that he had to be carried, he, too, was present when the combined Christian forces met Almanzor and the Moors returning from an expedition to Galicia. Lucas de Túy tells us that Almanzor had penetrated as far as Santiago, destroyed the church containing the Apostle's tomb, and only a flash of lightning prevented him from destroying the tomb itself. God punished the Moors by inflicting them with dysentery, and as they retreated, Almanzor's army grew daily fewer in number. (10) The battle against the Christian alliance took place at Calatañazor; thousands of Moors were slain, and only nightfall saved Almanzor from capture, although the Moors were still not completely defeated. The following day, when the Christian army arrived at

the enemy's camp, they found they had fled during the night. Garcí Fernández pursued them, killing many. (11)

On the day of Almanzor's defeat, a fisherman is said to have appeared on the bank of the Guadalquivir crying out now in Arabic, now in Spanish, "En Calatanazor perdio Almanzor el tambor." This, we are told, signified that Almanzor lost his joy at Calatanazor. Whenever any of the barbarians of Córdoba approached the fisherman, he vanished, only to reappear weeping and repeating the same words. The Bishop interprets this apparition as the devil lamenting the Moors' defeat. After the Christian victory, Almanzor refused to eat or drink, and he died when he reached Medinaceli. (12)

Other relevant material in the Tudense concerns Garcí Fernández's death. This occurs in different circumstances from the Najerense, for we are told that Sancho rebelled against his father. The Moors took advantage of the strife resulting from Sancho's rebellion to capture and destroy the city of Ávila, and to capture San Esteban and Clunia. (1) Garcí Fernández opposed the Moors with only a few men, they captured him, and he died a few days later. (13) Sancho then advanced on Toledo with an army of Castilians, Leonese and Pamplonese, intending to avenge his father's death. He devastated the territory, and captured many vassals of the Moorish king of Toledo. Afterwards he returned to Castile, and won many more victories over the Moors, penetrating even as far as Córdoba.

(3) The Toledano version

The Toledano provides the next extant version of the "Condesa

(1) Clunia = Coruña del Conde, in the province of Burgos.

Traidora" legend, but relates only the poisoning episode. Count Sancho's mother, wishing to marry a Moorish prince, tried to poison her son to prevent him from opposing her. A lady-in-waiting warned him that the poison had been prepared, and he first asked, and then forced his mother to drink the poison herself. Later, overcome with repentance, he founded a monastery which he called Oña in her memory, for, according to Spanish custom, she had been called 'Mi Oña',⁽¹⁾ during her lifetime.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Toledano also mentions the battle alleged to have taken place at Calatañazor, and agrees largely with the Tudense's account. King Vermudo sent an emissary to Garcí Fernández and García of Navarre urging them to join him against the enemy. García complied by sending his army, Garcí Fernández led his in person, and Vermudo was carried because of illness. The allies met Almanzor, who was advancing to invade Castile, at Calatañazor. There was much slaughter on either side, but night terminated the battle without either winning a victory. Almanzor fled during the night, and expired on reaching the valley of Borgecorex. He was taken to Medinaceli. On the day following the battle, Garcí Fernández pursued the fleeing Moors, and many were killed. The Archbishop adds that Almanzor had never been defeated, and he was so upset that he refused to eat or drink, until finally he died.⁽¹⁵⁾

The Toledano also places Garcí Fernández's death after a battle fought in defence of his country, when the Moors took advantage of the strife caused by Sancho's rebellion to devastate Castile. Garcí

(1) From Latin 'mea domina'.

Fernández preferred to die for his country, fighting the enemy; he was captured, and died after a few days of a wound received in battle. His body was redeemed from the Saracens and buried at Cardena. (16)

(4) The PGG version

The PGG gives a more detailed version of the legend, with a number of entirely new themes. The first is the account of a miracle performed on behalf of one of Garcí Fernández's knights during a battle at the Vado de Cascajares.

According to the PGG, Garcí Fernández was a very good man and a great warrior, who defeated the Moors on many occasions, and won San Esteban de Gormaz from them. One of the many battles he won while at San Esteban with his wife and vassals was at the Vado de Cascajares. On that occasion, God performed a miracle for one of his vassals, who was accustomed to remain in church in the morning until he had heard all the masses for the day. On the day of the battle, the knight heard the first mass with Garcí Fernández and his vassals in a monastery, which the Count had built near the castle of San Esteban. After mass, Garcí Fernández and his company armed themselves, preparatory to fighting the Moors from Gormaz at the Vado de Cascajares. The knight, however, remained in church until all eight masses had been said. In the meantime, Garcí Fernández was fighting the Moors, watched by the knight's squire, who was holding his horse and arms at the church door. Troubled by his master's absence, the squire criticised him, saying that he refused to go into battle out of cowardice. The knight's devotion was such, that he did not even turn his head. God then performed a miracle to save him from shame,

and to prevent him from being missed in battle. A strange person appeared on the battlefield, bearing the knight's arms and riding his horse. He acquitted himself valiantly, killing the Moorish standard-bearer, and with his aid, the battle was won by the time the eight masses had been celebrated. The devout knight's own arms bore the marks of all the blows received by his unknown substitute.

After the battle, the Count asked for the valiant knight, and discovered that he was still in church, ashamed at his defection. When the Count and his men saw the signs of blows on the knight's armour and horse, despite his absence from the battle, they realised that they had witnessed a miracle. In view of the knight's great devotion, God had sent His angel in the knight's form to fight for him. (17)

The PCG continues with an account of Garcí Fernández's marriages, and notes that he was a very handsome knight, who possessed the most beautiful hands that any man was ever known to possess. (18) On account of their beauty, he was often ashamed to leave them uncovered, and would wear gloves whenever he might meet the wife of a vassal or friend. He married twice, his first wife being a French Countess called Argentina, whom he met while she was on a pilgrimage to Santiago with her parents. They were married for six years, but were childless, and Argentina turned out to be a wicked woman.

Once, when Garcí Fernández was ill, a French Count on a pilgrimage to Santiago visited Argentina. This Count was a widower, with a very pretty daughter called Sancha. Argentina went away with him, and by the time Garcí Fernández discovered, they were already out of

the land. Garcí Fernández was very upset, and as soon as he had recovered, he pretended to be going on a pilgrimage to Sainte Marie de Rocamadour, and set out on foot with a squire, disguised as a poor man. He followed the eloping couple to the Count's dwelling-place, and there learnt of the existence of the Count's daughter. Sancha was on bad terms with her father, since her step-mother (Argentina) caused trouble between them, ⁽¹⁹⁾ and she would have preferred death to prolonging her wretched existence. She was therefore seeking a means of escaping from her father's care, and she happened to ask one of her waiting-women to look for a handsome knight among the poor people who used to eat at her father's door, and bring him to her.

One day, the woman noticed Garcí Fernández among the poor, and, despite his mode of dress, she recognised him as a great and handsome knight. In particular, she noticed his beautiful hands, and thought that he might be just the person her mistress was seeking. She called him aside, and enquired if he were a noble. He asked why she wished to know, since it was little concern of hers, but she retorted that it might concern them both more than he thought. He declared that when he knew why it concerned them, he would show that he was more noble than even the lord of the land. Upon receiving this information, the woman told Sancha, and was instructed to bring the man to her. When he appeared, he knelt down before her like any poor man, and in reply to Sancha's queries, would only agree to disclose his identity on condition that she kept it secret. She swore this on her hands, and Garcí Fernández revealed who he was,

and the injury that her father had done him. He also told Sancha that owing to the shame he had suffered, he had vowed not to return to Castile until he had avenged himself on the guilty pair,⁽²⁰⁾ and this explained his disguise. Believing that God was giving her an opening, Sancha asked what Garcí Fernández would do for the person who helped him avenge himself. He promised that if she would help him, he would marry her, take her back to Castile, and make her a Countess and lady of the land. In return, Sancha agreed to help him, and that night they received one another as man and wife.

On the third night afterwards, Sancha hid Garcí Fernández under the bed of the Count and Argentina, and tied a cord round his foot telling him not to move or cough until she pulled it. She pretended that for love of her father she wished to stay in the room with them that night. As soon as they had fallen asleep, she pulled the cord; Garcí Fernández came out of his hiding-place, and cut off both their heads. Then, taking Sancha and these heads, he set out for Castile, and they were already far away when news of the deaths reached the French Count's people. Upon arriving in Castile, Garcí Fernández and Sancha summoned all their people to Burgos, where Garcí Fernández explained what had happened, declaring that he was now worthy to be their lord since he had avenged his dishonour.⁽²¹⁾ He ordered his people to receive Sancha as the new Countess, and the Castilians rejoiced at the Count's return, and at his ability to avenge himself so successfully.

The Chronicle goes on to say that Garcí Fernández and Sancha had a son, whom they called Sancho. At first the new Countess was a good

wife, but this was only a temporary phase, for she soon began to dislike her husband and desire and plan his death. (22)

While Garcí Fernández was absent from Castile, he had left two of his trusted relatives in charge of the County - Gil Perez de Barbadiello and Ferrant Perez. During this time, the Moors invaded Castile, overran Burgos and destroyed the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, killing three hundred monks in one day. The Chronicle adds that they are all buried in the cloister, and God performs many miracles for them. It also records that Garcí Fernández rebuilt the monastery, and chose it as his burial place. (23)

The next episode concerning us in the PCG is Almanzor's death at Calatañazor, which is very close to the Toledano account of the battle. The date is given as 975, and fourteen years after the beginning of King Vermudo's reign. (24) In that year, Vermudo sent messages asking Garcí Fernández and García of Navarre to forget the wrongs he had done them, and join him in defending the faith against the Moors. Both agreed; the King of Navarre despatched his army, and Garcí Fernández led his own forces. Although Vermudo was suffering from gout and had to be carried, he also appeared at the head of his army, and all three joined forces at Calatañazor. Almanzor was overrunning Castile, and when he reached Calatañazor a day-long battle was fought, halted only by nightfall. At that stage neither side was victorious, but during the night Almanzor fled, having lost part of his army, and fearing to join battle again. He reached Borg Alcorax, and upset by what had happened, he refused to eat or drink, and died. After his death, he was taken to Medinaceli

for burial. (25) At daybreak, Garcí Fernández and Vermudo prepared to continue the battle, but found the Moors' tents deserted. Garcí Fernández's army pursued and killed so many Moors that few escaped alive.

The PCG cites Lucas de Túy's account of the mysterious fisherman, who appeared beside the Guadalquivir on the day when Almanzor was defeated, and interprets his lament as meaning that Almanzor lost his joy, his spirit, and his vigour. (26) It concludes that certain wise men said it was either an incubus, which was a spirit possessing the ability to appear and disappear at will, or a devil weeping on account of the Moors' defeat. (27)

Some time after Almanzor's death, the PCG relates the circumstances of Garcí Fernández's death. Sancho rebelled against his father in 990, and the Moors overran Christian territory, capturing Ávila, Clunia, and San Esteban. Although his people were divided between him and his son, Garcí Fernández chose to die defending his land, and joined battle with the Moors supported by only a few knights. The Christians were greatly outnumbered; many were killed, and the Moors took Garcí Fernández prisoner at Piedra Salada. A few days later, he died at Medinaceli of wounds received in battle. (28)

The Christians redeemed his body, and buried him at San Pedro de Cardena. (29) The Chronicle states that one reason for Garcí Fernández's capture was the deliberate weakening of his horse by giving it the wrong food. The Countess fed it on bran instead of barley, so that it became weak during the battle, and fell on the field. Garcí Fernández was then wounded and captured.

Sancho succeeded him as Count. He was pious, prudent, and upright; he loved his people, and was skilful at defending his land. He punished the Moors severely, and regained the places lost at the time of his father's capture. However, having disposed of her husband, Sancho's mother wished to marry a Moorish king, and she planned her son's death to avoid his opposition. (30) She arranged to give him a drink made of poisoned herbs, but a lady-in-waiting revealed her plan to one of the Count's squires, whom she loved. The squire warned the Count, advising him how to protect himself against his mother's treachery. The Chronicle adds that the Monteros de Espinosa, who guarded the royal Castilian palace, were descended from this very squire, for they first received that particular duty as a result of the warning delivered to Sancho. (31) When the Countess offered Sancho the poisoned wine, he begged her to drink first, but she refused, saying she did not need it. Sancho repeated his request, but she continued to refuse, until finally he forced her to drink by drawing his sword and threatening to cut off her head. She was so frightened that at last she drank the poison and fell down dead. (32) Then Sancho was so troubled at having killed his mother in this way, that he founded the monastery of Oña, naming it after her. It was customary for a lady of Castile to bear the title of 'Mionna', and since his mother was the first lady of Castile, Sancho ordered the monastery to be named 'Oña', omitting the initial syllable. (33)

(5) The C. 1344 version

Finally, we must mention the relevant section of the C. 1344.

There the "Condessa Traidora" legend begins with Garcí Fernández's first marriage to the French Count's daughter. This is practically identical with the PCG version, the only differences being that we are told that the wife came from Flanders, and the first time she is mentioned she is called 'Argeniçia'.

The first important variation from the PCG is that the C.1344 incorporates the miracle at the Vado de Cascajares entirely within the legend. In the PCG, it forms an intervening chapter between Fernán González's death and Garcí Fernández's first marriage, which occurs in identical circumstances in the two Chronicles - while Argentiçia (or Argeniçia) is on a pilgrimage to Santiago with her parents. In the PCG, the miracle episode seems out of place chronologically, for it mentions Garcí Fernández's many victories over the Moors while he and his wife are at San Esteban de Gormaz, yet the account of his first marriage follows this reference. In the C.1344 the miracle occurs between the marriage and Garcí Fernández's illness in Burgos, during which his wife is abducted. It therefore follows on more naturally in the C.1344 than in the PCG.

There are a few minor differences between the two versions of this episode:

(a) the PCG does not name the leader of the Moorish army, but it is Almanzor who attacks Garcí Fernández in the C.1344. On both occasions, however, the battle occurs while Garcí Fernández and his wife are at San Esteban.

(b) The C.1344 adds that Ruy Vázquez, Gonzalo Gustioz, and his sons helped Garcí Fernández in the battle, and the eldest Infante,

Diego, was his lieutenant and standard-bearer. None of these persons appears in the PCG account.

(c) Only the C.1344 names the devout knight as Pascual Vivas.

(d) The C.1344 adds that after Garcí Fernández had defeated Almanzor, he returned to Burgos, where he fell ill within a few days. (34)

There are also a few minor additions in the C.1344's version of Argentina's abduction and Garcí Fernández's revenge. The name of the French Count's wife has been added, and it seems to be 'Petronila'. (i) More details are given of the abduction itself, for the French widower persuades Argentina to go away with him and marry him, because they are compatriots; she allows herself to be won over by his words, and flees with him at night in man's clothes. (35)

Otherwise, the C.1344 follows the PCG version of the revenge episode closely, except that it omits the two judges whom Garcí Fernández left in charge of Castile, and the destruction of Cardena, together with the massacre of its monks, during Garcí Fernández's absence.

As in the PCG, Garcí Fernández's death is linked with his son's rebellion, but this takes place in a different year, namely, era 1024 or 986 A.D. The C.1344 also adds that Sancho rose against his father on his mother's advice. (36) The manner of Garcí Fernández's death is explained in more detail. The Chronicle makes clear first that it was customary in those times for kings and nobles to leave some of their good horses behind when they went away with their

(i) The manuscript is not very clear here, and it looks as though the name has been inserted by another hand.

armies. They would order them to be well fed, and would keep them in their own rooms. Garcí Fernández had a particularly fine horse, which he entrusted to Sancha's care, but she fed it deliberately just on bran. (37) The Chronicle agrees with the PCG that the Moors, learning of the discord between father and son, overran the land, and although Garcí Fernández had only a small force, he preferred to risk death rather than lose his land to the enemy. He rode into battle on the horse he had entrusted to his wife's care, and its weakness caused it to faint under him. The account of his capture and death is very similar to the PCG version. (38)

The main difference, then, between the episodes in these two Chronicles lies in the order of the events. The C.1344 has incorporated the weakening of the horse within the body of the legend, whereas the PCG gives the impression that this was added on to explain Garcí Fernández's capture.

The C.1344 continues with the attempt to poison Sancho, and the Countess's death. The only difference from the PCG is that the squire who warns the Count is afraid, because he had to disclose his relationship with the Countess's servant. Afterwards, though, the Count marries them. (39)

It is clear, then, that there are few differences between the content of the "Condesa Traidora" legend in the PCG and C.1344, apart from the miracle episode at the Vado de Cascajares. The other chief difference is the order of the events connected with Garcí Fernández's death. Except for the miracle episode, therefore, this study is concerned primarily with the PCG rather than the C.1344, since the

former Chronicle gives the earliest extant version of the legend in its entirety.

(6) Comparison of the material in these Chronicles

We may conclude the introduction by comparing the different versions of the legend to show how it was amplified. The earliest version - the Najerense - lacks the whole episode of Garcí Fernández's first marriage. He only has one wife, who is not named, but designated simply as the Countess. There is no abduction, and hence no feigned pilgrimage or revenge in France. The appointment of the two regents of Castile is therefore omitted, together with the massacre at Cardena.

Two factors contribute to Garcí Fernández's death: (a) the Countess's treachery in advising him to send his knights on leave, and her subsequent message to Almanzor, and (b) her deliberate weakening of his horse, so that it falls in battle. The false advice to disarm himself by sending away his effective manpower does not appear in the later Chronicles, although the PCG and C.1344 explain the Count's capture by his horse's failure on the battle-field.

The Najerense omits Sancho's rebellion, which in all the other Chronicles contributes to the Moors' success in overrunning Castile. It does not mention, either, the scene of Garcí Fernández's final battle, or his capture. Following the Count's betrayal, the Najerense adds an incident not included in the later Chronicles. This is that Almanzor's devastation of Castile forced Sancho García to take refuge in the castle of Lantarón, with his mother, sister and vassals, and that he obtained peace by handing over his sister

to Almanzor. The later Chronicles assume that Almanzor had already died during Garcí Fernández's lifetime, following the battle at Calatañazor. According to the Najerense, Almanzor not only laid waste Castile, but made most of the Christian territory his tributary, and destroyed its worship. These details seem to have been imitated from the Historia Silense (c. 1115), which expresses similar ideas.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In the Najerense, God also feels pity for the Christians after thirteen years of Almanzor's campaigns. This idea, too, appears in the Silense, from which it was probably taken.⁽⁴¹⁾

Only the Najerense relates that Sancho García was warned of the Countess's plan to poison him by a Moorish slave girl. The origin of the Monteros de Espinosa does not therefore appear in this version. Also, although the Countess has to take her own poison, the Najerense does not specify that this was at the point of a sword. This detail is an addition in the PCG, and we need not necessarily assume, as Pidal does, that two different versions - the Najerense and the Toledano - omit it for the sake of brevity.⁽⁴²⁾

The Najerense mentions that Sancho García was the historical founder of the monastery of Oña, but it does not explain this as a form of expiation for his mother's death.⁽⁴³⁾

Although the glory for Almanzor's death reflects on Sancho in the Najerense, since he dies fleeing from the engagement with the Count's army, in the later Chronicles Garcí Fernández receives much credit for his defeat and death. This is, of course, an anachronism, since Almanzor survived Garcí Fernández by about seven years. Some time after Sancho's defeat of the Moor, he advances on Córdoba, destroys

the city, and removes his father's body to Cardena. Both the Tudense and the Toledano agree that Sancho penetrated as far as Córdoba, although neither confirms that he actually destroyed it. ⁽⁴⁴⁾

The Tudense does not seem to know the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora" legend, since it does not refer to Garcí Fernández's domestic affairs, or the unsuccessful attempt to poison Sancho. However, we have seen that it does elaborate Almanzor's defeat, which it attributes to the Christian alliance at Calatañazor. The reason for his death therefore differs from the reason given by the Najerense, for instead of bursting as he flees, he dies in the Tudense because of his refusal to eat or drink after his defeat. The latter Chronicle also adds the appearance of the strange fisherman on the bank of the Guadalquivir, lamenting the disaster which has befallen the Moors.

It dismisses Garcí Fernández's death briefly, merely saying that Sancho rebelled, the Moors entered Castile, and Garcí Fernández was captured opposing them with only a few men. The PCG agrees that Garcí Fernández had only a few supporters in his final engagement with the Moors, but neither Chronicle mentions the disarming motif.

Although I have pointed out that the Najerense alone records that Sancho handed over his sister to Almanzor as a condition of peace, the Tudense relates a similar episode in connection with other people. Alfonso V of Leon hands over his sister, Teresa, to the Moorish king of Toledo, who is preparing for battle with the kingdom of Leon. We shall return to this parallel in a later chapter.

The Toledano version of the "Condesa Traidora" is even less

detailed than the Najerense, since it does not say anything about the Countess's treachery causing Garcí Fernández's death, and records only the attempt to poison Sancho. The latter Count's name is given erroneously as Sancho Fernández instead of Sancho García, although his father's name is given correctly.⁽⁴⁵⁾ As in the Najerense, Sancho's mother is not named, and neither the Toledano nor the PCG identifies the Moorish king whom the Countess wishes to marry.

All the Toledano tells us about Garcí Fernández's death is that he died shortly after a battle fought against the Moors, following his son's rebellion, but this Chronicle and the Tudense both agree that Sancho avenged his father's death. He entered the kingdom of Toledo aided by Leonese and Navarrese forces, and did considerable damage there.

In the Toledano, Sancho receives the warning in the poisoning episode from a lady-in-waiting, instead of the Moorish slave-girl of the Najerense, or the squire of the PCG. The Toledano first links the Countess's death with the Count's foundation of Oña as a memorial to his mother's name.

It is plain now that by the time of the PCG several fresh episodes have been added to the earlier versions of the legend. These are: the miracle at the Vado de Cascajares, Garcí Fernández's first marriage to Argentina, her elopement during her husband's illness, his pursuit disguised as a pilgrim, his revenge, the appointment of the regents of Castile, the massacre of the Cardena monks, Garcí Fernández's rebuilding of the monastery, and the origin of the Monteros de Espinosa.

Garcí Fernández's marital unhappiness has therefore increased, since he is now betrayed by two wives, and for the first time they are named. Argentina is the first, and Sancha the second. The latter is the mother of Sancho García, and she is responsible for the treachery attributed to the unnamed wife in the Najerense and Toledano. In the poisoning episode, however, the PCG also refers to her simply as Sancho's mother, until her name is introduced right at the end in connection with the naming of Oña.

The PCG is the first Chronicle to represent Garcí Fernández's wife as a foreigner, and, in fact, both wives are French. None of the Chronicles concerning us calls Garcí Fernández's wife 'Aba', although this was the name of the historical Countess, as I shall prove in a later chapter.

The PCG emphasizes the physical beauty of Garcí Fernández, and both his wives. In particular, it stresses the Count's beautiful hands, which are largely responsible for his marriage to Sancha. This episode contains traces of epic repetition, since we are told twice that Garcí Fernández had the most beautiful hands ever seen.

As in the Tudense and Toledano, the PCG relates Almanzor's defeat at Calatañazor by the Leonese, Navarrese, and Castilians, but whereas in the Tudense he dies at Medinaceli itself, according to the Toledano and PCG he actually dies at Berg Alcorax, and is taken to Medinaceli afterwards for burial. Also, the battle occurs in different circumstances in the PCG. In the Tudense it is fought as the Moors are returning from an expedition to Galicia, but the PCG dates this expedition 972, and Almanzor returns to his own territory

from Galicia.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The battle at Calatañazor takes place three years later, after Almanzor has been plundering Castile. The PCG cites Lucas de Túy's account of the mysterious fisherman, but it gives an alternative interpretation to his suggestion that the apparition was the devil, for it adds that some wise men believe it was a type of spirit known as an incubus, which could vanish and reappear at will.

The PCG agrees with the Tudense and Toledano that Garcí Fernández's final battle occurred after Sancho's rebellion enabled the Moors to invade Christian territory, and capture Ávila, Clunia, and San Esteban. Since Garcí Fernández's death in the Najerense is the result of the Countess's machinations, the Tudense is the first Chronicle to link the Count's death indirectly with his son's rebellion. The death occurs in similar circumstances in the PCG - when the Count advances against the Moors with the small force he has at his disposal - and we have said that only the PCG and the C.1344 follow the Najerense in linking Garcí Fernández's capture and death with the Countess's treachery, and his horse's failure in battle. The PCG adds the site of his capture, namely, Piedra Salada, and says that the Count died a few days afterwards at Medinaceli. His final engagement is, of course, not against Almanzor in the PCG, since he is supposed to have died previously.

The Chronicle does not state whether the Moors took Garcí Fernández's body to Córdoba, but as in the Toledano, it is simply redeemed by the Christians and taken for burial to San Pedro de Cardena.

Sancho's warning in the poisoning episode is linked with the Monteros de Espinosa for the first time in the PCG. Instead of receiving the warning directly from the person who discovers the plot, Sancho is cautioned by the squire friendly with the lady-in-waiting, who actually learns of the Countess's scheme. The squire's loyalty results in the institution of the Monteros de Espinosa, as a reward for his service.

The PCG agrees with the Toledano in explaining Sancho's foundation of Oña as a form of expiation for his mother's death, and both Chronicles derive the name of the monastery from the title of 'Mionna', by which the Countess was known.

This brief comparison of the earliest known versions of the "Condesa Traidora" legend illustrates that there was a considerable accretion of material in just over a century, between the Majerense and the PCG. The task of this study now is to discuss in detail the themes and episodes appearing in the legend to try and determine which are historical and which are fictitious. Tracing their origin and the manner of the legend's growth will entail linking up many of the incidents with parallel episodes, not only in other Spanish medieval legends, but also in the literature and legend of other countries, classical as well as medieval. Although the "Condesa Traidora" is concerned with two historical Castilian heroes - Garcí Fernández and Sancho García - I hope to make it clear from this study that much of the subject matter is not specifically Spanish. In the Middle Ages there was a relatively small stock of incidents and motifs, which recur constantly in different situations in the epic. There was

much borrowing and imitation then, for no legend or motif was the property of only one person or nation, and it was often remodelled as it was handed on. The "Condesa Traidora" is no exception, and we shall see that many of its incidents link up with classical and medieval literature in general, and may initially have been of foreign origin.

Notes to the Introduction

(1) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, BH, XIII, 1911, pp. 423-426. This text is based primarily on Ms. A 189, with variations based on Ms. G 1. Both these Mss. are in the possession of the Library of the Real Academia de la Historia. Ms. A 189 has been assigned alternatively to the 12th or 13th century, but Cirot points out that the Leonese Chronicle itself (= the Najerense) could have been composed in the 12th century. Ms. G 1 belongs to the 15th century. See Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, op. cit., pp. 133 . . . for a description of these Mss., and p. 382.

(2) Lucae Tudensis: Chronicon Mundi, in Schottus, A.: Hispaniae Illustratae, IV, Frankfurt, 1603.

(3) Roderici Archiepiscopi Toletani: De Rebus Hispaniae, in Schottus, A.: Hispaniae Illustratae, II, Frankfurt, 1603.

(4) Primera Crónica General de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, II, Madrid, 1955. For a description of the Mss. used in this edition, the earliest dating from the end of the 13th century, see PCG, I, pp. LVII-LXI.

(5) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 10814. This Ms. belongs to the 15th century.

(6) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, II, § 85, pp. 423-424.

"Interea ad comitissam. comitis garsiez ferrandez. uxorem.
p nuntium uerba amoris dolose dirigit. et an comitissa ee. an in
reginam uelit prouehi. callide sciscitatur. Quibus uerbis illecta.
et uiro interfecto. reginā se fore arbitrans. quomodo uirum inter-
fici faciat. querit sollicita. vnde. quo uiri per noctes singulas.
ordeum subtrahens. saluatum. ut hora deficeret necessaria ministrabat.
Quid plura? Instante dñce natiuitatis festo. uirum ammonuit et
induxit. ut ad tante festiuitatis gaudia cum suis uxoribus et filiis
habenda. suos milites ad loca propria ire permitteret. et mandaret.
Profectis ergo ad sua loca militibus. statim ad almazor que fecerat
nuntiauit. Qui mox ipsa natiuitatis dominice die. electam militum
copiam misit ad prediandam terram. in qua comes. G. ferr. festum
deuotissim' celebrabat. Quibus ille cum paucis qui secum remanserant
audacter obuians. deficiente sibi equo . . . expirauit. Era. M.XXX.III.
quarto . . . Quibus . . . est . . . translatus ē . . ." In Cirot's
edition, the gaps in the Ms. have been filled in from the Anales
Compostellanos.

(7) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, § 86, p. 425.

"Supradictus autem almazor. uirga furoris dñi super xpianos.
nequaquā a perditione et persecutione xpiana desistens. s; et totam
fere castellam depredando. castellam munitiones diruendo. perambulans

in tantum eam afflixit: quod eius terrore percussus comes santius garsie cum comitissa matre sua et sorore, et cum omnibus suis. in plantaronem se mittere est coactus. s; cū nec ꝑ ibi assiduas incursiones et assultus undique graues posset sustinere: cā pacis cum eo habende, sororem suam, habendam illi dicitur tradidisse. Mater autem ei comitissa spe nubendi cum almazor, non contenta quod patrem occidi fecerat: ut inanis gl'ie cupiditatem saciaret, et sue libidini liberius deseruaret: filium ex quo solo salus tocus pendebat hispanie: necare potionibus attemptauit. Sed dñs qui consilia hominum dissipat impiorum: contra que non est consilium: qui omnia scit: antequam fiant: malignantis matris malignum consilium dissipauit. Aduentanti enī de quodam assultu comiti, quedam sarracenula, facti non ignara deo disponente obuia: morte potu paratā, et ut a tali scipho omnino abstineret: rem per ordinem propalauit. Ingressus itaque palatium: de equo descendit scanno resedit militum sedente corona; p̄ nimia lassitudine potum ex more quesiuit. Quem statim sibi vase porrectum argenteo: matri quasi causa honoris ipse exhibuit, et ipsam ut prior biberet inuitauit. Cumque diutina et mutua inuitatione contenderent tandem ipsa complusa in primo haustu, inuicem exalauit animam exalauit, cadens inlaqueum quem tetendit."

Abbreviations used are described thus: s; = sed: ꝑ = etiam or etiam?: p̄ = per: p̄ = pre. See Cirot, op. cit., pp. 152-3.

(8) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, § 86, p. 426.

". . . ipse almazor quamuis pmittente deo peccatis xpianorum exigentibus. p̄ duodecim continuos annos, terram deuastasset: XIII. regni sui anno, post multas et horriferas xpianorum strages, cum predicto comite santio confligens: et fugam arripiens p̄ medium crepuit. . . Era M.XL. . ."

(9) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, III, § 1, p. 429.

"Comes ferr. gonz'. g' comitem garsiam ferrandis quem rex almazor occidit. Comes garsias ferr. g' comitem santium qui regem interfec̄ et cordobam destruxit, et inde corpus patris sui comitis g. ferr. transtulit caradignam . . ."

(10) Chronicon Mundi, IV, pp. 87-88.

"Tertiodecimo vero anno Almanzor barbarus cum magno exercitu per fines Portugaliae hostiliter intrans illius regionis omnia deuastauit. Non fuit ciuitas, nec munitio, quae illi resistere posset, usque dum peruenit ad partes maritimas Occidentales Hispaniae, et ciuitatem et ecclesiam, in qua corpus beati Iacobi tumulatum est, destruxit. Ad sepulchrum vero beati Iacobi Apostoli, ut illud frangeret, audacter accedit, sed territus quadam fulguratione rediit; . . . Rex autem coelestis Dominus Iesus Christus non continens in ira sua misericordias suas, beati Iacobi Apostoli meritis ultionē fecit de inimicis suis. Misit namque Dominus diarriam et dyssenteriam in

ventrem Agarenorum; et partim infirmitate, partim subitanea morte quotidie gens ipsa minuebatur, et ad nihilum veniebat."

(11) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 88.

"Post haec Rex Veremundus misit nuncios ad Comitē Garciam Fernandi de Castella, et ad Garseanum Regem Pampilonensium, ut auxilium praeberent ad tantū hostem debellādum. Tunc Rex Garseanus maximā partem sui exercitus misit, et Comes Garsias Fernandi per se cum omni exercitu suo venit. Rex autē Veremundus; quia eo quod podagricus erat, nullatenus poterat equitare, humeris hominū baiulatus cum suo exercitu properavit. Cumq.; Almanzor egressus de Gallecia Castellae fines vellet iterum deastare, occurrit ei cum magno exercitu Rex Veremūdus, et in loco qui dicitur Canatanazor, inito certamine multa Sarracenorum millia corruerunt; et nisi nox diem clausisset, ipse Almanzor fuisset captus. Tamen ipsa die non fuit victus, sed de nocte arripuit fugam cum suis. Sequenti vero die Rex Veremundus praecepit acies ordinare, ut in ipso diei crepusculo contra Sarracenorum exercitum dimicarent. Sed properante exercitu ad castra Sarracenorum inuenerunt tantummodo tentoria fixa cum multitudine spoliatorum. Comes autem Garsias Fernandi insecutus Sarracenos, qui fugiebant, eorum innumerabilē extinxit multitudinē. ."

(12) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 88.

"Mirabile est dictu ipsa die qua in Canatanazor succubuit Almanzor, quidam quasi piscator in ripa fluminis de Guadalquivir quasi plangens modo Chaldaico sermone, modo Hispanico clamabat, dicens: En Canatanazor perdidit Almāzor el tambor: id est, in Canatanazor perdidit Almanzor tympanum siue sistrum, hoc est, laetitiam suam. Veniebant ad eum barbari Cordubenses, et cum appropinquarent ei, euanescebat ab oculis eorū, et iterum in alio loco apparens eadem plangens repetebat. Hunc credimus diabolū fuisse, qui Sarracenorū plangebatur deiectionem. Almanzor autem ab hac die qua succubuit, noluit comedere, neque bibere, et veniens in ciuitatē, quae dicitur Medinacelem, mortuus est, et ibidem sepultus."

(13) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 89.

"Eo fere tempore cum rebellaret Sancius contra patrem suum virum strenuum Burgensium comitem Garsiam Fernandi, ipse comes Garsias mortuus est, et successit, et filius eius nomine Sancius in comitatu Burgensi . . . Tamen dum ipse rebellaret contra patrem suum, venerunt Sarraceni propter eorum discordiam, et capientes urbem Abalam funditus destruxerunt eam. Ceperunt etiam Sanctum Stephanum et Cruniam. Comes autem Garsias Fernandi dum cum paucis vellet obuiare Sarracenis, et incaute se gerere, captus est ab eis, et post paucos dies propria morte decessit . . ."

(14) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, iii, p. 83.

"Huius mater optans commercium cuiusdam principis Sarraceni, proposuit filium interficere, ut sic cum munitionibus et oppidis optatis nuptiis potiretur. Cumque quodam sero lethali poculo virus mortiferum miscuisset, filius reuelatione pedisseque hoc presensit, et matri, ut prius biberet, supplicauit. Quod ipsa renuens demum coacta, quod male miscuerat degustauit, et parricida mater hausit, et meruit mortem in poculo quod parauit. Et tandem Comes Sâcius quod contriti cordis, poenitentia stimulatus construxit monasterium nobile (Oniam nominauit, eo quod matrem uiuentem Mioniam more Hispanico appellabat."

(15) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xvi, p. 89.

"Rex autem Veremundus coactus hostibus legationem misit, Garsiae Fernandi Comiti Castellano, et Garsiae Tremuloso Regi Nauarrorum, ut obliti iniuriarum, ad agenda praelia fidei foederati in simul conuenirent. Quod audientes Rex Garsias misit exercitum, Comes Garsias Fernandi personaliter cum sua multitudine, et Rex Veremundus, licet podagricus, gestatus humeris baiulorum, collecta potentia regni sui omnes in simul conuenerunt, et in loco quodam qui Arabice Calacanzor, Latine autem dicitur Vulturum altitudo, Almanzor venienti cum suis Arabibus ut Castellam inuaderet, occurrerunt. Cumq.; sese mutuis caedibus inuasissent, maxima pars cecidit de exercitu Agareno, tamen noctis tenebris intercepti, neuter neutri cessit campum, et tanta strage comperta suorum bellum in crastino timuit restaurare. Unde et de nocte fugiens cum venisset ad vallem Borgecorexi, dolore vexatus animam exhalauit, et ad Medinam quae Caelum dicitur, est delatus. Cumq.; dies crastina illuxisset, exercitus Christianus putauit Arabes ad praelium reuersuros, sed cum tentoria vacua hominibus conspexissent, ipsa tentoria, et supellectilem, et spolia varia occuparunt. Comes autem Garsias Fernandi viriliter insecutus eos qui caedem euaserant, fere usque ad inter-necionem deleuit. Almanzor autem qui semper inuictus fuerat, tanto dolore prosternitur, ut a die praelii neque cibum, neque potum sumpserit, donec diem conclusit extremum."

(16) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xviii, p. 90.

"Eisdem diebus Sancius filius Comitis Garsiae Ferdinandi contra patrem visus est rebellare. Cumq.; inter patrem et filium esset discordia concitata, Sarraceni fomentum impetus habuerunt, et Castellae terminos inuadentes Abulam quae populari coeperat, destruxerunt, Cluniam et sanctum Stephanum occuparunt, caedes et incendia in patria exercentes. Cumque Comes Garsiae Ferdinandi talia percepisset, magnanimitate pulsatus, licet gens sua in eum et filium esset diuisa, eligens mori pro patria cum Arabibus decertauit, sed multitudine circumclusus viuis capitur inter caesos undique comprehensus, sed paucis diebus moritur, eo quod in bello fuerat lethaliter vulneratus, et corpus eius a Sarracenis redemptum in monasterio sancti Petri de Cardonia requiescit."

(17) PCG, II, § 729, pp. 426-427.

". . . Et el dia de aquella fazienda fizo el Nuestro Sennor un muy fremoso miraglo por un cauallero so uassallo que auie por costumbre que desde en la manana entraua en la egleſia, nunca ende salie fasta que eran acabadas quantas misas fallaua que y estudiessen diziendo. Et acaesciol a aquel cauallero que en un monesterio que el conde Garçi Ferrandez fiziera, çerca el castiello de Sant Esteuan, en el qual monesterio pusiera ocho monges que troxiera pora y del monesterio de sant Pedro dArlança o yazie su padre, que aquel dia de la fazienda que oyo la primera misa que se en aquel lugar dixo con el conde so sennor et con los otros que y estauan. Et desde el conde que oyda la misa, armosse el et toda su companna por yr dar fazienda a los moros, los quales uinieran de Gormas, que estauan al uado de Cascaiares por passar de la otra parte. Et el cauallero, por guardar so costumbre, non quiso salir de la egleſia et estudo y fasta que todas las ocho misas fueron acabadas; et siempre estudo armado los ynoidos ficados ante el altar. Et entre tanto fue el conde a auer so fazienda con los moros alli al uado o ellos estauan. Et un escudero de aquel cauallero que estaua oyendo las misas, quel tenie a la puerta de la egleſia el cauallo et las armas, dalli o el escudero estaua ueye toda la fazienda, et auie grant pesar de so sennor que non era alla con el conde cuyo uassallo era, et por esta rrazon maltrayel et dizie que con couardia et con maldat dessi dexaua de yr alla, ca non con otra cristiandad. El cauallero, tan grant deuocion auie en aquellas misas que oye, quel non tornaua y cabeça. Et el estando alli en la egleſia, el Nuestro Sennor Dios por guardar a el de uerguenna, quiso mostrar so miraglo en tal manera que nunca aquel dia lo fallaron menos en la fazienda, et non y que otro tan bueno como el; ca aquel que y pareçio en el so cauallo, armado de sus sennales, esse mato a aquel que traye la senna de los moros, et por el se arranco la fazienda et fue uençuda, en manera que todos auien que fablar de la su bondad de aquel cauallero. Et quando las ocho misas fueron acabadas, fue toda la fazienda uençuda. Et despues, con uerguenna que que este cauallero non osaua salir de la egleſia; mas quantas feridas dieron en la fazienda a aquel que traye las sus armas, tantas tenie despues el en el so perpunte et en la su loriga que tenie uestida. Desde el conde torno de la fazienda, demando por aquel cauallero que tan bienandante auie seydo en aquel dia, et nol pudo fallar en todo el campo; et desi sopo en como aquel so uassallo en cuya figura aquel pareçiera, que estaua ençerrado en la egleſia con uerguenna que auie de que se non açertara en aquella fazienda. Et quando el conde sopo todo el fecho en como auie pasado, et uio el et los otros que todas las feridas que los moros dieran a aquel que andaua por el en el campo, que todas las el tenie en el perpunte et en la loriga et en el cauallo, et sopieron que non fuera y, entendieron et conosçieron que esto que por Dios uiniera et por la deuocion que aquel cauallero auie en el et en los sacrificios de las misas, et que por esso quisiera el enuiar el so angel en su figura que lidiase por el; et dieron loor et gracias al Nuestro Sennor et a Santa Maria su madre por este miraglo que auie fecho."

(18) PCG, II, § 730, p. 427.

"Este conde Garçi Ferrandez . . . era grant cauallero de cuerpo et muy apuesto, et auie las mas fremosas manos que nunca fallamos que otro omne ovo . . ."

(19) PCG, II, § 731, p. 427.

"Et donna Sancha estaua mal con el conde su padre, ca aquella su madrastra metie mucho mal entre el et ella . . ."

(20) PCG, II, § 731, p. 428.

"Et el le dixo: 'sennora, yo so el conde Garçi Ferrandez, senyor de Castiella; et uestro padre que aqui es, non me catando, fizome tuerto et leuome mi muger con que estaua casado, la qual es esta que el aqui tiene por muger; et yo, con uerguenna que de este fecho tome, prometi de non tornar a mitierra fasta que fuese uengado del et della . . ."

(21) PCG, II, § 732, p. 428.

"Quando el conde Garçi Ferrandez et su muger donna Sancha llegaron a Castiella, enuiaron por todas sus gentes que uiniessen a Burgos, et contoles el conde todo lo quel auie conteçido et en como por todo pasara. Et dixoles el conde: 'agora so yo pora seer uestro senyor que so uengado, ca non mientras estaua descarrado.'"

(22) PCG, II, § 732, pp. 428-429.

"Et esta condessa donna Sancha començo de primero a seer buena muger et atenerse con Dios et a seer amiga de so marido et fazer muchas buenas obras; mas estol duro poco, et despues començo a fazer lo auiesso dello, como quier que quanto en maldat de so cuerpo non se osaua descubrir por miedo que auie de so marido el conde Garçi Ferrandez, et començo a auer malquerençia contra el, en guisa que cobdiçiana mucho a ueer la su muerte, et a la çima guiso la muerte, asi como adelante oyredes en esta estoria en so logar o fabla dello."

(23) PCG, II, § 732, p. 429.

"Al tiempo deste conde Garçia Ferrandez, seyendo el fuera de la tierra en demanda de aquella su muger, ayuntosse grant poder de moros et entraron por Castiella, et corrieron Burgos et toda la tierra, et robaron et astragaron quanto fallaron. Et de aquella uegada fue astragado el monesterio de Sant Pedro de Cardenna, et mataron y trezientos monges en un dia; et yazen todos soterrados en la claustra, et faz Dios por ellos muchos miraglos. Et este monesterio fizo despues como de cabo el conde Garçi Ferrandez, et tomol pora su sepultura."

(24) PCG, II, § 755, p. 449.

"Andados XIII años del regnado daquel rey don Vermudo - et fue esto en la era de mill et XIII años, et dell anno de la Encarnation en DCCC et LXXV . . ."

(25) PCG, II, § 755, p. 449.

". . . Et el rey don Garcia enuiol estonces su hueste; mas el conde Garçi Fernandez el fue y con su cuerpo mismo et con su hueste. Estonces el rey don Vermudo, pero que era mal doliente de gota, fizose leuar en andas et fue y con tod el poder de su regno. Et ayuntaronse todos en aquel lugar a que en ell arauigo dizen Cannatannaçor, et en el castellano quiere dezir 'altura de bueytres'. Et Almançor era ya estonces salido de su tierra con su hueste et uinie pora correr Castiella et astragarla como solie, et lleugo alli a Cannatannaçor, et ellos alli lidiaron, et la lid fue muy grand et muy ferida, de guisa que les duro todo el dia fasta en la noche, et nin fincaron uençudos los unos nin los otros. Et finco assi la fazienda por la noche que les uino et los partio, ca sinon Almançor fuera muerto o preso, segund dize don Lucas de Tuy. Almançor quando uio ell astragamiento de su hueste que perdiera, non oso atender la batalla pora otro dia, et fuese de noche fuyendo. Et quando lleugo a un lugar que dizen Borg Alcorax, adolecio con pesar daquello quel contecio, et nin quiso comer nin beuer, et murio assi. Et pues que fue muerto, leuaronle a enterrar a Medinacelim."

(26) PCG, II, § 755, p. 449.

"Sobresto cuenta en este logar don Lucas de Tuy que esse dia en que Almançor fue uençudo, que andaua un omne en guisa de pescador por la ribera de Guadalquivir dando uozes como que llamasse et fiziesse duelo, et dizie una uez por arauigo et otra por castellano en esta manera: 'En Cannatannaçor Almançor perdio ell atamor;' et quiere esto dezir, segund departen los sabidores: en Cannatannaçor perdio Almançor su alegria et su brio et la su loçania."

(27) PCG, II, § 755, p. 450.

"Et dizen aqui los omnes sabios et entendudos que esto bien creen que non era al sinon espirito daquellos a que las escripturas llaman yncubos que an aquella natura de parescer et desfazerse et parescer de cabo quando quieren, o que era diablo que lloraua el crebanto de los moros et ell astragamiento que les uernie et ueno et lo soffrieron dalli adelante."

(28) PCG, II, § 763, p. 453.

"Et quando el conde Garçi Fernandez uio tan grand mal en su tierra, non le pudo soffrir, et maguer que la yent andaua partida entrel et su fijo, puso en su coraçon de morir por defender la

tierra ante que ueuir assi ueyendola perder. Et fue contra los moros con pocos caualleros que tenie, et lidio con los moros; mas tanta era la muchedumbre dellos que non podie dar y conseio, et murieron y muchos de los cristianos, et prisiieron y al conde Garci Fernandez - et esto fue en Piedra Salada - et leuaronle los moros preso; et de las grandes feridas quel dieron en la lid murio dellas a pocos dias en Medinacelim."

(29) PCG, II, § 763, p. 453.

"Estonces los cristianos dieron grand auer a los moros por el cuerpo dell, et ouieronle et leuaronle a enterrar al monesterio de Sant Pedro de Cardenna."

(30) PCG, II, § 764, p. 454.

"La madre deste conde don Sancho, cobdiciando casar con un rey de los moros, asmo de matar su fijo por tal que se alçasse con los castiellos et con las fortalezas de la tierra, et que desta guisa casarie con el rey moro mas endereçadamientre et sin embargo."

(31) PCG, II, § 764, p. 454.

"Et ella destemprando una noche las yeruas quel diesse a beuer con que muriesse, fue en ello una su couigera de la condessa, et entendio muy bien que era. Et quando ueno el conde, aquella couigera descubrio aquel fecho que sabia de su sennora a un escudero que queria bien, que andaua en casa del conde; et el escudero dixolo al conde su sennor, et conseiol como se guardase de aquella traycion. Et deste escudero uienen los monteros dEspinosa que guardan el palacio de los reyes de Castiella, et esta guarda les fue dada por el aperçebimiento que este escudero fizo a su sennor."

(32) PCG, II, § 764, p. 454.

"Et quando la madre quiso dar al conde aquel uino a beuer, rogo el a su madre que beuiesse ella primero; et ella dixo que lo non farie, ca non lo auie mester. Et el rogola muchas uezes que beuiesse, et ella non lo quiso ninguna uez; et el quando uio que la non podie uencer por ruego, fizogelo beuer por fuerça, et aun dizen que saca el la espada et dixol que si lo non beuiesse quel cortarie la cabeça. Et ella con aquel miedo, beuio el uino, et cayo luego muerta."

(33) PCG, II, § 764, p. 454.

"Empos esto el conde don Sancho, con pesar et crebanto por que matara a su madre en aquella guisa, fizo por ende un monesterio muy noble, et pusol nombre Onna por del nombre de su madre en la guisa que aqui agora departiremos: En Castiella solien llamar Mionna por

la sennora, et porque la condessa donna Sancha era tenuta por sennora en tod el condado de Castiella, mando el conde toller deste nombre Mionna aquella 'mi' que uiene primero en este nombre; et esta palabra que finca tolluda dend 'mi', que llamasen por nombre a aquel monesterio Onna et assi le llaman oy en dia Onna."

For the full legend in the PCG, see §§ 729-732, 755, 763, 764.

(34) Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 10814, ff. 150v, 151.

(35) Bibl. Nac., Ms. 10814, f. 151.

"Cuenta la estoria que despues que el conde ouo vençido a Almançor en la lid del Vado de Cascaiares en que le Dios fizyo muncha merçet, tornose para Burgos et a pocos dias adoleçio y, et en yaziendo el conde doliente vino le ver vn conde de Françia et yua en romeria a Santiago. Et aquel conde fuera casado con donna Petronila (?). Et murierale et fablo con la condesa donna Argentina muger del conde Garçi Ferrandus que eran amos naturales de vna tierra, que se fuese con el et que casaria con ella, et ella como mala muger que era, vençiose a sus palabras et fuyo con el de noche en pannos de omne."

(36) Bibl. Nac., Ms. 10814, f. 171v.

"Andados doze annos del regnado del rey don Alfonso que fue en la era de mill et veynte et quatro annos. Et el anno de la encarnacion de nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo en DCCCCLXXXVI annos, aquel don Sancho fijo del conde don Garçi Ferrandus alçose contra su padre por conseio de su madre."

(37) Bibl. Nac., 10814, f. 171v.

"Et quando yvan en sus huestes dexauan algunos de sus buenos caualllos en sus casas et mandauanlos bien açeuar et tenianlos sienpre en sus camaras en que aluergauan con sus mugeres. Et aconteçiose que este conde don Garçi Ferrandus auia vn muy noble cauallo et encomendole a la condesa donna Sancha que lo aceuadase et fartase muy bien. En tal manera que le non fallaçiese quando menester lo ouiese. Et ella como aquella en cuyo coraçon reynaua toda maldat non lo quiso asy fazer mas fizolo por el contrario ca le non daua a comer synon saluados."

(38) Bibl. Nac., Ms. 10814, f. 171v.

"Et auiendo entre el conde don Garçi Ferrandus et su fijo grant discordia, supieronlo los moros et vinieronle correr la tierra. Et el conde comoquier que tuuiese muy poca conpanna ca grant pieça con su fijo touo que era razon de aventurar ante el cuerpo a la muerte que perder la mas de su tierra, ca la tenian los moros forçada ya la villa (gap in Ms.) que se entonçe poblara destruyeronla et destruyeron

a Coyna (sic) et a Sant Esteuan de Gormaz et quemaron et astragaron toda la tierra. Et por esta rrazon ouo de yr contra los moros. Et enbaraçose con ellos con pocos caualleros que tenia. Et yendo el en aquel cauallo que mandara pensar bien a su muger.

Et tanta era la muchedunbre de los moros que non podia poner conseio. Et murieron y muchos de los Christianos.

El conde estaua en la mayor priesa. Fallesçiole el cauallo de que vis (sic) ya deximos con mengua de fuerça porque non comia synon saluados. Et el cauallo cayo con el en tierra de flaqueza et el conde fue muy mal llagado, et presieronlo los moros. Et esta lid fue en Piedra Salada. Et los moros leuaron el conde consigo. Et el murio a pocos dias de las feridas que le dieron. Et los Christianos dieron a los moros muy grant auer por el cuerpo de su sennor. Et desde lo ouieron cobrado leuaronlo a enterrar a vn monesterio de Sant Pedro de Cardenna. Et este conde don Garçi Ferrandus fue muerto en Medinaçeli et en poder de los moros segunt ya oystes."

(39) Bibl. Nac., Ms. 10814, f. 172.

"Ca vino asy que la madre deste conde don Sancho cobdiçiendo casar con vn rey de los moros, cuydo en commo mataria a su fijo por tal que se alçase con los castillos et con las otras fortalezas. Et que desta guisa casaria con el rey moro mas seguramente et sin embargo.

Ella queriendo poner en obra esta maldat et destenprando vna noche las yeruas que le diese a beuer con que muriese fue vna su cobijera et vio aquello que la condesa fazia et entendio bien commo era. Et esta cobijera fazia mal de su fazienda con vn escudero del conde. Et descubrierale este fecho diziendole en commo la condesa queria matar su fijo con beuer de ponçonna. Et el escudero fue esto dezir al conde. Et dixole la manera en commo se guardase et esto le dixo el con muy grant miedo porque le fue nesçesario de le descubrir de su fecho et de la cobijera. Et aquel escudero et la cobijera caso despues el conde, et de allí vienen los Monteros de Espinosa que guardan los reyes de Castilla. Et esta guarda les fue dada por aquello que asy aconteçio. Et quando la madre quiso dar aquel beuer a su fijo el conde, et el non lo quiso tomar mas rogo a ella que biuiese primero et ella dixo que lo non faria ca le non era menester. Et el conde le rogo muchas vezes et ella non lo quiso fazer en ninguna guisa. Et el conde quando vio que lo non queria fazer por ruego que le el diese entendio que era verdat lo que le dixeran et fizogelo beuer, por fuerça. Et dizen algunos que saco la espada de la vayna et dixo que si non beuiese que le cortaria la cabeça, et ella con aquel miedo beuiolo luego el vino. Commo lo ouo beuido cayo luego muerta en tierra. Et entonçe el conde ouo della grant pesar et quebranto porque asi fuera muerta su madre por la qual cosa el fizo despues vn monesterio muy noble et pusole nonbre Onna

por la sennora, et porque la condesa donna Sancha era tenuta por sennora en todo el condado de Castilla mando el conde toller de aquel nonbre mionna aquel 'mi' que viene primero en el nonbre de mionna."

(40) Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, p. 61, l. 13-18.

". . . queque sacra ausu temerario pollueret; postremo omne regnum sibi subactum tributarium faceret.

Eadem vero tempestate in Yspania omnis divinus cultus periit; omnis christicoliarum gloria decidit; congesti ecclesiarum thesauri funditus direpti sunt; . . ."

and Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, § 85, p. 424.

"Tunc rex alm̄. omnem fere xp̄iano ꝥ terram sibi subiciens. fecit tributaria. tunc in hyspania omnis diuinus cultus omnis xp̄iano ꝥ gloria. om̄s eccl'ia ꝥ thesauri funditus perierunt."

(41) Historia Silense, op. cit., p. 61, l. 18-20.

". . . cum tandem divina pietas tante ruine compatiens, hanc cladem a cervicibus christianorum auferre dignaretur."

(42) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, p. 48, n. 2.

(43) La Chronique Léonaise, BH, XIII, 1911, III, p. 430, § 1.

"Era MLV. Sepultus apud onie monasterium quod fecerat."

(44) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 89.

"Tunc comes Sancius . . . ita ut usque Cordubam hostiliter pergeret, et multas caedes Sarracenis inferret."

De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xix, p. 90.

"Hic patris iniuriam impatiens sustinere, iuxta foedus cum patre initum Nauarrorum et Legionensium exercitus conuocauit, et ingressus cum eis ad partes Toleti caede et clade cuncta vastauit, et praedis abductis, quae remanserant, flamma consumpsit. Nec ab his stragibus fuit regnū Cordubae alienum."

(45) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, iii, p. 83.

"Huic successit filius eius Comes Sancius Fernandi, vir virtutem, amator patriae, et in subditos totus pius."

(46) PCG, II, # 754, pp. 448-449.

"Andados XI annos del regnado daquel rey don Vermudo - et fue esto en la era de mill et X annos, et andaua ell anno de la Encarnation en DCCCC et LXXII - este anno ueno Almançor con su hueste mui grand, et entro en Gallizia por Portugal, corriendo et astragando uillas et cibdades, et quando lleo a la marisma astrago la cibdad et la elesia de Sant Yague, et quemola . . . et Almançor escapo ende como sennero de su companna, et ouose de tornar a su tierra apesar de si por esta pestilencia quel ueno."

II. Themes contained in the Garcí Fernández episode.

1. The Miracle at the Vado de Cascajares.

(1) Appearance of the miracle in the PCG and C. 1344

The miracle performed at the Vado de Cascajares on behalf of one of Garcí Fernández's knights first appears in connection with the "Condesa Traidora" legend in the PCG. In the Introduction I have pointed out that this chronicle inserts the episode between Fernán González's death, and the fictitious account of Garcí Fernández's marriage. Since it has no real connection either with what precedes or what follows immediately afterwards, it is in the nature of an isolated episode. This indicates that it was a late addition to the Garcí Fernández legend, and that it may have been linked with it for the first time in the PCG. The C.1344's treatment of the episode supports this belief, since there it is incorporated within the body of the legend, and no longer seems an isolated episode.

Its character also suggests that it was a late addition, for it is out of keeping with the rest of the legend, which is conceived in a realistic way. Even when treating fictitious or legendary matter, the main action remains within the realm of the possible, if not the probable, i.e. it is presented as something which could reasonably have happened, without any elements of the supernatural or the 'marvellous'. The Vado de Cascajares episode therefore differs in character from the main subject matter. Although the epic legends do contain other examples of battles won with divine aid, these do not occur frequently in the earlier extant Castilian legends. In addition, the episode stands apart from the rest of the legend in

that it has a more national character, whereas the main events concern only one particular Castilian family. It does, after all, celebrate a victory won by Garcí Fernández over the Moors, affecting not only the Count himself, but marking another step in the Reconquest of the Peninsula.

(2) Source of the Vado de Cascajares episode

A similar incident is the subject of one of Alfonso the Wise's Cantigas de Santa María, on which the PCG may have drawn.⁽¹⁾ This Cantiga relates how a miracle performed by the Virgin saved a certain valiant knight from shame. One day Almanzor went to besiege San Esteban de Gormaz, which Count García held, and the knight wished to help the Count attack the Moors. On the way to battle, he stopped to hear three masses, and his squire criticised him, saying that a man who failed to appear at such a battle should not show himself again. The knight paid no attention to the squire's words, but asked St. Mary to save him from shame. After the battle, the Count met the knight and praised him greatly, for he decided it in the Christians' favour. The knight was very ashamed, but when he discovered marks of blows on his arms, he realised that a miracle had occurred, and offered the Virgin money in gratitude. Each verse of this Cantiga has a refrain saying that he who serves the Virgin can never be shamed.⁽¹⁾

(1) The Ms. of Toledo is probably the oldest Ms. of the Cantigas. It may date from the second third of the 13th century, and it has corrections made in a 13th century hand; but it only contains 100 miracles. The Ms. of the Escorial is the main and most complete one, and it was used for the edition to which I have referred. The lettering also belongs to the 13th century. See Alfonso el Sabio: Cantigas de Santa María, pub. by La Real Academia Española, I, Madrid, 1889, pp. 14, 33, 36, and 37.

This Cantiga differs from the PCG version of the miracle in the following ways:

(a) It does not mention the Vado de Cascajares, or the exact site of the battle; we are merely told that it took place when Almanzor besieged San Esteban de Gormaz.

(b) The Count is cited as Count García of Castile, with no mention of his surname, and there is no reference to his wife's presence.

(c) Only three masses are heard.

(d) The knight actually asks St. Mary to save him from shame, because she has the power to do so:

"mais a Santa María diz: 'sóo teu,
e tol-me uergonna, ca ás én poder.'"(2)

(e) The Count congratulates the knight on his part in the battle after it is over.

The PCG version has therefore already added or changed a few details, but it does not agree with the Cantiga that Almanzor was the Moorish leader whom Garcí Fernández defeated. The C.1344 adds this, and its other important addition is the presence at the battle of the Infantes de Lara, their father, and uncle.

(3) Historical evidence for the battle

We must first consider whether there are any historical grounds for believing that the Cantiga and the Chronicles commemorate an actual battle won by Garcí Fernández at the Vado de Cascajares. There are few historical references to such a battle.

Mariana places the miracle episode at the beginning of Garcí

Fernández's period of government, and he calls the knight concerned 'Fernán Antolínez'. He says that the battle took place between Garcí Fernández and the Moors near San Esteban de Gormaz on the bank of the Duero. (3) However, we cannot treat this as absolute proof of the battle, since Mariana's history is full of fictitious and legendary matter.

Flórez mentions a battle at Cascajares, but he places it in Fernán González's time, and does not refer to the miracle. He recalls the PCG account of Fernán González's pursuit of a boar which sought refuge in the hermitage of San Pedro, where Pelayo predicted a victory over the Moors for the Count. Flórez identifies the site of this victory with Cascajares, which he places upstream from Arlanza, opposite Carazo. (4) His account is not very valid from an historical point of view, either, because he evidently confuses Cascajares with Pelayo's poetic appearance to Fernán González before the battle at Lara. However, he does attempt to situate Cascajares.

According to Pérez de Urbel, the battle is a legendary deed introduced into Fernán Gonzalez's life, together with other fictions. (5) Discussing the rôle of one of the Infantes de Lara, who is said to have distinguished himself at the Vado de Cascajares when Almanzor was already leader of the Moslem army, he suggests that this refers to the unsuccessful Moslem siege of San Esteban in the summer of 989. (6)

The Historia de España published by Pericot García also refers to Cascajares. There the Moors' defeat at Cascajares is attributed to Fernán González, but no further information is given, and it is

merely cited as an example of one of Fernán González's victories.⁽⁷⁾

One other Castilian epic legend mentions the Vado de Cascajares briefly - namely, the C.1344 version of the "Infantes de Lara". As he laments over the head of his favourite son, Diego, Gonzalo Gustioz refers to the Vado de Cascajar, recalling that Diego bore Garcí Fernández's standard there, and he lowered and raised it thrice to kill three kings and an Alcaide. Because of this the Moors had to flee, pursued by Diego:

"e dixo: '¡fijo Diago Gonçales! a vos amaua yo mas que a todos los otros por que nascierades primero; grant bien vos queria el conde, ca erades su alcalla mayor; e vos toviestes la su seña en el Vado de Cascajar, a guisa de mucho ardido la toviestes, e sacastes la con muy grant onrra. E fisiestes, fijo, en ese dia un esfuerço muy grande, ca en la mayor priesa fue la seña tres veces abaxada e tres veces la alçastes vos, e matastes con ella tres rreys e un alcayde; e por aquesto, mi fijo, se ovieron los moros de arrancar del campo e foyr; e vos yendo en pos ellos en alcance, en ese dia, mi fijo, fue de uos muy bien seruido el conde don Garçi Ferrandes, e la su seña mucho onrrada."⁽⁸⁾

This account is interesting, since the legend also places the battle in Garcí Fernández's time.

Pidal believes that this formed part of a second Cantar concerning the Infantes de Lara, composed some time before 1344. The PCG version of this legend does not mention the episode, and the C.1344 greatly amplifies Gonzalo Gustioz's lament over the heads of his dead sons. The episode was therefore probably added by someone remodelling the legend.

Gaston Paris has taken this reference as an indication that the battle of Cascajares, where Diego González gave signs of great valour, was itself the subject of an epic.⁽⁹⁾ Their valour at Cascajares is mentioned, too, in a ballad - El Conde y Don Rodrigo. Here the

Count rejects Rodrick's proposal to kill the seven Infantes, saying:

"que muy buenos fueron ellos en aquella de Cascajar,
que si por ellos no fuera, no volviéramos acá."(10)

In considering the scanty evidence for a battle at the Vado de Cascajares, the first point to note is its actual situation. It lay near San Esteban de Gormaz, and was therefore in the frontier region of the Duero, which was a scene of constant warfare during the lifetime both of Fernán González and Garcí Fernández. San Esteban itself changed hands during the period of Garcí Fernández's government in Castile, and the epic legends may perhaps be commemorating a particular defeat inflicted on the Moors in that area.

History confirms the following attacks on San Esteban, or in that region, in Garcí Fernández's time: (a) in 975 Garcí Fernández was in San Esteban, and that year he formed an alliance with the Kings of Pamplona and Leon, and the Counts of Saldaña and Monzón. This coalition attacked the fortress of Gormaz, which was held by the Moors. Abu Temam Galib, governor of the lower frontier of the Duero, brought reinforcements to the Moors, who defeated the Christians, forcing them to flee. Garcí Fernández withdrew to San Esteban, and the Moors returned to Gormaz. (11)

(b) In 989 Almanzor besieged San Esteban de Gormaz, but failed to take it. On this occasion his son went over to the Castilians, who gave him protection. Almanzor therefore continued the war with renewed force, taking Osma and Alcoba, (i) and returning to Córdoba as winter approached. The following year he attacked again, forcing

(i) now = Alcoba de la Torre, near Clunia.

Garcí Fernández to come to terms, and hand over his son. (12)

(c) In 994 Almanzor occupied San Esteban de Gormaz and Clunia. (13)

In each of these campaigns Garcí Fernández was defeated, but he appears to have conducted a successful campaign against the Moors in that area in 978. When they were preparing to invade Castile in the regions of Osma and San Esteban de Gormaz, the Count met and defeated them, capturing some of their fortresses, including Atienza and Gormaz. (14) In view of these successes, we may wonder whether the epic legends are not more likely to have commemorated this campaign rather than the attack on San Esteban in 989, which Pérez de Urbel believes may have been identified with the battle at Cascajares. In that year, certainly, the Moors failed to capture San Esteban de Gormaz, but the Christians lost places as important as Osma and Alcoba, and this was followed by their surrender to Almanzor the next year. It seems, then, that this episode would hardly have provided material for the epic legends to celebrate, and Garcí Fernández's campaign of 978 was a far greater success.

Since there was much fighting in the region of San Esteban de Gormaz in the 10th century, a battle could feasibly have taken place at the Vado de Cascajares. However, if Almanzor took part in it, as the C.1344 suggests, it must have occurred after 977, since Almanzor only began campaigning against Christian territory in that year. The facts that the PCG does not name the leader of the Moorish army, and the Cantiga does not mention Cascajares, indicate that Almanzor's name was a late addition to the Cascajares tradition. Such a battle could, then, have been fought prior to Almanzor's

campaigns. However, it is unlikely that it occurred during the first few years of Garcí Fernández's rule, for these appear to have been relatively peaceful on the Duero frontier. After Fernán González's death, the Moslem attacks ceased temporarily, and Garcí Fernández sent ambassadors to Córdoba,⁽¹⁵⁾ for he was anxious to affirm his authority in Castile before going to war. Moslem troops were sent to Mauritania when war broke out in 972 between Alhaquem II and Prince Tasan Ibn Gannun, who governed the region of Tangier and Arcila, and hostilities were resumed in the Christian realms when Garcí Fernández took the opportunity to attack Deza and the surrounding district in 974.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the early years of Garcí Fernández's government, though, the Moorish leader whom he fought was Galib, not Almanzor.

The Count had some success in checking the Moors and repelling their attacks on the frontier, if not in winning outright victories over them, and we may conclude that there seem to be two possible explanations for the battle at the Vado de Cascajares in the legends: (a) they may commemorate a battle fought during Garcí Fernández's successful campaign of 978, or (b) they commemorate the Moors' failure to capture San Esteban de Cormaz in 989. The latter seems less probable, on the grounds that the Castilians suffered an ultimate defeat. If the battle at the Vado de Cascajares is based on fact, I think it is more likely to reflect a victory of greater consequence.

(4) Intervention of the Infantes de Lara, Gonzalo Gustioz and Ruy Velázquez at the Vado de Cascajares

As only the C.1344 version of the legend mentions the Infantes

de Lara, their father, and Ruy Velázquez as having appeared at the Vado de Cascajares, it seems as though the names of heroes famous for their legendary deeds were linked arbitrarily with this particular tradition.

Little is known about this family, but there is evidence that an historical Gonzalo Gustioz frequented the courts both of Fernán González and his son, for his name appears on documents between 963 and 992 as 'Gundesalbo Gudestioz'.⁽¹⁷⁾ There is also some evidence that his eldest son was called Diego González, for he appears on a document dated 963, together with his father. They could, then, reasonably have participated in Garcí Fernández's struggles against the Moors.

The F.Gz.⁽¹⁾ refers to Gustyo González of Salas, his sons, and a Don Velasco at the battle of Hacinas:

"A (don) Gustyo González el que de Salas era,
a el e a sus fyjos dio les la delantera,
con ellos don Velasco que era dessa rribera."⁽¹⁸⁾

Carroll Marden identifies this Gustyo González as the father of Gonzalo Gustioz, and grandfather of the seven Infantes de Lara,⁽¹⁹⁾ and he suggests that Don Velasco is the father of the Infantes' uncle, Ruy Velázquez. He notes, too, that the traditional family of that name lived in Castile.⁽²⁰⁾ These characters are therefore not necessarily identical with the main characters of the "Infantes de Lara" legend, but it seems most likely that this is another example of the arbitrary linking of one epic tradition with another.

(1) The F.Gz. dates from c. 1250, and it was most probably the work of a monk from San Pedro de Arlanza. See Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, pp. x-xii.

In the 10th century, there was a Galician Count called Rodrigo Velázquez, whose mother evidently appeared at Córdoba in 965, asking Alhaquem for peace in her son's name. This Count had died in 978, though, and Pidal points out that it is hard to understand why he should figure in an epic legend of such local character as the "Infantes de Lara", and in one concerning a Castilian family conflict.⁽²¹⁾ According to tradition, Ruy Velázquez was a Castilian, and it is unlikely that he was confused with his Galician namesake, even in legend. Pidal points out that a donation made by Doña Fronilde to the abbey of Santillana in 988 cites a 'Roderico Velasquiz', and he suggests that this may be the same person as the legendary uncle.⁽²²⁾ Pérez de Urbel confirms this name on the document, but dates it the 10th May, 987.⁽²³⁾ It is possible, therefore, that Gonzalo Gustioz and Ruy Velázquez were historical characters, living contemporaneously with both Counts of Castile, and the legendary Ruy Velázquez is probably not connected with the Galician Count of that name.

The C.1344 version of the Cascajares episode records that Gonzalo Gustioz had seven sons, but this may be a fiction. The only evidence that the "Infantes de Lara" legend is based on fact is that a chest containing some heads is said to have been found in 1579 in the church of St. Mary at Salas. Some murals in the chapel recorded that these belonged to the seven Infantes, their father, Mudarra, and Nuño Salido. Ángel Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, has published the document stating this in the notes to his Moro Expósito,⁽²⁴⁾ but the document is unreliable and does not prove that

this is historical fact. (i)

Concerning the chronology of the "Infantes de Lara" legend, Pidal believes that the Infantes died in a battle during Garcí Fernández's Deza campaign in 974. He reaches this conclusion because:

(a) There were several Christian embassies to the court at Córdoba between 966 - 974, including one from Ruy Velázquez of Galicia in 973. The legendary embassy to Córdoba is therefore in keeping with this practice, and Pidal suggests that the historical Gonzalo Gustioz went to the Moslem court with an embassy from Garcí Fernández in 974.

(b) Although he identifies the Galve of the legend with Galib, who was in Africa in 974, he points out that he was still governor of the Castilian frontier, and he returned from Africa in 975 and defeated the Christians. The attack on Deza, and the legendary battle at Almenar both occurred, therefore, while Galib was a terrifying figure on the Castilian frontier.

(c) Deza was close to Almenar, and both campaigns took place while the attackers had an embassy at Córdoba.

(d) News of Garcí Fernández's campaign against Deza is believed to have reached Córdoba on the 12th September, and according to the legend the heads of the Infantes arrived there on the eve of San Cebrián - the 13th September. (25)

Pérez de Urbel refutes Pidal's theory, for he believes the

(i) The Ms. of this document is said to be by the Condestable of Castile, Pedro Fernández de Velasco, third duke of Frías, who died in November, 1559. There is therefore a discrepancy with the date of the supposed discovery of the heads, since this is reputed to have occurred in 1579.

legend reflects the political atmosphere of Garcí Fernández's last years, rather than the earlier period of his government. We have no proof of Christian embassies to Córdoba after 975, but Pérez de Urbel overcomes this objection merely by saying that they may still have taken place. His main objections to identifying the 974 campaign with the legendary battle at Almenar are:

(a) Whereas the 974 campaign was a general offensive of Castilian knights under Garcí Fernández, Almenar was a conflict between two frontier overlords.

(b) Although Garcí Fernández's campaign was successful for the Christians, Almenar had a tragic ending for them.

(c) The localisation of the legend differs from Garcí Fernández's expedition.

(d) He fails to explain Almanzor's intervention in the legend, for in 974 he was still unimportant at the court of Córdoba. Pidal maintains, however, that he became important there from 970.⁽²⁶⁾

(e) As Galib was in Morocco in 974, Pérez de Urbel identifies 'Galve' with a small frontier alcaide called Galib ben Amril, who defended the frontier for the caliph in 974 and subsequent years.

(f) The coincidence is not really so great between the date when news of the campaign arrived, and the sending of the heads. Although the heads arrived on the eve of San Cebrián,⁽¹⁾ Ibn Hayyan, whom Pidal cites as his authority, says that news of Deza's loss reached Córdoba on the 22nd September.⁽²⁷⁾

Obviously there is some discrepancy in the suggestion that

(1) The 14th September, according to Pérez de Urbel.

Gonzalo Gustioz's sons met their death in 974 in the circumstances of the legend. Although the one legend brings together several characters, who were probably Garcí Fernández's contemporaries, they do not necessarily appear in their true historical situation, since epic poetry and legend distort facts. Almanzor's name could therefore have been used both in the "Infantes de Lara" legend, and in the Cascajares episode, for no other reason than that he was the most outstanding Moorish figure in the Peninsula in the last quarter of the 10th century.

We may conclude, then, that although some of the characters appearing in the "Infantes de Lara" legend and the C.1344 version of the Cascajares episode probably had historical counterparts, it is by no means certain that they were involved in battles at Almenar and Cascajares while Garcí Fernández was Count of Castile, and Almanzor Dictator at Córdoba. The C.1344 conveys that the names of the Infantes, their father, and uncle were only added to the Cascajares episode some time after it was initially connected with the "Condesa Traidora" legend. By this time the "Infantes de Lara" legend must have been well known, and it is not surprising that its heroes, some of whom probably were Garcí Fernández's contemporaries, have been linked with another legend attributed practically to the same period of Castilian history.

(5) Divine intervention in the epic legends

The miracle itself is a poetic amplification of what may have been an historical event. We have said that the epic legends give other examples of the influence of the divinity, and of battles being

won with divine aid, although on the whole there is little of the supernatural in the Castilian legends.

The F.Gz. contains two earlier examples of the intrusion of miraculous divine power in the battle scenes. The first miracle occurs at the battle of Lara. Before this battle, Fernán González prays to God for help against the Moors at the hermitage of San Pedro (= Arlanza). Pelayo appears and prophesies that God will help him defeat Almanzor. He adds that before the third day a strange sign will scare all his people. During the battle the prophecy is fulfilled when the earth opens and swallows up one of the Count's men:

"Vno de los del conde, valiente cavallero
 - natural de Entreunno de la Puente Ytero -
 (caualgo su) cavallo, feroso e ligero,
 (diolo) de las espuelas por çima d'un otero,
 abrios' con el la tierra e somio se el caverro."(28)

This terrifies the Christians, who believe that God has done this because of their sins, but urged on by Fernán González, they finally win the battle. (29)

The second miracle also takes the form of a prophecy and its fulfilment on the battle-field - this time at Hacinas. St. Pelayo prophesies to Fernán González at Arlanza that God will send him, St. James, and some angels to help the Count defeat Almanzor:

"Yo sere y contygo quem' lo ha otorgado,
 y sera el apostol Santyago llamado,
 enbyar nos ha don Cristo valer a su criado,
 sera con tal ayuda Almoçor enbargado.
 Otros vernan y muchos como en vision,
 en blancas armaduras angeles de Dios son,
 traera cada vno la crruz en su pendon,
 moros quando nos vyeren perdran el coraçon."(30)

St. Millán then appears, saying that Christ has sent him, and

he tells the Count how to arrange his army in battle, promising to assist them on the East side, while St. James will be on the West. Everything happens as prophesied, and on the third day when the Christians are losing the battle, St. James appears with a company of knights, who attack and terrify the enemy:

"Alço suso sus ojos por ver quien lo llamaua,
 vyol santo apostol que de suso le estaua,
 de caveros con el grran(d) conpanna lleuaua,
 todos armas cruzadas com a el semejaua.
 Fueron contra los moros, las hazes (byen) paradas,
 nunca vyo omne (nado) gentes tan esforçadas,
 el moro Almançor con todas sus mesnadas,
 con ellos fueron luego fuerte m(i)ente enbargadas."(31)

Encouraged by the apostle's appearance, the Christians renew the struggle, putting many Moors to flight, and killing and capturing others.

We therefore have two examples in the F.Gz. of battles won with divine aid; and it is after Fernán González has shown his religious devotion by praying for God's help at Arlanza that He performs the miracle, sending His angels and Saints to help in the enemy's defeat. The situation is therefore very similar to that at the Vado de Cascajares, since God also sends His angel there as a result of the knight's devotion.

The Cid's vision of the angel Gabriel is the only example of this kind of divine intervention in the Poema de Mio Cid:

"I se echava mio Çid después que fo de noch,
 un sueño! priso dulce, tan bien se adurmió.
 El ángel Gabriel a él vino en visión:
 'Cavalgad, Çid, el buen Campeador,
 ca nunca en tan buen punto cavalgó varón;
 mientras que visquiéredes bien se fará lo to.'
 Quando despertó el Çid, la cara se santigó."(32)

Unlike Fernán González, the Cid of the poem wins battles through his own military skill, without any supernatural aid.

However, the PCG's legendary account of the Cid's death contains an example of divine aid given to him in battle. This occurs in the prose "legend of Cardena". The Cid has a vision in which St. Peter appears, prophesying that he will die in thirty days' time, but after his death he will defeat King Búcar of Tunis in battle, aided by St. James, whom God will send to him. He tells him that he has been granted this favour for love of St. Peter, and because of his constant devotion to the church at Cardena.⁽³³⁾ Three days after he dies, King Búcar attacks Valencia. The dead Cid is tied on to his horse, Babieca, and led into battle. St. James and a company of heavenly knights appear, and the Moors flee in terror, pursued by the Cid's army:

"Et quando esto vio el rey Bucar et los treynta et seys reyes, fueron marauillados, ca bien les semeio que vinien y sessenta mill caualleros todos mas blancos que vna nieve; et uenia delante vno mas grande que todos los otros, et traye en la mano vna senna blanca et en la otra vna espada que semeiaua fuego; et fazie vna mortandat muy grande en los moros que yuan fuyendo, que tan espantado fue Bucar et los sus reyes, que començaron a fuyr et non touieron rienda fasta en la mar. Et estonce la conpanna del Çid començaron a-yr firiendo et matando en ellos . . ." (34)

Finally, turning from the Spanish epic legends to the French, we may cite a similar type of divine intervention in the Chanson de Roland. Charlemagne has divine aid in his battle against the Saracens, for God stops the sun in the heavens to allow the French time to pursue the enemy to the River Ebro, where they are all drowned. Charlemagne lies down to thank God, and when he rises, the sun has gone down:

"Pur Karlemagne fist Deus vertuz mult granz;
 Car li soleilz est remés en estant.
 Paien s'en fuient, ben les (en) chalcent Franc.
 El Val Tenebrus la les vunt ataignant,
 Vers Sarraguce les enchalcent ferant,
 A colps pleners les en vunt ociant,
 Tolent lur veies e les chemins plus granz.
 L'ewe de Sebre, el lur est dedevant;
 Mult est parfunde, merveill(us)e e curant;
 Il nen i ad barge ne drodmund ne caland.
 Paiens recelement un lur deu Tervagant,
 Puis saillent enz, mais il n'i unt guarant.
 Li adubez en sunt li plus pesant,
 Envers les funz s'en turnerent alquanz;
 Li altre en vunt cuntreval flotant;
 Li miez guariz en unt boïd itant,
 Tuz sunt neiez par merveillus ahan."(35)

Angels and Saints also appear to the French several times in this poem. For example, when Roland dies, God sends his angel Cherubin, St. Michael and St. Gabriel to carry his soul to Paradise:

"Desur sun braz teneit le chef enclin,
 Juntas ses mains est alét a sa fin.
 Deus tramist sun angle Cherubin,
 E(nsembl'od li) seint Michel del Peril;
 Ensembl'od els sent Gabriel i vint,
 L'anme del cunte portent en pareïs."(36)

There is a similar episode in the F.Gz., where two angels bear St. Pelayo back to heaven after his prophecy to Fernán González:

"Dos angeles fermosos de tierra lo alçaron,
 ffaziendo alegrrya al çielo lo leuaron."(37)

In the Chanson de Roland Charlemagne also has his own guardian angel - St. Gabriel - whom God sends to watch over him as he sleeps, following his victory over the Saracens. (38) The appearance of angels or Saints as a sign of God's favour is therefore a commonplace in the epic legends, although we do not find this type of intervention in the earliest versions of the Castilian legends. In view of the rôle of the supernatural in the French epic, we may wonder whether

the Castilian legends imitated this feature from the chansons.

To sum up, it is quite possible that the Cantiga de Santa María and the PCG preserve the memory of an actual defeat suffered by the Moors in the region of San Esteban de Gormaz - possibly at the Vado de Cascajares - during the government of Garcí Fernández. The battle itself would have provided the basis for the episode, which has been magnified with the addition of the miracle to show that Garcí Fernández enjoyed God's favour. Both Castilian and French epics often suggest that God is on the side of the hero, and this particular amplification may perhaps owe something to ecclesiastical influence, since similar types of divine intervention occur in the F.Gz., which we know was the work of a monk.

Notes to Chapter 1.

- (1) Alfonso el Sabio: Cantigas de Santa María, pub. by La Real Academia Española, I, Madrid, 1889, LXIII, pp. 90-93, and p. xlv.
- (2) Cantigas de Santa María, op. cit., I, LXIII, p. 92.
- (3) Mariana, Juan de: Historia General de España, III, 1718, Bk. VIII, ix, pp. 270-271.
- (4) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXVII, 1772, p. 96.
- (5) Pérez de Urbel, Fray J.: Historia del Condado de Castilla, I, p. 419.
- (6) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 742.
- (7) Historia de España, ed. Luis García Pericot, II, Barcelona, p. 357.
- (8) Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, Obras I, Madrid, 1934, p. 281.
- (9) Paris, Gaston: La Légende des Infants de Lara, JS, 1898, p. 324.
- (10) Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
- (11) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 183-184.
 Serrano, L.: El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla Primitiva, I, Madrid, 1935, p. 183.
 Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 649-658.
Historia de España, ed. L. García Pericot, op. cit., II, p. 360.
- (12) Lévi-Provençal, E.; op. cit., II, pp. 240-241.
 Serrano, L., op. cit., pp. 188-189.
 Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 713-718.
- Serrano gives 988 as the date of the Moors' siege of San Esteban de Gormaz, and 989 as the year when Almanzor returned from Córdoba and took Osma and Alcobá, forcing Garcí Fernández to agree to terms. Lévi-Provençal, Dozy and Pérez de Urbel all agree with 989 and 990 for the siege and final defeat of the Castilians.
- (13) Lévi-Provençal, E., op. cit., II, p. 244.
 Serrano, L., op. cit., I, p. 189.
 Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 762-764.
- (14) Serrano, L., op. cit., I, p. 184.
 Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 668.
Historia de España, ed. L. García Pericot, II, p. 360.

- (15) Lévi-Provençal, E., op. cit., II, pp. 181-182.
Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 640-643.
- (16) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 645.
Serrano, L., op. cit., I, pp. 182-183.
- (17) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 406, p. 1220, no. 407,
p. 1221, no. 411, p. 1223, and no. 412, pp. 1223-1224, no. 338,
p. 1192.
Berganza: Antigüedades de España, II, pp. 399, 406, 408,
413, 415.
- (18) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, Madrid, 1945,
v. 448, p. 133.
- (19) Poema de Fernán González, ed. C. Carroll Marden, Baltimore,
1904, p. 215.
- (20) Poema de Fernán González, ed. C. Carroll Marden, op. cit., p. 218.
- (21) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit.,
pp. 13-14.
Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 182 and 261,
n. 2.
Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 743.
- (22) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit.,
p. 15.
- (23) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 744, and n. 17.
- (24) Saavedra, Ángel: El Moro Expósito, in Obras Completas, ed.
Jorge Campos, BAE, I, Madrid, 1957, pp. 266-267.
- (25) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit.,
pp. 452-458.
- (26) Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit.,
p. 457.
- (27) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 749-752.
- (28) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, op. cit., v.
254, p. 77.
- (29) PCG, II, §§ 690-691, pp. 393-395.
- (30) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, op. cit., v.
407-408, p. 123.

- (31) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, op. cit., v. 551-552, pp. 162-163.
- (32) Poema de Mio Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1951, § 19, pp. 127-128, l. 405-410.
- (33) PCG, II, § 952, pp. 633-634.
- (34) PCG, II, § 956, pp. 636-638.
- (35) La Chanson de Roland, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1947, CLXXX, pp. 72-73, l. 2458-2474.
- (36) La Chanson de Roland, op. cit., CLXXVI, p. 70, l. 2391-2396.
- (37) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, op. cit., v. 409, p. 123.
- (38) La Chanson de Roland, op. cit., CLXXXV, p. 74, l. 2525-2528.

2. Beautiful or White Hands

Both the PCG and C.1344 versions of the "Condesa Traidora" stress Garcí Fernández's hands as one of his salient features. They are described as so beautiful that they sometimes embarrass him, and for this reason he puts on gloves when expecting to meet the wife of a vassal or friend. These hands are of fundamental importance to the PCG version of the legend, for they are not only a noticeable physical feature, but are also instrumental in the accomplishment of Garcí Fernández's revenge, and his marriage to Sancha. It is partly on their account that Sancha's waiting-woman singles him out from among the poor people, and realises that he is a great knight.

The earlier versions of the "Condesa Traidora" legend do not refer to Garcí Fernández's hands, and although the PCG and C.1344 merely describe them as beautiful, the anonymous ballad on the subject of the Count's revenge represents them as 'white as snow':

"Gran caballero es de cuerpo,
Cuerdo, apuesto a maravilla,
Las manos ha como nieve
Cuando del cielo caía."(1)

The possession of beautiful or white hands may seem strange for a medieval heroic knight, but we shall see that this is not an isolated example of this motif. White is a colour associated particularly with women, and medieval descriptions of beauty often dwell on fair skin, or fair hair. A possible explanation of this feature of Garcí Fernández's is therefore that the authors of the legend viewed him as an effete, unloveable character, and perhaps as rather effeminate, in an age when a more virile type of hero was preferred.

There is no denying that Garcí Fernández had constant bad luck so far as the legend is concerned, since the later versions show him betrayed not by one, but by two wives, and the second betrayal results ultimately in his defeat by the Moors, and his death. As far as we can see, no blame is attached to Garcí Fernández for his wives' treachery, so the problem is to explain why they both became fed up with him. Certainly, the implication is that there may have been something wrong with him, perhaps not due to his own fault, and his bad luck may conceal the fact that those responsible for the legend considered him to be no good either as a warrior, or as a husband. The PCG stresses particularly that he had no issue by his first wife, Argentina, and he only has one child, Sancho, by his second wife, and we may wonder whether the legend is implying that the Count was a failure as a husband - perhaps because it considered him to be impotent. The question is, therefore, whether the legend could have stressed the beautiful, or white, hands as a polite way of indicating his infirmity in this respect? The authors of the legend would probably not have wished to be more forthright about this, since to admit any physical weakness in the son of the famous Fernán González might have harmed Castilian prestige. The beautiful hands may, therefore, have been used to represent one particular characteristic of the Count's.

The question remains, why does the legend mention hands? Physical characteristics or infirmities are mentioned frequently in national history, e.g. Alfonso el Casto, Sancho el Gordo or el Craso, Vermudo el Gotoso, García Sánchez el Temblón, and there are examples

of people distinguished in a similar way on account of their beautiful or white hands.

In particular, attention is drawn to the hands of Archbishops in the Middle Ages, and an Archbishop of Rheims in the twelfth century was known as Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains. He appears in the poem L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, which was possibly finished in 1226⁽²⁾. The poet mentions him in an episode when the Maréchal is given letters of safe-conduct by the King of France, the Archbishop, Count Robert, and Count Thibaut:

"Issi out tot a sa devise
Le(s) leitres com il les devise,
Si qu'il n'i out ne plus ne mains,
E de l'arcevesque de Reins,
Teles com il les volt ave(i)r."⁽³⁾

Another episode depicts the Archbishop as a good and trustworthy person:

"Li boens arcevesques de Reins,
Qui n'ert ennuois ni vileins.
Vint al demain; si out o sei
Gent sanz folie e sanz desrei."⁽⁴⁾

There is no reference here to the Archbishop's name, or his hands, but the editor identifies him as:

"Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains, arceveque de Reims depuis 1176, cardinal depuis 1179, mort en 1202. Il était frère de Thibaud, comte de Blois, qui va être nommé, et d'Adèle de Champagne, mère de Philippe-Auguste, par conséquent oncle de ce dernier. Il fut chargé à deux reprises du gouvernement des états du roi, d'abord en 1185, avec son frère Thibaud de Blois, puis, avec sa mère la reine Adèle, pendant la croisade."⁽⁵⁾

The same poem describes the young Guillaume le Maréchal himself as very handsome and well formed, with beautiful hands:

"En poi de tens et en poi de anz
Fu Guillaume cr(e)üz e granz,

E fu de cors si bien taillez
 Que, s'il fust par art antaillez,
 N'eüst il, veir, nul si beal membre,
 Quer bien les vi e bien m'en membre;
 S'out trop beals piez et beles mains,
 Mais tot ce fu encor del mains
 Avers la faiture del cors"(6)

In the Chanson de Roland Roland crosses the white and beautiful hands of the dead Archbishop Turpin:

"Desur sun piz entre les dous furceles
 Cruisiedes ad ses blanches mains les beles."(7)

Also, a dirge addressed to Archbishop Fulco of Rheims (d. 900) suggests that he was fair in all his body:

"Vir nobilis prosapiae
 Et talis sapientiae
 Qualis nullus est hodie;
 Toto formosus corpore
 Magnaeque eloquentiae."(8)

E.R. Curtius has suggested that this idea of being fair of body was transferred in Spain to Garcí Fernández⁽⁹⁾. We have seen, however, that the Castilian legend concentrates on the hands rather than the Count's handsome appearance in general.

Other examples from medieval literature show that the possession of beautiful or white hands was not restricted to clerics. One of the characters in A Little Geste of Robin Hood and his Meiny⁽ⁱ⁾ was known as 'Gilbert of the White Hand':

"Twice Robin shot about,
 And ever he cleaved the wand;
 And so did good 'Gilbert,
 With the good white hand.'"(10)

Another obvious example is the appearance of 'Iseult aux blanches mains', sister of Kaherdin, and Tristan's second wife, in the story of

(i) This was the first printed Robin Hood ballad, printed c. 1510.

Tristan and Iseult. Here the lack of surnames makes necessary a description of this kind to distinguish between the two Iseults, and, in a similar way, the first Iseult is qualified as 'Iseult la blonde', or 'Iseult o crins sors'.⁽¹¹⁾

As part of a long description of the child Floire in the anonymous romance Floire et Blancheflor⁽ⁱ⁾, we read:

"De cors est ele tant bien fete
 Con s'ele fust as mains portrete;
 Blanches mains ot et grelles doiz,
 Lons par mesure, formez droiz."⁽¹²⁾

The chanson de geste Aye d'Avignon⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ also describes Ganor, the Saracen emir, as handsome and having beautiful white hands:

"Mais le vis de devant ot il cler com fin or,
 Par espauls fu lés, moult ot bien fet le cors,
 Grailles par la çainture et de moult biau deport.
 Les mains beles et blanches, et si ot gros le col."⁽¹³⁾

When he meets Aye returning from vespers, he asks for hospitality, claiming to be a pilgrim, and takes off his glove revealing a hand as white as snow:

"Ganor le Arrabis fu moult preus et cortois;
 Il tenoit en sa main un baston de garois,
 Et a trait le gant destre, qui estoit a orfrois.
 Sa main est belle et longue et blanche comme nois"⁽¹⁴⁾

The reference to white hands is particularly strange in this poem, since they are attributed to a Saracen. However, they contribute to his generally handsome appearance, since we are also told

(i) This particular version probably goes back to the first half of the 14th century, although there is an earlier Ms. dating from the 13th century. See Floire et Blancheflor, ed. M. Pelan, Paris, 1956, pp. iii-vi.

(ii) The date of this chanson is a little uncertain, but it was probably composed in the second half of the 12th century, although the only extant manuscript seems about a century later. It does not, therefore, necessarily represent the earliest form of the poem. See Aye d'Avignon, ed. F. Guessard and P. Meyer, Paris, 1861.

that he has a clear complexion, slender waist, broad shoulders, and a well made body. In this case, the poet's desire to make the Saracen appear attractive to women may explain the white hands, for we have seen that he deliberately removes his glove when he meets Aye, and he gives her a ring he has been wearing.

It is clear from these examples that the adjective 'white' in connection with hands is definitely associated with the idea of a person's beauty, and it does not necessarily seem to imply that their possessor is effeminate. White hands were evidently a fairly stock description in the Middle Ages, and they have a part in folklore, for the motif of the successful suitor being the one with the whitest hands occurs among the various suitor tests in folk-tales.

This motif appears in a medieval Latin manuscript of exempla told by Étienne de Bourbon⁽ⁱ⁾. The extant manuscript dates from the fourteenth century, and it is, in fact, an abridged version of Étienne de Bourbon's Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus. The relevant episode tells how a king promises his daughter to the man whose hands are the whitest. A certain blacksmith hears this promise and washes his hands frequently, finally winning the king's daughter and his kingdom⁽¹⁵⁾.

A French fairy-tale known as Bernadotte ou les Mains Blanches contains another example of this motif. The tale is included among the fairy tales of Gascony collected by Cénac Moncaut, and the motif occurs in the following circumstances: Bernadotte, the only daughter (i) Étienne de Bourbon was a member of the Dominican order who preached in different parts of France in the thirteenth century, and died at Lyons c. 1261.

of an avaricious peasant, Juan, has three suitors - a peasant, Micoutet, a baker, Casterez, and a barber, Firmin - and her father promises her to the one with the whitest hands. The baker and the barber, who possess soft hands by virtue of their trade, take him literally and make their hands very white with unguents. The peasant realises that he cannot compete with them, since his own hands are roughened by working in the fields, but his grandfather gives him a small bag, with instructions to fill his hands with its contents when the time comes. The three suitors meet at Juan's house, and while Casterez and Firmin display their white hands, Micoutet fills his with coins. Juan prefers the latter's interpretation of whiteness and gives him Bernadotte as his wife⁽¹⁶⁾.

We have seen that the idea of whiteness and beauty are often linked together in medieval European literature, but whiteness may also indicate the presence of the supernatural. It appears in this connection in Celtic literature and legend. For example, some marvellous object suitable for quests may be represented as white or shining, and this is regarded as a sign of its fairy origin⁽¹⁷⁾. It seems unlikely, though, that the white hands in the Garcí Fernández legend have any supernatural connotation.

The examples I have given show that hands were much in evidence in the Middle Ages, and the possession of beautiful or white hands might be attributed then either to a man or a woman. There was not usually any disgrace attached to their possession by men; they were quite often one of the attributes of prelates, and might be used as a distinguishing mark in place of a surname. They were not, therefore,

necessarily a sign either of effeminacy or of nobility, although the "Condesa Traidora" legend certainly suggests that it was partly on account of his hands that the waiting-woman recognised Garcí Fernández as a great knight, despite his poor apparel. Folklore obviously regarded the possession of white hands as a test of a husband's suitability, although this did not always mean 'white' in the literal sense.

The fact that the "Condesa Traidora" legend draws particular attention to Garcí Fernández's beautiful hands, implying - since he felt the need to cover them when appearing before women-folk - that they were something of which he was ashamed, suggests that in his case they were more than merely a sign of nobility or a handsome appearance. This strengthens the hypothesis that they may be indicative of some unfortunate physical weakness with which the legend attributes him, perhaps to explain why both his marriages end in misfortune.

The motif is a late addition to the "Condesa Traidora" legend, since it is not mentioned until the PCG. It is a common descriptive feature in medieval literature, and it is possibly an example of French influence on the legend. I have shown that beautiful or white hands not only appear in French folk-tales, but are singled out for particular mention in medieval French literature in general, in some cases prior to the first known reference to the hands in the Castilian legend.

Notes to Chapter 2.

- (1) Durán, A.: Romancero General, I, Madrid, 1924, no. 713.
- (2) L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, ed. Paul Meyer, I, Paris, 1894, p. ix.
- (3) L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, op. cit., I, l. 6641-6645.
- (4) L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, op. cit., II, p.57, l. 11705-11708.
- (5) L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, op. cit., III, pp. 78-79, n. 5.
- (6) L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, op. cit., I, p.27, l.715-723.
- (7) La Chanson de Roland, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1947, CLXVII, p. 66, l. 2249-2250.
- (8) Curtius, E.R.: Zur Literaturästhetik des Mittelalters, II, ZRP, LVIII, 1938, p. 215.
- (9) Curtius, E.R., op. cit., p. 215.
- (10) A Little Geste of Robin Hood and his Meiny, in Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, with an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard, London, 1903, p. 75, and also p. 64.
- (11) Wind, Bartina, A.: Les Fragments du Tristan de Thomas, Leiden, 1950, p. 79, l.373; p.105, l.784; p.116, l.113; p. 175, l.1685.
Bérout: Le Roman de Tristan, ed. E. Muret, Paris, 1903, p.137, l.4428.
- (12) Floire et Blancheflor, ed. Margaret M. Pelan, Paris, 1956, p. 77, l. 2668-2671.
- (13) Aye d'Avignon, ed. F. Guessard and P. Meyer, Paris, 1861, l.2311-2314.
- (14) Aye d'Avignon, op. cit., p.75, l. 2415-2418.
- (15) British Museum, Ms. Additional 28,682, f. 248b.
Herbert, J.A.: Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, III, London, 1910, no. 37, p.86.
Stith-Thompson: Motif-Index of Folk Literature, III, Copenhagen, 1956, H 312.4, p. 399.
- (16) Moncaut, Cénac: Contes Populaires de la Gascogne, Paris, 1861, pp. 165-173.
Köhler, Reinhold: Kleinere Schriften zur Märchenforschung, ed. Johannes Bolte, I, Weimar, 1898, p. 90.
- (17) Brown, Arthur C.L.: The Bleeding Lance, PMLA, XXV, 1910, p.32.

3. Disloyal Adviser theme, and the pact made with the enemy.

(1) Classical, Arabic, and Spanish sources.

According to the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora" legend, part of the Countess's plan for disposing of Garcí Fernández is her false advice to send his knights on leave at Christmas. In this way, she ensures that he disarms his country, and then informs Almanzor by message of what she has done. She therefore deliberately makes it possible for the Moor to invade Castile and surprise Garcí Fernández, while he is unable to defend himself.

The disloyal adviser, who deceives his unsuspecting victim in such a way, is often connected with the traitor who makes a pact with the enemy, summoning them against his own country. Both motifs were popular in the Middle Ages, and occur in numerous legends prior to the Najerense, both inside and outside the Peninsula.

Procopius of Caesarea introduces the "disloyal adviser" motif, and the pact with the enemy, in the sixth century in his history, The Vandalic War⁽ⁱ⁾. There the Senator Maximus gives the disloyal

(i) According to A. Haggerty Krappe, this is the oldest account of a theme which recurs in the Spanish Rodrick legend, where we also find the motif of insidious counsel. Haggerty Krappe, A.: The Legend of Rodrick, last of the Visigothic kings, and the Ermanarich Cycle, Heidelberg, 1923, pp. 8-9. The edition used follows the text of J. Haury: Procopius, Opera Omnia, I, in the series Bibliotheca Scrip-torum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 1905. The earliest extant Mss. of Procopius belong to the 14th century. The relevant section of The Vandalic War is based mainly on one of these - P (= cod. Paris graec. 1702), and gaps in this have been filled in by a 16th century hand from another 14th century Ms. - Marciano Veneto 398.

The first four books of the Wars are also contained in another 14th century Ms. - V (= cod. Vat. graec. 152), and part of the relevant section appears in O (= cod. Ottobonianus graec. 82), also 14th century. See Haury, J., op. cit., pp. XXII - XL for a description of the Mss. of Procopius.

advice to the Emperor Valentinian III. Procopius relates how Valentinian lures the Senator's wife to his palace by sending her Maximus's signet ring in her husband's name. He seduces her, and when Maximus learns this, he hides his anger, and begins to plot against Valentinian secretly. Through the intermediary of the eunuchs attending Valentinian, Maximus persuades him to put the general Aetius to death, on the grounds that he is planning a revolution. After his death, there is no one able to prevent Attila from over-running all Europe, and making the Emperor his tributary. (1)

This is an early example of the type of disloyal adviser we find in the "Condesa Traidora", namely, one who induces his enemy to deprive himself of his main source of military strength. Maximus, in persuading Valentinian to kill his most able general, leaves his ruler and country at the mercy of the Huns, as the Countess of Castile leaves Garcí Fernández at the mercy of the Moors. In Procopius, however, the traitor does not give the advice personally to his victim, and he does not inform the enemy directly of what he has done.

The continuation of the episode contains a treacherous pact made with the enemy. Maximus eventually kills Valentinian and marries his wife, Eudoxia. She, wishing to get rid of Maximus and avenge her first husband, sends a message to King Gizeric of the Vandals, in Carthage, asking him to avenge Valentinian's death, and deliver her from the tyrant, Maximus. Accordingly, Gizeric arrives in Rome, Maximus is killed, and Eudoxia taken prisoner. (2)

The account of Maximus's death provides another parallel with the "Condesa Traidora". In both cases, a wife betrays her husband

and secures his death by conniving with a foreign ruler - Gizeric and Almanzor - who invades the land at her instigation. However, the motives of the wives for desiring their husband's death are different. Eudoxia wishes both to avenge the wrong done to her first husband, and to be freed from Maximus's power, whereas the Countess of Castile wishes to marry Almanzor. Nevertheless, the result of their action is the same, namely, the husband's defeat and death at someone else's hand.

Menander Protector, a contemporary of Procopius, relates another instance of betrayal to the enemy in his Continatio Historiae Agathiae (1). Chosroes, King of the Persians, receives legates of the Sogdaitae, who are subjects of the Turks. Catulph, one of the Ephthalites, has avenged himself by betraying the people to the Turks, because the king violated his wife, and he now dissuades the king from making a trade agreement with the Sogdaitae:

"Profecti igitur ad Persarum regem precati sunt, ut liberum illis esset sine ullo impedimento apud ipsos serici commercium. At Persarum rex, cui minime hoc gratum erat, ne impune illis esset Persarum fines ingredi, responsum distulit in crastinum, deinde alia atque alia dilatione iterum usus est. Quum diem ex die traxisset, et obnixae Sogdaitae peterent et urgerent, Chosroes, consilio convocato, deliberavit. Catulfus autem ille Ephthalites, qui propter stuprum a rege uxori suae per vim illatum gentem Turcis prodiderat et deinde ad Medorum partes transierat, hortatus est Persarum regem, sericum minime praetermitteret, sed empto eo, pretium traderet; tum autem ante oculos legatorum illud in ignem injiceret, ne injuste agere, neve Turcorum serico uti velle videretur. Et sericum quidem igni crematum est, legati vero haud laeti ad proprias sedes reme- arunt." (3)

The seventh century historian, Fredegarius, records a different instance of betrayal to the enemy in connection with a 5th century

(1) This is included in Karl Muller's Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.

Roman Emperor, and the destruction of the city of Treveris by the Franks⁽¹⁾. The Emperor Avitus, feigning illness, entices the wife of Senator Lucius to his room, and seduces her. When Lucius discovers this, he causes the city to be destroyed and burnt down by the Franks:

"Treverorum civitas factione uni ex senatoribus nomen Luci a Francis capta et incinsa est. Cum Avitus imperator esset luxoriae deditus, et iste Lucius habens mulierem pulcherrimam cunctorum, fingens Avitus ob infirmitatem corporis lectum depraemere, iussit ad omnis sinatricis, eum requererint. Cumque uxor venisset Lucio, vim ab Avito oppressa fuisset, in crastino surgens de stratu Avitus dixit ad Lucio: 'Pulcras terras habes, nam frigido labas.' Haec indignante Lucio, suae factione derepta est civetas et incinsa a Francis." (4)

There is no question here of evil advice resulting in the Emperor's downfall. Instead, the person insulted co-operates with the enemy as a form of personal revenge, to secure his own people's defeat.

Apart from these early appearances outside the Peninsula of the motif of a treacherous agreement with the enemy, the legend of Roderick, last Gothic king of Spain, provides a parallel in the Peninsula

(1) The Chronicle of Fredegarius is included among the Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. The incident cited occurs in the part of the Chronicle which is a résumé of the Libri Historiarum of Gregory of Tours (I-VI). The oldest Ms. of Fredegarius is Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 10910, which goes back to the late 7th or early 8th century. Krusch bases his edition of the Chronicle in the MGH primarily on this manuscript. The extant Mss. have been classed into five different groups. Krusch believes that all other extant Mss. are descended from Ms. 10910. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill disagrees, and maintains instead that this Ms. represents a copy of Fredegarius's Ms., to which he last made additions c. 660, and that subsequent Mss. are descended from a second copy made some time before the middle of the 8th century. See MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, II, ed. B. Krusch, Hanover, 1888, pp. 9-15, and Wallace-Hadrill, J.M.: The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar, London, Edinburgh, 1960, pp. xlvi-lvi.

itself. The theme occurs in connection with this legend as early as the 8th century, and it is recorded both in the Arabic Chronicles, and in the Latin and Romance Chronicles of Christian Spain. Some versions blame Witiza's sons for the betrayal to the enemy, and others blame a certain Olián or Julian.

(a) Earliest reference to the Rodrick legend in the Peninsula

R. Dozy indicates a reference to Rodrick's betrayal in a Latin Chronicle written in 754, attributed to Isidore of Beja. He declares that Witiza's brother, Oppas, was an ally of the Moors, and that at the time of the Moorish invasion, there was civil war in Spain, and Rodrick was betrayed during his last battle⁽⁵⁾.

(b) The Rodrick legend in the Arab Chronicles

Several Arab historians relate the legend in greater detail. According to Ibn Abdelhacam, writing in the 9th century, a Christian called Julian is a subject of King Rodrick of Spain, and lord of Ceuta and the city of Al-Hadrá near Tangier. Tarik sends ambassadors to Julian, and peace is concluded between them. Julian has followed custom by sending his daughter to be educated at the Spanish court, and there Rodrick seduces her. As soon as Julian learns this, he decides to avenge himself by bringing the Arabs against Rodrick. He therefore offers to lead Tarik to Spain, and sends him his two daughters as a guarantee of his faith⁽⁶⁾.

Ibn Alkutiya, a 10th century writer of Córdoba, gives a different version of this legend, but it still includes the motif of betrayal to the enemy. The traitor is now a Spanish merchant, who visits Tangier frequently to buy falcons and horses. He has a very

beautiful daughter, and during one of his trips to Africa, King Rodrick receives her at his palace, since her father has no one with whom he may leave her. Rodrick seduces her, and when her father returns she tells him what has happened. He hides his anger, merely telling Rodrick that he has left some splendid horses and falcons in Africa. Rodrick gives him money to go and purchase them, but instead Julian goes straight to Tarik ben Ziad, and suggests that he should conquer Andalusia, describing to him its riches, and the weak and cowardly nature of its inhabitants. (7)

In the 11th century, the Akhbar Madjmoua also records the legend. Julian is there described as the Christian governor of Ceuta, and Rodrick again seduces his daughter, who has been sent to the royal palace at Toledo for her education. Julian is informed by letter, and declares in anger that he will dethrone Rodrick, and open an abyss at his feet. He consorts with Muza forthwith, and incites him to conquer Spain. (8)

Finally, the 12th century text of Fatho-l-Andaluçi introduces more variations to the Rodrick legend, although the motif of the pact with the enemy is essentially the same. The traitor is Bolyan or Wolyan, governor of Tangier and Ceuta, and Rodrick seduces his daughter while drunk, but repents on realising what he has done. He tries to prevent the dishonoured girl from informing her father, by forbidding her to talk to anyone alone, or to write letters. However, she succeeds in telling him by sending him a bad egg among some precious objects. Bolyan returns to court, and takes his daughter back to Africa declaring that her mother is ill and has sent

for her. He seeks Muza ben Noseir, tells him how the king treated his daughter, and urges him to conquer Spain, describing its wealth and the ease with which it can be overcome.⁽⁹⁾

Although the traitor's identity varies in this legend, in each case he betrays his own king, or one of the same faith, by urging the Moslems to invade the Peninsula and overthrow the Visigoths. The Arab Chronicles do not suggest that he attempted to disarm the Gothic king first by means of insidious advice.

(c) The Rodrick legend in the Latin Chronicles

Prior to the Najerense several Latin Chronicles in the Peninsula also mention the motif of the pact with the enemy in connection with Spain's fall to the Moors.

The ninth century Chronicon Albeldense attributes Spain's betrayal to Witiza's sons, for after their father's death, during Ródrick's reign, they make a pact with the Moors and help to introduce them into Spain:

"Rudericus reg. an. III. Istius tempore Era DCCLII farmalio terrae Sarraceni evocati Spanias occupant, regnumque Gothorum capiunt . . ." (10)

"Ruderico regnante, Gothis in Spania, per filios Vitizani Regis oritur Gothis rixarum discessio; ita ut una pars eorum Regnum dirutum videre desiderarent; quorum etiam favore atque farmalio Sarraceni Spaniam sunt ingressi anno Regni Rudericici tertio die III. Idus Novembris. Era DCCLII." (11)

Another 9th century Chronicle, the Chronicon Sebastiani⁽ⁱ⁾ agrees in blaming Witiza's sons for introducing the Moors to Spain. Motivated by their envy of Rodrick's possession of their father's kingdom, they

(i) This is the Chronicle of Sebastian of Salamanca, which was composed in the reign of Alfonso III, called the Great (866-910). See Dozy, R.: Recherches . . . I, p. 15.

send emissaries to the Moors, asking for their support. The enemy enters Spain, and the Chronicle adds that the traitors die at the same time as the Moors:

"Vvitzane defuncto Rudericus à Gothis eligitur in Regno . . . Filii vero Vvitzani invidia ducti, eo quod Rudericus Regnum Patris eorum acceperat, callide cogitantes, Missos ad Africam mittunt, Sarracenos in auxilium petunt, eosque navibus advectos Hispaniam intromittunt. Sed ipsi qui Patriae excidium intulerunt, simul cum gente Sarracenorum gladio perierunt." (12)

The Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana, which dates from the first half of the 11th century according to R. Menéndez Pidal,⁽¹³⁾ gives another version of the theme, attributing the crime leading to the betrayal to Getico (= Witiza), instead of to Rodrick. Julian is again the traitor, and not Witiza's sons. Getico, learning of the beauty of Julian's daughter, invites him to his palace at Seville, and fêtes him for several days. He writes to Julian's wife in her husband's name, inviting her and her daughter, Oliba, to the palace. One day Julian catches sight of his squire, and learns from him of the presence of his wife and daughter. His wife tells him how she was tricked into going to the palace, and they both sail off to Ceuta, leaving their daughter behind. Julian offers to help Tarik enter Spain, and to give him his wife, children, and a large sum of money as securities. Tarik and Julian therefore invade Spain, and capture Seville:

". . . Qui congregans omnem pecuniam in auro et argento et vestimentis ad Alcalá usque properavit ad Tarech regem dixitque ei: 'vis ingredi Ispaniam? ego te ducam, quia claves maris et terre habeo et bene te dirigere possum.' 'Que fiducia,' inquit Tarech, 'erit mihi in te, cum tu sis Christianus et ego Maurus?' 'In hoc bene confidere poteris in me, quia dimittam tibi uxorem meam et filios infinitamque pecuniam.' Tunc securitate accepta Tarech maximam militum multitudinem collegit et ad insulam Tarif cum

Juliano veniens inter Malacam et Leptam ascendit in montem, qui usque hodie mons Tarech dicitur, inde cum exercitu suo Tarech, Ispalim usque veniens expugnavit eam et cepit." (14)

Finally, in the Silense's account of this legend, Witiza's sons share the responsibility for the Moslem invasion with Count Julian. Rodrick takes the crown on the advice of the Gothic nobles, following Witiza's death, and banishes Witiza's sons. They go to the province of Tingitania to consort with Count Julian, a friend of their father's, and arrange for the Moors to enter Spain. One reason given for Julian's part in the treachery is Rodrick's seduction of his daughter, and he actually accompanies the Moors to Spain, together with Witiza's sons:

"Siquidem post mortem Vitize regis, Rodericus filius Gaudefredi consilio magnatorum Gotice gentis in regnum successerat. . . . Is ubi culmen regale adeptus est, iniuriam patris ulcisci festinans, duos filios Vitize ab Yspaniis removit, ac summo cum dedecore eodem patrio regno pepulit. Sed et isti ad Tingitanam provinciam transfretantes, Iuliano comiti quem Vitiza rex in suis fidelibus familiarissimum habuerat, adhererunt; ibique de illatis contumeliis ingemiscentes, Mauros introducendo et sibi et totius Yspanie regno perditum iri disposuerunt. Preterea furor violatæ filie ad hoc facinus peragendum Iulianum incitabat, quam Rodericus rex non pro uxore, sed eo quod sibi pulchra pro concubina videbatur, eidem callide subriperat.

Igitur era DCCXLVII, Hulit fortissimus rex barbarorum totius Africe, ducatu Iuliani comitis filiorumque Vitize, Tario strabonem unum ex ducibus exercitus sui cum XXV millibus pugnatorum peditum ad Yspanias premisit, ut cognita Iuliani dubia fide bellum cum Yspano rege inciperet . . ." (15)

Conclusion

Most of the examples given so far treat the motif of an agreement with the enemy in a different way from the "Condesa Traidora" legend, for the agreement is motivated by a desire for revenge in return for a dishonour suffered through the traitor's wife or daughter. The

Chronicle of Isidore of Beja, the Chronicon Albeldense, and the Chronicon Sebastiani, however, all treat the theme independently of the seduction, which is not mentioned. In the latter Chronicle, the motivation for the betrayal is envy on the part of Witiza's sons.

The Najerense does not link the agreement with the enemy with the idea of personal revenge either, for the Countess's treacherous action is prompted solely by a desire to dispose of her husband and make a better marriage. The circumstances of her betrayal, though, are substantially the same as the earlier appearances of the motif. In Procopius, and the Arab Chronicles - except the Akhbar Madjmoua, which recounts the threat Julian utters upon hearing of his daughter's dishonour - the traitor hides his anger while planning his victim's downfall, and bides his time. Similarly, the Countess of Castile hides her real feelings, and her contact with Almanzor, from Garcí Fernández. In all these cases, therefore, the enemy enters the country without giving the victim cause for suspicion. He is thus taken completely by surprise, and easily defeated.

Just as in the Najerense the Countess does not have direct contact with the Moors, but plans the treachery by message, so Eudoxia, the treacherous wife in Procopius's account, has no direct contact with Gizeric, but asks him to go to Rome by message. Witiza's sons also send a message to the Moors, requesting their help, in the Chronicon Sebastiani. However in the other versions of the treachery of Witiza's sons or Julian, the Moslem invasion is planned by means of verbal contact between the traitor and the Moslem leader.

None of these legends introduces the idea of disarming the victim

first. Procopius alone makes use of this motif, but not in connection with the pact with the enemy. The themes of treacherous advice given to the victim, and the agreement with the enemy, may therefore occur independently of one another.

The Castilian legend of the Infantes de Lara provides us with another example of a treacherous agreement with the Moors, arranged by letter. Ruy Velázquez initiates a pact with Almanzor in revenge for an insult offered to his wife, Doña Lambra, by the youngest Infante. The latter kills one of Doña Lambra's cousins, and one of her servants, who is sheltering under her skirt. Ruy Velázquez therefore sends the Infantes' father to Almanzor, bearing a letter written in Arabic. In this he invites Almanzor to attack the Infantes and their tutor, Nuño Salido, whom he plans to lead into an ambush during an expedition to Almenar. (16)

(2) French and Germanic sources

The pact with the enemy is a motif which also appears in the French chansons de geste and the Germanic epic tradition. The Chanson de Roland relates how the traitor Ganelon makes a secret agreement with the Saracen king, Marsil. This is motivated by Ganelon's dislike of his stepson, Roland, who advised Charlemagne to send him on a mission to Marsil. As a form of revenge, Ganelon suggests that the Saracens should attack the rearguard of the French army, which Roland is to lead over the Pyrenees. (17) Again, the motive for the pact with the enemy is a desire to ensure the death of one person, whom the traitor dislikes personally, but the result of his action is likewise disaster for a whole nation, not merely

for his chosen victim.

Another old French epic - Germont et Isebart - dating from the latter part of the 11th century, or the early 12th century, contains a similar motif. Only a fragment of this poem is extant, but the Chronicles preserve the substance of the legend. The 11th century Chronicle of a monk called Hariulf, of the abbey of Saint-Riquier, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's 12th century Historia regum Britanniae both refer to an agreement between Isebart and the pagans.

Hariulf mentions a pagan expedition under King Guaramundus and the Frankish traitor Esimbardus, which laid waste Ponthieu, and burnt down the church of Saint-Riquier:

"At post mortem Hludogvici, filii ejus Hludogvicus et Karlomannus regnum inter se dispertiunt. His ergo regnantibus, contigit, Dei iudicio, innumerabilem barbarorum multitudinem limites Franciae pervadere, agente id rege eorum Guaramundo, qui multis, ut fertur, regnis suo dirissimo imperio subactis, etiam Franciae voluit dominari persuadente id fieri quodam Esimbardo Francigena nobili, qui regis Hludogvici animos offenderat, quique genitalis soli proditor, gentium barbariem nostros fines visere hortabatur . . ." (18)

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gormundus, King of the Africans, invaded Britain in the 6th century, and formed a league of friendship with Isebardus, nephew of the Frankish king, who asked for his support in taking possession of the kingdom of Gaul:

"Dum autem ibi moram faceret, Ysebardus, nepos Lodowici, regis Francorum, navigio vectus, venit ad eum de Francia et cum eo foedus amicitiae inicit et Christianitatem suam tali pacto, pro amore suo deseruit, si suo auxilio regnum Galliae avunculo eripere valuisset a quo, ut aiebat, vi et iniuste erat expulsus." (19)

In the chanson de geste, Isebart is also a nephew and subject of King Louis of France. He flees to England, where he allies himself with the Saracen king, Gormont, and induces him to invade France,

attack Ponthieu, and burn down the abbey of Saint-Riquier. Finally, the French slay both Gormont and Isembart, and the king of France dies of wounds. (20)

In La Chanson de Floovant - late 12th century? - Maudaran and Maudoire, the two sons of King Flore of Ausai, make a pact with the Saracen king, Galien, because they are jealous of Floovant's success in their father's service. They offer to lead a Saracen army against the castle of Avenant, which has been put in Floovant's charge, and they defeat and capture Floovant, with Galien's aid. (21) The motive for the betrayal in this chanson is similar to that in the Chronicon Sebastiani version of the Rodrick legend, namely, jealousy rather than a desire for revenge. However, the result is the same as in all the versions of the Rodrick legend - betrayal of their own nation to the Saracens.

Posterior to the Najerense, the pact with the enemy motif occurs again in the chanson de geste Anseïs de Cartage - early 13th century - before 1250 - which has many similarities with the Spanish Rodrick legend.

On his advice, Anseïs, king of Spain and Carthage, sends his counsellor, Ysoré, to the Saracen king, Marsil, asking for his daughter's hand in marriage. Ysoré's daughter wishes to marry Anseïs, and she enters his room one night during her father's absence. Later she tells him that Anseïs seduced her. Ysoré hides his anger, returns to Marsil's court, incites the Saracen to make war on the Christians again, and himself leads a pagan army against Anseïs. (22)

Turning now to the motif in the Germanic epic tradition, the

legend of Buern Bucecarle, related in Gaimar's L'Estorie des Englès (c.1137), provides a closer parallel to the "Condesa Traidora" legend than the French chansons. The legend is also similar to the Rodrick legend, for it is based on the theme of the vassal, whose wife has been seduced by the king, avenging himself by summoning a foreign army against him.

While Buern is away, King Osberth of Northumberland visits his house, and has a meal there. Afterwards he seduces Buern's wife, who tells her husband on his return, asking him to avenge her. Buern goes to York, where he challenges the king publicly, so that many of his followers abandon him. Buern then tells his family of the insult, and says that he wishes to summon the Danes:

"Donc tint conseil od son linage;
 A els se clamat del huntage.
 Coment li reis laueit mene,
 Lur ad tut dit e conte:
 Puis lur ad dit kil sen irrat,
 Sil pout, les Daneis amerrat."(23)

Buern's people agree to abandon the king, drive him out of the country, and proclaim Elle king in his stead. The Danes are summoned; they help Buern and his followers to conquer York and slay King Osberth and many of his supporters. (24)

The traitor's rôle in this legend is akin to the Countess's rôle in the Najerense, for in the suggestion that the king is abandoned by many of his followers after Buern's challenge, and by the men of Buern's lineage, who agree to depose Osberth, there is an implication that the king's army was weakened by his enemy's action, before summoning the Danes against him. This is the very idea underlying

the Countess of Castile's action in the "Condesa Traidora" legend. The difference between the two legends is that whereas Osberth's followers desert him of their own accord, incited to this by Buern's accusation, in the "Condesa Traidora" it is the Count himself who dismisses his supporters, acting purely on the Countess's advice.

(3) Disarming theme

This brings us to the motif of the deliberate disarming of a nation by means of false advice, which the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora" connects with the agreement made with the enemy.

We have already had an example of the disloyal adviser in Procopius's account of Maximus's revenge on Valentinian. A similar type of character also appears in connection with the Germanic legend of Ermanaric, although independent of the motifs of disarming the enemy to ensure his defeat, and the pact with the enemy.

The 10th century writer, Flodoard of Rheims, refers to the treacherous advice of an unnamed counsellor, who induced Ermanaric to kill his children:

"Subjicit etiam ex libris teutonicis de rege quodam Hermenrico nomine, qui omnem progeniem suam morti destinaverit impiis consiliis cujusquam consiliarii sui, supplicat que ne sceleratis hic rex adquiescat consiliis, sed misereatur gentis huius et regio generi subveniat decidenti."(25)

In the late 10th century, the Annals of Quedlimburg and the Chronicle of Würzburg relate that a certain Odoacer was responsible for inducing Ermanaric to drive Theodoric out of Verona:

"Eo tempore Ermanricus super omnes Gothos regnavit, astutior in dolo, largior in dono; qui post mortem Friderici unici filii sui sua perpetrata(m) voluntate, patruelles suos Embricam et Fritlam patibulo suspendit. Theodoricum similiter patruelem suum instimulante Odoacro patruelle suo de Verona pulsum apud Attilam exulare coegit . . ."(26)

Although these accounts do not give any more details, they do, nevertheless, provide early examples of the motif of giving false advice to someone whom the traitor wishes to punish. Later, the false adviser figures in the Gesta Danorum of Saxo Grammaticus - late 12th or early 13th century - where a desire to avenge his brothers' death motivates his advice.

Bikk, son of the king of the Livonians, goes to serve King Jarmeric, but is unable to forget that Jarmeric has deprived him of his brothers. The king receives him kindly, and pays great attention to his counsel. As soon as Bikk realises this, he advises him treacherously to commit terrible crimes, for which he is hated:

"Post hoc Livorum regis filius Bicco captiuitate, quam sub memoratis fratribus ducebat, elapsus, Jarmericum, a quo olim fratribus spoliatus fuerat, iniurie haud oblitus accessit. Apud quem benignius habitus, breui arcanorum omnium arbiter singularis euasit. Hunc ut suis per omnia tractabilem mouitis sensit, in res quam maxime factu detestabiles consultantem adduxit, atque ad scelera flagiciaque committenda compellit."(27)

At Bikk's prompting, Jarmeric captures and hangs his nephews, and then has queen Swanhild trampled to death by horses, because Bikk has accused her of adultery with her stepson. Here, as in the "Condesa Traidora" legend, the false advice is given by a person whom the unsuspecting victim trusts, but the difference between the legends is that Jarmeric is led to bring ruin on himself by his own actions, instead of being overwhelmed by an enemy to whom he has been betrayed.

The Tudense version of the Rodrick legend introduces the motif of deliberate disarming in connection with the pact with the enemy. In this case, the disarming entails advising Rodrick to prohibit the

possession of arms or horses in his kingdom, instead of depriving him of manpower, as happens in the "Condesa Traidora".

According to Don Lucas de Túy, Rodrick banishes Witiza's sons, who pass over the straits and take refuge with Count Julian. He had been very friendly with Witiza, and agrees to let the Moors invade Spain to avenge his sons. The Tudense explains that Julian supports this scheme because Rodrick treats his daughter as a concubine, although she is his wife. Julian persuades Rodrick that his subjects no longer require horses or arms, since the kingdom is at peace:

"Finxit etiam se esse amicum Regis Roderici et callide consulit ut equos et arma ad Gallias mitteret et ad Africam: quia in interiori Hispaniae ipse regnebat securus, et non erat necesse ut haberent arma in patria quibus se mutuo interficerent."(28)

Rodrick therefore issues an edict disarming his people, and forbidding anyone to possess either arms or horses. As soon as King Ulit of the barbarians learns that the Spaniards are disarmed, he sends an army to Spain under Tarik, followed later by a second force under Muza. (29)

Pidal maintains that the Tudense version of the Rodrick legend was known in León before the Silense was written, and suggests that it was possibly known c. 1070. (30) If this were so, the "Condesa Traidora" might have drawn on the Rodrick legend for the idea of disarming the victim before calling in the enemy. It seems strange, though, that if the Rodrick legend was circulating in this form at the time when Pidal suggests, the Silense does not mention the disarming in its version of the legend.

It is true that the disarming takes a different form in the

"Condesa Traidora" and the Rodrick legends, but the purpose underlying the false advice is the same in both cases - to enable the Moors to overrun the land with ease, inflicting a defeat on the Christians, and on one person in particular, either the Count of Castile, or the Gothic king. The disarming also helps to explain away the Moslem victories over the Christians in the respective legends. In this way, they avoid attributing any dishonour to the Christian leaders, since their defeat is the result of treachery rather than any lack of military skill on their part. An obvious parallel is the siege of Zamora, where Sancho II's failure to take Zamora, and his death during the siege, are explained away by the treachery of Bellido Dolfos. (31)

The Chronicon Ovetense - probably 12th century - also refers to the disarming of the Peninsula, but attributes this to Witiza, instead of Rodrick. The Chronicle merely states that he forbade anyone to have arms in his kingdom, but it does not tell us the circumstances of this prohibition, or indicate whether it was the result of treacherous advice:

"Vitiza regnavit annos X. Iste malus homo fuit plenus omnium iniquitatum . . . Arma in suo Regno neminem habere iussit." (32)

Fray Gil de Zamora gives another version of the disarming motif in the Rodrick legend in the 13th century. This is related in the Martirio de San Nicolás . . . en Ledesma. According to this, while the Goth, Julian, is collecting tribute from King Alcama of Morocco, Rodrick violates his wife. The following year, Julian returns to Morocco for tribute, and offers to deliver the whole of Spain to

Alcama. He then returns to Rodrick with the tribute, and advises the great people of the nation to destroy all the arms in the kingdom to encourage peace. When Alcama learns this, he occupies Spain with an army, killing Rodrick and many Christians. (33)

Juan Menéndez Pidal has suggested that there was possibly an earlier version of the legend of San Nicolás, relating the dishonour of Julian's wife, as opposed to his daughter. He thinks this may have influenced the Toledano, for there, too, it is Julian's wife who is dishonoured, but he does not think that any earlier version of the San Nicolás legend could go back beyond the 12th century, on account of references in the "Life of St. Nicholas" to characters appearing in the Mainet. This was only known in Spain some time before the middle of the 12th century. (34) Pidal seems to ignore, though, that these allusions, which are in the nature of passing references, could have been later additions to the legend. There could, therefore, have been a version of the legend, which included the disarming motif, earlier than the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora", but this is purely hypothetical.

The form of the disarming in the "San Nicolás" legend is again that of depriving the enemy of arms, rather than men, but there are closer parallels than this to the "Condesa Traidora" legend, and they may possibly have been known in Spain.

The Chanson de Roland suggests depriving Charlemagne of much strength, when Ganelon tells Marsil that whoever kills Roland will take away Charlemagne's right arm:

"Chi purreit faire que Rollant i fust mort,
Dunc perdreit Carles le destre braz del cors." (35)

He seems to suggest this as an inducement to Marsil to attack the rearguard, and his words imply a wish to make Charlemagne suffer, as well as his real victim, Roland.

We have already discussed the way in which Buern Bucecarle weakens King Osberth's army and deprives him of many supporters before betraying him to the Danes, but we have another example of this theme in the 13th century Ragnars-saga Lodbrókar. There Ivar⁽¹⁾ wins the confidence of King Aella of Northumberland, weakens his power by winning his supporters away from him, and then summons the enemy against him. His motive is to avenge his father's death. The details are that King Aella kills Ragnar, and sends messengers to announce his death to his sons. One of them, Ivar, secretly plans his revenge, and makes an agreement with Aella, undertaking not to make war on him. He gradually wins Aella's confidence, and is given a share in the administration of the kingdom. Then, he acquires gold and silver from his brothers, and uses this to bribe the most influential people not to move if he makes war on the King. Having deprived him of many supporters in this way, he sends messengers to his brothers asking their help in equipping an army and attacking England. Aella has to face the enemy with only a few followers; the English are forced to flee, and Aella is taken prisoner and then killed. (36)

(1) Ivar is identified as King of Denmark by M. Rapin de Thoyras in The History of England, I, trans. N. Tindal, London, 1757, p. 306. According to Rapin de Thoyras, Earl Bruern (=Buern) visits King Ivar of Denmark, and arranges for the Danes to invade England and seize the kingdom from Osbert. Osbert appeals for aid to Ella, who has mistreated Ivar's father, and they join forces against the enemy. Osbert and Ella are both slain in battle. op. cit., pp. 306-307.

Ivar acts in much the same way as the Countess of Castile in the "Condesa Traidora" legend. He first deliberately plans to disarm his victim, by depriving him of his supporters, and then brings the enemy against him when he is unable to put up any resistance. Consequently, he is defeated, captured, and slain. The disarming is achieved by bribery, though, instead of the treacherous advice of the "Condesa Traidora".

Although the Ragnars-saga Lodbrókar was written in the 13th century, Von Richthofen believes that it probably went back originally to the time of the Viking invasion of the British Isles.⁽¹⁾ He maintains, therefore, that it arose in Northern England towards the end of the 9th century, acquiring its final form in the middle of the 13th century. He bases his belief in the legend's early origin on a reference in the Knutsdrápa (c. 1038) by Sigvat Thórdarson to Ivar's wounding of Aella.⁽³⁷⁾

When considering whether the Germanic epic legends could have reached the Peninsula in the Middle Ages, we do know that there were Nordic expeditions to the coastal regions from the 9th century. These were by Scandinavian pirates, and, on the evidence of Arab authors, Dozy declares that the earliest invasion was in 844. They were particularly numerous from the middle of the 11th century to the middle of the 12th century, both from Norway and the British Isles.⁽³⁸⁾

(1) Von Richthofen suggests that the victory of Ragnar's sons over King Aella of Northumberland in 866 or 867 is probably historical, but the idea that the expedition was undertaken as a form of revenge is legendary. Richthofen, Erich von: Estudios Épicas Medievales, Madrid, 1954, p. 141. The oldest extant Ms. of the Ragnars-saga dates from the 14th century. See Völsunga- und Ragnars-Saga, revised A. Edzardi, Stuttgart, 1880, p. I . . .

Von Richthofen points out that the Viking expeditions were chiefly to the North of the Peninsula, and confirms that they were particularly numerous in the 12th century. He therefore maintains that it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the Northern legends found their way to Spain, beginning in the 11th and 12th centuries, and perhaps influencing the Rodrick legend and the "Condesa Traidora". (39)

(4) Final Remarks - independence of the motifs, and alliance of Christian and Moslem in Spain

It is quite clear now that the motifs of the pact made with the enemy, the false adviser, and the deliberate disarming of the victim, all have a place in epic legend. They are all found before they are brought together in the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora", but each may occur independently of the others.

It is often of little use searching for any one model when trying to solve the problem of the origin of this kind of episode, for it may combine motifs drawn from a variety of sources. These motifs may then be arranged according to the interpretation of the person responsible for recording them - in our particular case, the author of the Najerense. In this way, a complete epic legend such as the "Condesa Traidora" may be built up from several sources.

We have seen that the motif of the treacherous agreement with the enemy is one which occurs in Classical, French, Germanic and Spanish tradition, but it is usually made as a form of personal revenge for an injury suffered, and with the intention of ensuring the death of the person responsible for that injury. This is either the seduction of the traitor's wife or daughter, or an insult towards

a relative, which may involve his death. The Najerense differs in lacking the motif of revenge to explain the Countess's action, for she has not been insulted. Procopius's account of the death of Senator Maximus is the only other instance of a wife betraying her husband to the enemy, although Eudoxia does so partly in revenge for her first husband's death.

The basic elements of the Rodrick legend were probably circulating in the Peninsula from the 9th century, and were evidently widely known among both Moorish and Christian chroniclers before the Najerense. Despite the variations in the Rodrick legend, one of the basic themes of all the versions is the agreement made with the enemy inducing them to overrun the guilty man's territory, so ensuring his defeat. The "Condessa Traidora" legend could, therefore, have been influenced by the Rodrick legend in so far as this motif is concerned.

It is important to emphasize that the idea of the Countess's agreement with Almanzor is not a strange one, since there are historical precedents for military alliances between Christians and Moslems in the medieval Peninsula. The Cid himself illustrates this point, since he fought with the Moslem king of Zaragoza, and against the Christians García Ordóñez and the Count of Barcelona, and also King Sancho Ramírez of Aragón. Almanzor himself also enjoyed Christian support. He was aided by some Leonese Counts, for example, in his campaign against Santiago in 997.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Concerning the Countess's desire to marry Almanzor, there are numerous examples of marriages between Christian and Moor in the epic legends. Usually, though, it is a Christian knight who marries

a Moslem princess, generally after her conversion. In La Chanson de Floovant, Maugalie, daughter of the Saracen king Galien, marries Floovant. In Anseïs de Cartage, Gaudisse, daughter of the Saracen king, Marsil, marries Anseïs. Often the marriage between Christian and Moslem follows help given by the Moslem princess to the Christian knight when he finds himself in difficulties. There are, for instance, several epic poems in which the captured Christian knight is freed from prison with the help of his Moslem captor's daughter, because of her wish to marry him. Floripas, daughter of the Saracen emir, wishes to marry Gui de Bourgogne in the Chanson de Fierabras. She helps to free him from prison, and promises to be baptised. Huon de Bordeaux relates that Esclarmonde, also a daughter of the Saracen emir, falls in love with Huon while he is imprisoned by her father. She, too, helps to free him, and eventually marries him.

According to the Castilian legend of the Infantes de Lara, Gonzalo Gustioz has a son, Mudarra, by the Moslem princess who looks after him while he is held prisoner by Almanzor. There is also a legend that Alfonso VI married the Moorish princess, Zaida, daughter of King Abenabeth of Seville. She fell in love with him on account of his good reputation, without having seen him. The Tudense and Toledano refer to this marriage, but the whole legend is told in the PCG. (41)

The character of the Moorish or Saracen woman who falls in love with a Christian knight is therefore common to many epic legends, and the idea of love between Moslem and Christian, suggested in the

"Condesa Traidora", is by no means an isolated example of the motif. As in that legend, there are other examples of women turning against their own religion, or betraying their relatives, because of a wish to marry someone with a different faith, and an enemy of their own nation.

There are instances, too, of a Christian princess being handed over to the Moslems in Spain, or married to a Moorish ruler. This is not necessarily of her own free will, but may be for diplomatic reasons. Two princesses of León and Navarre are said to have been married to Almanzor. These were Teresa, daughter of King Vermudo II of León,⁽⁴²⁾ and the daughter of King Sancho Garcés II of Pamplona,⁽⁴³⁾ but I shall discuss this more fully in a later chapter.

Conclusions

To recapitulate, the motif of treacherous advice given by a trusted person to his unsuspecting enemy, with whom he remains openly on good terms, appears prior to the Najerense in Procopius, and in connection with the legends concerning Ermanaric. Flodoard, the Annals of Quedlinburg, and Saxo Grammaticus all mention this motif, and in the Peninsula itself we have seen that it is linked with the legend of Rodrick in the Tudense.

The motif of disarming the victim before coming to terms with the enemy - either by destroying the country's arms, or by weakening the victim's source of military strength - also occurs in Procopius, where Valentinian is induced to rid himself of his best general. The difference between this episode and the "Condesa Traidora" is that Valentinian is advised to put Aetius to death by the eunuchs,

acting on Maximus's behalf, whereas the Countess of Castile advises Garcí Fernández herself. Also, Maximus does not actually invite the enemy to invade.

The Chronicon Ovetense also refers to the disarming, when Witiza forbids the possession of arms. The Tudense version of the Rodrick legend, and Fray Gil de Zamora both relate that the king was persuaded to have the arms of the kingdom destroyed. The disarming is not very credible in any of these legends, for Valentinian, King Rodrick, and Garcí Fernández all seem too easily persuaded to deprive themselves of their source of military strength.

The form of disarming in the legend of Buern Bucecarle or the Ragnars-saga Lodbrókar is closer to the motif in the "Condesa Traidora", for in all cases the army is weakened by loss of supporters. These desert King Osberth after Buern's challenge, and when he has told his relatives of his dishonour; and in the saga, Ivar bribes Aella's supporters away from him.

The legend of Buern Bucecarle existed in the early half of the 12th century, and was known to Gaimar, and it could, perhaps, have been known in the Peninsula. It is also possible that the Ragnars-saga existed in an earlier form, so the "Condesa Traidora" might have been influenced by the Germanic tradition.

If there was an earlier version of the Rodrick legend, including the disarming motif, than the Tudense, this could feasibly have influenced the "Condesa Traidora", but this must remain conjectural, since we have no proof of such a version.

Procopius is the other possible influence on the "Condesa

Traidora". His account has a close analogy with the Castilian legend, and it is the first time that we find the three motifs of the Najerense occurring together. Maximus acts as the treacherous adviser, and weakens the military strength of his victim; and Eudoxia summons the enemy against her husband. This is the only example prior to the "Condesa Traidora" of a wife betraying her husband to the enemy, even though Eudoxia and the Countess of Castile act from different motives. This similarity of themes therefore suggests that the Greek account may have been known and imitated in the Peninsula.

Notes to Chapter 3.

- (1) Procopius of Caesarea: The Vandalic War, trans. H.B. Dewing, II, London, 1916, III, iv, 13-38.
- (2) Procopius of Caesarea, op. cit., p. 47.
- (3) Muller, Karl: Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, IV, Paris, 1868, § 18, p. 225.
- (4) Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, II, Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica, ed. Bruno Krusch, Hanover, 1888, "Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici", III, § 7, p. 94.
- (5) Dozy, R.: Recherches, I, Paris, Leiden, 1881, pp. 2... and 66.
- (6) Ibn Abdelhacam apud Ajbar Machmuâ, trans. E. Lafuente y Alcántara, I, Apend. II, 60, Madrid, 1867, p. 209. "Relación de la Conquista de España por Ebn Âbdo-l-Haquem".

"Dominaba en el estrecho que separa el África de España un cristiano llamado Julian, señor de Ceuta y de otra ciudad de España que cae sobre el estrecho y se llama Al-Hadrá, cercana á Tánger, y obedecía éste á Rodrigo, señor de España, que residía en Toledo. Tárik envió embajadores á Julian, le trató con todo miramiento, y concertaron la paz entre ellos. Había mandado Julian su hija á Rodrigo, señor de España, para su educación, más la violó, y sabido esto por Julian, dijo: 'El mejor castigo que puedo darle es hacer que los árabes vayan contra él'; y mandó á decir á Tárik que le conduciría á España. Tárik estaba entonces en Tremecen, y Muça en Kairewan, y aquél contestó á Julian que no se fiaba de él, si no le daba rehenes; entonces Julian le mandó sus dos hijas únicas que tenía. Con esto se aseguró Tárik y salió en dirección a Ceuta, sobre el estrecho, en busca de Julian, quien se alegró mucho de su venida, y le dijo que le conduciría á España . . ."

- (7) Houdas, M.O.: Histoire de la conquête de l'Andalousie par Ibn El Gouthiya, Recueil de textes et de traductions . . ., ed. E. Leroux, I, Paris, 1889, pp. 224-225.

"Un négociant espagnol, du nom de Julien, allait souvent de l'Andalousie au pays des Berbers et Tanger . . . les habitants de Tanger étaient de religion chrétienne . . . et Julien allait dans ces contrées chercher des chevaux de race et des faucons qu'il amenait ensuite à Roderic. Ce dernier ayant un jour donné l'ordre au négociant de se rendre en Afrique, celui-ci, dont la femme venait de mourir et lui avait laissé une fille d'une grande beauté, s'excusa de ne pouvoir partir, alléguant la mort de sa femme et l'absence de toute personne à qui il pût confier sa fille en son absence. Roderic donna aussitôt l'ordre de recevoir cette enfant dans son palais;

puis ses regards s'étant portés sur elle un jour, il fut épris de sa beauté et la posséda. Lorsque son père fut de retour, la jeune fille lui raconta ce qui s'était passé. Julien dit alors à Roderic qu'il avait laissé en Afrique des chevaux et des faucons tels qu'on n'en avait jamais vu de pareils. Le roi l'autorisa à aller les chercher et lui remit à cet effet une somme considérable. Le négociant se rendit aussitôt auprès de Thâriq ben Ziyâd et lui suggéra le désir de s'emparer de l'Andalousie en lui dépeignant la richesse du pays et la faiblesse des habitants, qui n'étaient point, disait-il, gens de bravoure. Thâriq ben Ziyâd écrivit à Mousa ben Noçaïr pour lui faire part de ce qu'il venait d'apprendre et Mousa l'invita à pénétrer en Andalousie."

- (8) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, "Récit de l'Akhbar Madjmoua", pp. 40-42.

" . . . Roderic, quand il fut monté sur le trône, devint épris des charmes de la fille de Julien, et satisfit sa passion. Informé par une lettre de ce qui était arrivé, Julien entra dans une grande colère. 'Je jure par la religion du Messie, s'écria-t-il, que je le chasserai de son trône et que je creuserai un abîme sous ses pieds!' Par conséquent il fit dire à Mousâ qu'il se soumettait à lui, l'invita à venir et lui ouvrit les portes de ses villes, après avoir conclu avec lui un traité avantageux, de sorte que lui et ses sujets n'avaient rien à craindre. Ensuite il lui parla de l'Espagne et l'engagea à la conquérir . . . "

- (9) Menéndez Pidal, Juan: Leyendas del último Rey Godo, RABM, VI, 1902, pp. 370-371.

" . . . Referíase con esto á los árabes. Tomó su hija y marchó sin demora á Africa en busca de Muza ben Noseir, al que halló en Cairnan, y le contó la historia de su hija y le despertó la codicia de Espana ponderándole lo fácil de su conquista y la abundancia de sus riquezas y su fertilidad."

J.M. Pidal relies for this text on a translation from the Arabic made by Luis Gonzalvo y Paris, see op. cit., p. 371, n. 2.

- (10) Chronicon Albeldense, in E. Flórez: España Sagrada, XIII, Apend. 6, Madrid, 1756, § 46, p. 449.

- (11) Chronicon Albeldense, op. cit., § 77, p. 459.

- (12) Chronicon Sebastiani, in España Sagrada, XIII, Apend. 7, §§ 6 and 7, pp. 477-478.

- (13) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, Rodrigo, el último Godo, I, La Edad Media, Madrid, 1925, p. 28.

- (14) Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XI,

Pt. II, Chronica Minora, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin, 1894, p. 387.

- (15) Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, p. 13, l. 14 - p. 14, l. 13.
See also Chronicon del Silense, in España Sagrada, XVII, §§ 15-16, pp. 278-279.
- (16) PCG, II, §§ 736-742, pp. 431-441.
and Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, Obras I, Madrid, 1934.
- (17) La Chanson de Roland, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1947, §§ XX-XXVI, l. 274-341, §§ XLIII-XLVI, l. 563-608.
- (18) Hariulf: Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier, pub. F. Lot, Paris, 1894, III, x, pp. 141-143.
- (19) Geoffrey of Monmouth: Historia regum Britanniae, ed. J. Hammer, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, ll, § 6, pp. 190-191.
- (20) Gormont et Isembart, ed. A. Bayot, Paris, 1914.
- (21) La Chanson de Floovant, ed. F.H. Bateson, Loughborough, 1938, l. 681-759.
- (22) Anseïs von Karthago, ed. Johann Alton, Tübingen, 1892.
- (23) Gaimar, Geffrie: L'Estorie des Engles, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy and Charles Trice Martin, I, London, 1888, l. 2689-2694.
Thoyras M. Rapin de: The History of England, I, trans. N. Tindal, London, 1757, pp. 305-306.
- (24) Gaimar, G.: L'Estorie des Engles, op. cit., pp. 104-112, l. 2589-2724.
- (25) Flodoard, in R.C. Boer: Die Sagen von Ermanarich und Dietrich von Bern, Halle, 1910, p. 52.
- (26) Boer, R.C., op. cit., p. 52.
Jiriczek, O.L.: Deutsche Heldensagen, I, Strasbourg, 1898, p. 70.
- (27) Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum, ed. Alfred Holder, Strasbourg, 1886, Bk. VIII, p. 279.
- (28) Chronicon Mundi, III, p. 70.
- (29) Chronicon Mundi, III, p. 70.
- (30) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, Rodrigo, el Último Godo, I, op. cit., p. 62.

- (31) Reig, Carola: El Cantar de Sancho II y Cerco de Zamora, RFE, Anejo, XXXVII, Madrid, 1947.
- (32) Ferreras, Juan de: Historia de España, Part 16, Apend., Madrid, 1727, p. 63.
- (33) Floréz, E.: España Sagrada, XIV, Apend. 8, Madrid, 1758, pp. 392-393.
- (34) Menéndez Pidal, Juan: Leyendas del último Rey Godo, RABM, X, 1904, pp. 300-301.
- (35) La Chanson de Roland, op. cit., § XLV, l. 596-597.
- (36) Richthofen, Erich von: Estudios Épicos Medievales, trans. José Pérez Riesco, Madrid, 1954, pp. 118-121.
and Völsunga- und Ragnars-Saga, trans. F.H. von der Hagen, revised by Anton Edzardi, in Altdeutsche und Altnordische Helden-Sagen, III, Stuttgart, 1880, "Ragnar-Lodbroks-Saga", ch. 16-18, pp. 314-331.
and Isländische Heldenromane, trans. P. Herrmann, Thule, XXI, "Die Geschichte von Ragnar Lodbrok", ch. 16-17, pp. 183-189.
- (37) Richthofen, Erich von: Estudios Épicos Medievales, op. cit., pp. 141 and 149.
- (38) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., II, pp. 250-332.
- (39) Richthofen, Erich von: Estudios Épicos Medievales, op. cit., pp. 205-206.
- (40) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, Leiden, 1932, pp. 256 and 258.
- (41) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 100.
De Rebus Hispaniae, VI, xxi, p. 104.
PCG, II, § 883, pp. 552-553.
- (42) Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, p. 773.
- (43) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, Paris, Leiden, 1950, pp. 241-242.

4. Treacherous women in the epic.

The character of the disloyal wife is unusual in early epic poetry. Women tend to play only a small rôle in the older Romance epics, for the predominance of war and warlike deeds as subject matter meant that there was little place for female characters. The Chanson de Roland, for example, has two female characters, who appear only briefly. One is Aude, Roland's fiancée, who dies after receiving news of his death, ⁽¹⁾ and the other is Bramimunde, the Saracen queen, who is taken back to France by Charlemagne and baptised. ⁽²⁾

Only later do women begin to play a major part in the French epic. In Ansel's de Cartage, for example, Letise, Ysoré's daughter, is indirectly responsible for bringing the enemy to Spain. We have seen in the last chapter that she is disdained by Ansel's when she visits him one night, and avenges herself by telling her father that he seduced her. As a result, he leads the Saracens to Spain.

Another chanson de geste provides an example of a woman appearing as a type of counsellor. In Raoul de Cambrai, Aalais, Raoul's mother, gives him counsel when trying to dissuade him from deposing the sons of Count Herbert de Vermandois, following their father's death. Raoul claims their lands on the basis of the king's promise that he should have the first lands to fall vacant through their owner's death. His mother attempts to dissuade him from making war on the Count's sons, but he rejects her advice. ⁽³⁾ The difference between this type of counsel and that of the "Condessa Traidora", or the Rodrick legend, is that Aalais advises from a genuine desire to

help, rather than from a wish to betray her son.

The French chansons, then, do not always relegate women purely to a domestic or sentimental rôle. They may intervene in the plot itself, although the whole legend does not usually depend on them in the same way as the "Condesa Traidora" depends on the Countess herself. The Castilian legend is fairly unusual in making the Countess responsible not only for Garcí Fernández's death, but also for the attempt on her son's life. The rôle of villain falls to her almost entirely, since she does not merely betray her family, but the whole Christian cause in playing into the hands of the Moors, and inciting them to invade Castile.

Subsequently, Gui de Hantone's wife plays a similar rôle to the Countess of Castile in Beuve de Hantone. She first tries to persuade the cook, Guinemant, to poison her husband; when he refuses, she induces her suitor, Doon de Maience, to slay him treacherously. Afterwards, she wishes to dispose of her son, and endeavours unsuccessfully to poison him.

Women play a predominant rôle in other Spanish legends, apart from the "Condesa Traidora". Doña Lambra bears the real responsibility for the tragedy of the Infantes de Lara, since she incites her husband to avenge the insult of the youngest Infante. In the legend of Alfonso VI's marriage to the Moorish princess, Zaida, she schemes to obtain him as her husband.

More important still is the legend concerning Count Fernán González of Castile, for the character of the queen of León in the F.Gz., and the PCG version of the legend, has a close analogy with the

treacherous Countess of Castile.

According to the F.Gz., Queen Teresa of León hates Fernán González and plans to deliver him into the hands of the Navarrese. She proposes that he shall marry one of her nieces, and sends a letter to King García of Navarre advising him that he can now avenge the death of his father and her brother (King Sancho). A meeting is arranged at Cirueña between Fernán González and García, and they agree to take only five knights with them. However, García arrives with over thirty companions, and Fernán González flees to a hermitage, realising that he has been betrayed. He is eventually compelled to surrender, in return for García's promise not to kill him, and is taken prisoner. (4)

The Leonese queen deliberately betrays Fernán González to his enemies in the same way as the Countess of Castile betrays Garcí Fernández, but the Navarrese fill the rôle of enemy in the F.Gz., instead of the Moors. The queen makes a false proposition to Fernán González - that he should marry her niece - intending to use this as a means of betrayal. She tells García by message of his chance to avenge himself, and as a result, the meeting at Cirueña is arranged. Fernán González falls into the trap, is outnumbered, and captured. All this is similar to the Countess of Castile's behaviour. We have seen in the preceding chapter that she, too, makes a false proposition to Garcí Fernández - that he should dismiss his knights for Christmas - and sends a message to the enemy. In both legends, the Counts advance to meet them without suspecting treachery, and both are outnumbered.

However, this forms only one episode of the F.Gz., and the outstanding rôle of the Countess in the "Condesa Traidora" seems to correspond more with the Germanic epic tradition than with the French or Spanish. There women play an equally important part, and they are shown as more complex characters than in the chansons de geste.

An obvious example is Das Nibelungenlied (13th century), where Kriemhild, sister of Gunther, king of Burgundy, is really the centre of the whole action. (1) The poem deals with her marriage to Siegfried, her distress at his death, her fidelity to his memory, her marriage to Etzel, and her revenge on Hagen and Gunther.

The poem may be divided into three basic episodes, in each of which Kriemhild figures prominently. (a) The first comprises the quests of Siegfried and Gunther for their future wives, Kriemhild and Brunhild. The latter also plays an important part in this episode. She is possessed of superhuman strength, and forces her suitors to compete with her in three trials of strength. Those

(1) The version cited is according to Ms. B. There are over thirty extant Mss., spread over a period between the 13th and 16th centuries. These are not identical, but there are three fundamental Mss. - A (Munich, mid 13th century); B (St. Gall); C (Donauesschingen).

The Scandinavian poems of the Poetic Edda prove the existence of earlier poems dealing with similar subject matter to Das Nibelungenlied. According to E. Tonnelat, these seem to belong to the 9th and 10th centuries, but in any case they are earlier than the German poem, and most probably of Germanic origin. H.A. Bellows believes that most of the Eddic poems were put into shape between 900-1050, but many of the legends on which the poems were based existed in Norway long before 900, possibly even in verse form. The 13th century Thidrekesaga and Völsunga Saga also contain similar legendary material, and are probably rehashings of earlier tales. See Tonnelat, Ernest: La Chanson des Nibelungen, Strasbourg, 1926, pp. 9-10, 175-179. Also, Das Nibelungenlied, ed. Helmut de Boor, Wiesbaden, 1956, pp. XXXIX - L, and The Poetic Edda, trans. H.A. Bellows, The American Scandinavian Foundation, New York, London, 1923, pp. xvii - xviii.

whom she defeats are put to death. Gunther goes to Iceland to woo Brunhild, and vanquishes her with the aid of Siegfried, who is invisible in his magic cloak. The episode ends with the double marriage of Gunther and Brunhild, and Siegfried and Kriemhild.

(b) The second episode involves a quarrel between Brunhild and Kriemhild, and on this depends the ensuing tragedy. Jealousy makes each try to humiliate the other and prove her superiority; finally, Kriemhild accuses Brunhild of having been Siegfried's mistress before the consummation of her marriage to Gunther. This incident gives rise to Siegfried's assassination, for Hagen is so moved by Brunhild's distress at the accusation, that he promises to avenge her by making Siegfried expiate his wife's crime. He therefore murders Siegfried out hunting, having tricked Kriemhild into marking on his clothes the only place where Siegfried was vulnerable.

(c) The third episode is concerned largely with Kriemhild's vengeance. She consents to marry Etzel (= Attila) solely because this offers her a means of avenging Siegfried. She persuades Etzel to invite her kinsmen, the Burgundians, to his court for a feast, and this is the occasion of a series of struggles between the Huns and the Burgundians. Kriemhild is determined that Hagen shall die, and she has the Burgundians shut up in a hall in the palace, and orders it to be burnt down. Finally, she has Gunther's head cut off, and herself decapitates Hagen with Siegfried's sword. She is slain subsequently by Hildebrand. (5)

Brunhild and Kriemhild between them, therefore, provide the motivation for the whole tragedy. Brunhild goads Kriemhild into

the accusation which Hagen undertakes to avenge by Siegfried's murder. Subsequently, Kriemhild's determination to avenge her husband underlies her second marriage and the invitation to the Burgundians to visit Etzel's court, which ends in much slaughter on both sides. The poem provides us with another example of a female character betraying her own family for a personal motif. Unlike the Countess of Castile, though, Kriemhild shows extreme fidelity to her husband, and is disloyal only to her brother and kinsmen.

Two poems in the Poetic Edda also illustrate the important rôle of the female characters in Germanic epic tradition. The Atlakvitha (= Lay of Atli) and the Atlamol (= Ballad of Atli) both relate the deaths of Gjuki's sons, Gunnar and Hogni, at Atli's court, and the revenge of their sister and Atli's wife, Guthrun, on her husband. (i)

The basis of the Atlakvitha is that Atli sends a messenger (Knefroth) to Gunnar, king of the Burgundians, inviting him to his home. Although his kinsmen are reluctant to accept the invitation, Gunnar does so, but Guthrun, realising that the Huns intend to betray her brothers, advises Gunnar to flee. Her warning comes too late, and the Huns seize Gunnar and slay Hogni, whose heart they take to

(i) Guthrun = Kriemhild in the Nibelung legend, Gunnar = Gunther, and Hogni = Hagen. Both these poems were used in the compilation of the Völsunga Saga; they are preserved in the Codex Regius, a Ms. in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, containing twenty-nine poems, and written as early as 1300. The Ms. forms the basis of the Poetic Edda. The editor suggests that both poems date from the 11th century, the Atlakvitha probably from the first quarter of the century, and the Atlamol about 50 years later. It seems likely that they originated in Greenland, but in any case, a reference to Greenland in the Ms. superscription to the poems indicates the existence c.1300 of a tradition that they originated there. The basic material, though, is of South Germanic origin. See The Poetic Edda, trans. H.A. Bellows, 1923, pp. xiv-xv, 480-481, 499.

Gunnar on a platter. Gunnar himself dies in a den of serpents. The remainder of the poem concerns Guthrun's revenge. She slays Erp and Eitel, her own sons by Atli, and gives him their hearts to eat. She then slays Atli, and sets fire to his hall with all its occupants. (6)

The Atlamol is a longer and more elaborate version of this incident. Atli invites Hogni and Gunnar to visit him, but Hogni receives a warning from his wife, Kostbera, who has read letters written by Guthrun in runic characters intimating that her brothers will be slain if they go to Atli's court. Kostbera and Glaumvor, Gunnar's wife, both have dreams foreboding a disaster, but these do not deter Hogni and Gunnar. On arriving at Atli's court, they are forced to fight the Huns and are slain. Guthrun avenges them by herself murdering her two sons and making their skulls into cups, in which she gives Atli a draught mixed with their blood. She also gives him their hearts to eat. She finally slays Atli, aided by Hogni's son. (7)

These two poems are early examples of the motif of the wife who betrays her husband for a personal reason, and they illustrate the idea, common among ancient peoples, that a blood tie was stronger than the tie uniting a husband and wife.

The Icelandic Hervarar Saga contains the last example which I wish to cite of a female character playing a leading rôle. Hervar, daughter of Angantyr, is given the task of avenging her father and eleven brothers who were killed in battle before her birth. The saga contains a dialogue between Hervar and her father's spirit when

she visits his tomb to obtain the sword Tyrfing, made by the Dwarfs, and buried with him. She calls on her father and brothers to awaken and give her the sword. Angantyr answers her from the tomb, at first refusing to surrender Tyrfing, telling her that it will destroy all her offspring, and that it lies wrapped in fire under his shoulders. Herver knows no fear, and persists until Angantyr hands her the sword. (8)

These examples illustrate the importance of the female characters to the plot of the Germanic legends, but it is clear that they do not always fill a treacherous rôle. However, the prominence of the Countess herself in the "Condesa Traidora" has a closer analogy with the Germanic tradition than the French, and we cannot disregard the possibility of Germanic influence on the Castilian legend in this respect.

Notes to Chapter 4.

- (1) La Chanson de Roland, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1947, § CCLXXIV, pp. 108-109.
- (2) La Chanson de Roland, op. cit., §§ CCXCVII - CCXCVIII, pp. 116-117.
- (3) Raoul de Cambrai, ed. P. Meyer and A. Longnon, Paris, 1882, §§ xlviil-liv, pp. 31-36, l. 968-1106.
Raoul de Cambrai, ed. Claudius la Roussarie, Paris, 1932, pp. 54-59.
- (4) Poema de Fernán González, ed. Alonso Zamora Vicente, Madrid, 1946, v. 576-596, pp. 171-176.
PCG, II, § 709, pp. 410-411.
- (5) Tonnelat, Ernest: La Chanson des Nibelungen, Strasbourg, 1926.
Das Nibelungenlied, ed. Helmut de Boor, Wiesbaden, 1956.
The Fall of the Nibelungs, trans. Margaret Armour, London, 1908.
- (6) The Poetic Edda, trans. H.A. Bellows, The American Scandinavian Foundation, New York, London, 1923, "Atlakvitha", pp. 482-498.
- (7) The Poetic Edda, op. cit., "Atlamol", pp. 500-535.
For a description of the Völsunga Saga see Craigie, W.A.: The Icelandic Sagas, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 97-98.
- (8) Hicke, G.: Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium, "Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Moeso-Gothicae", i, ch. 20, 1705, pp. 193-195.
Percy, T.: Five Pieces of Runic Poetry, London, 1763, pp. 3-20.
Ker, W.P.: Epic and Romance, London, 1908, p. 73.

5. The Pilgrimage motif

The pilgrimage is used frequently as a literary motif in the Middle Ages, but not only in a religious sense. Often it is a pretext, because it enables the hero to disguise himself, permitting him either to accomplish certain feats or to gain access to some place otherwise barred to him.

The pilgrimage motif is of prime importance in the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora" legend, since it results ultimately in Garcí Fernández's two marriages. He meets Argentina while she is on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela with her father and mother. The French Count who breaks up the first marriage is also ostensibly on a pilgrimage to Santiago when he elopes with Argentina. Subsequently, Garcí Fernández uses the pretext of a pilgrimage to the French sanctuary of Sainte Marie de Rocamadour to pursue his wife and her abductor to France, and avenge his dishonour. His pilgrim disguise helps him to gain entry to the Count's dwelling, and brings him into contact with Sancha, who becomes his second wife.

As these are not isolated examples of the pilgrimage motif, we must consider first its appearance in other Spanish and foreign epic legends. We must then relate it to the use of disguise more generally in medieval literature, to try and determine the origin of the motif in the "Condesa Traidora".

(1) Santiago in the Spanish legends

The tomb of St. James was one of the most important European centres of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, and certainly the Spanish centre with the most widespread reputation. It is hardly surprising,

then, that it figures in other Spanish legends apart from the "Condessa Traidora", since the epic tends to reflect the customs and habits of the society which gives it birth.

As early as the Najerense the pilgrimage motif appears in connection with Sancho II of Castile. According to this Chronicle, after the death of his father, King Ferdinand, Sancho tries to deprive his brothers of the kingdoms they have inherited in their father's will. He selects three hundred Castilians and pretends to be going with them on a pilgrimage to Santiago. By this ruse, he obtains permission from one brother, Alfonso, to pass through his kingdom of Leon, and from the other, García, to enter Galicia. He treacherously puts García in chains and takes him back to Castile, where he holds him prisoner until his death. (1)

Here we have an example of the pilgrimage being used as a means to an end, for Sancho undertakes his feigned pilgrimage with the sole intention of entering his brothers' territory and wresting their kingdoms from them.

After the Najerense, the pilgrimage to Santiago appears again in the Tudense, this time linked with King Louis of France. Pidal has suggested that the Chronicle drew for inspiration on a short cantar de gesta, which he has called the Peregrinación del rey Luis de Francia. He believes that this was written on the suggestion of an earlier French chanson de geste, the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, which treats a similar subject. (2)

According to the Tudense, King Louis pretends to go on a pilgrimage to Santiago in order to ascertain the origin of his wife,

Elisabeth. He wishes to know whether she is the legitimate daughter of the Emperor Alfonso VII of Castile, for slander^{er}s have accused her of being the illegitimate daughter of the Emperor and a concubine:

"Post haec quidam maligni detractores coeperunt Ludouici Regis Francorum auribus instillare, quod Elisabeth, uxorem eius, Imperator Adefonsus genuerat de vilissima concubina. Unde ipse Rex turbatus, simulans se, causa orationis, ad Sanctum Iacobum venire, venit in Hispaniam cupiens experiri utrum verum esset quod sibi maligni dixerant detractores . . ." (3)

The Toledano also mentions this pilgrimage of the French king, giving the same reason for the journey:

"Post haec quidam maligni inter eum et regem Franciae obrepserunt, dicentes Elisabeth uxorem suam esse ortam ex vilissima concubina; et rex Ludouicus volens experiri suggesta, iter arripuit ad Sanctum Iacobum veniendi . . ." (4)

Later the legend is included in the PGG. (5) The pilgrimage itself seems to have some historical basis. Martín de Riquer, (6) Pidal, (7) and Uría Riu (8) all confirm that Louis VII was married to a daughter of Alfonso VII of Castile, and went on a pilgrimage to Santiago in 1154. So much is fact, but Pidal maintains that the Chronicles' reason for the pilgrimage is fictitious, since the whole episode lacks credibility. Firstly, it seems strange to suggest that the King was ignorant of his wife's background; secondly, even if there were doubts as to her parentage, the best way of dispelling them would not have been for Louis himself to undertake such a journey.

Anyhow, although in the Chronicles the pilgrimage becomes a pretext for verifying the legitimacy of King Louis's wife, he does actually visit Santiago, accompanied by the Emperor of Castile:

" . . . sed ubi rex Ludouicus venit Legionem, occurrit ei

Imperator Adefonsus cum tam glorioso apparatu quod ipse rex Ludouicus, et franci, qui cum eo venerant obstupuerunt. Venit Imperator cum eo usque ad Sanctum Iacobum."(9)

It seems likely, therefore, that an ordinary pilgrimage was later given a fictitious explanation.

The pilgrimage to Santiago is mentioned on two different occasions in connection with Count Fernán González of Castile. We read in the F.Gz. that a Count from Lombardy goes on a pilgrimage there accompanied by many of his knights:

"Vn conde muy onrrado que era de Lonbardia,
vynol' en coraçon de yr en rromerya,
tomo de sus vas(s)a(l)los muy grand cavalleria,
por yr a Santyago metyo se por su vya."(10)

On the way, he goes to see Fernán González who is in prison. Afterwards he visits Doña Sancha, who is to marry the Count, and blames her for his present situation. He then continues his journey to Santiago:

"Despydio se el conde, con todo fue su vya,
fue pora Santyago, conplio su rromerya."(11)

The PCG also relates this incident, (12) and the pilgrimage motif appears there in yet another episode. Doña Sancha disguises herself as a pilgrim to free Fernán González, whom King Sancho of Leon is holding prisoner. She goes to Leon accompanied by two knights, tells the king she is on a pilgrimage to Santiago, and obtains permission to see the Count:

" . . . et su esportiella al cuello et su bordon en la mano como romera. Et fizolo saber al rey de como yua en romeria a Sant Yague, et quel rogaua quel dexasse uer al conde . . ." (13)

She has his chains removed, then gives him her own clothes, and thus disguised he escapes from prison.(14) The extant F.Gz. does not

relate this episode, but as the poem appears incomplete, A. Zamora Vicente suggests that it may originally have included it. (15)

This legend therefore illustrates one genuine pilgrimage, for the Lombard Count completes his journey to Santiago, having interrupted it for a short time only, to visit the imprisoned Castilian Count. In the second example, the pilgrimage motif is used in a way similar to the "Condessa Traidora" legend, for again it provides a disguise permitting entry to a particular place - the prison where Fernán González is held. The motif is directly related to the plot in both episodes of the legend. The fact that the Lombard Count is on his way to Santiago enables him to visit Fernán González, and after this he provides the stimulus for the prisoner's escape, aided by Doña Sancha. The latter's pretext pilgrimage plays a fundamental part in the Count's second escape from prison, since it gives her the chance to provide him with the necessary disguise for leaving prison undetected.

The PCG version of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio offers yet another example of the Santiago pilgrimage, when discussing Bernardo's parentage. There is a close parallel between the circumstances of Bernardo's mother and those of Argentina in the PCG version of the "Condessa Traidora".

We learn that Bernardo is the son of Doña Timbor, sister of King Charles of France. While on a pilgrimage to Santiago, she was carried off to Saldanna by Count San Diaz, who became Bernardo's father. (16) In both legends, therefore, a French woman goes on a pilgrimage to Spain, and she is abducted by a Count - the Count San

Diaz in the case of Bernardo's mother, and the unnamed French Count in the case of Argentina.

(2) Santiago in the Spanish ballads

The pilgrimage to Santiago also features in one of the ballads concerning Garcí Fernández. It refers to Argentina's pilgrimage, when she first meets Garcí Fernández, but their marriage is celebrated in France, which is an addition to the legend:

"En Francia casó el buen conde,
con esa doña Argentina,
que pasaba por su tierra,
a Santiago en romería . . ." (17)

This is not the only case where a ballad mentions the pilgrimage in connection with an epic hero. Another example is a ballad about the Cid relating his encounter with a leper on the way to Santiago. He shares his bed with the leper, who later turns out to be St. Lazarus. (18)

(3) The pilgrimage motif in foreign epic legends

The pilgrimage motif also appears in the epic outside Spain, although not necessarily linked with the route to Santiago. Epic heroes, too, frequently adopt a pilgrim disguise as a means of expediency.

The early 13th century chanson de geste, Gui de Bourgogne,⁽ⁱ⁾ contains an example of a genuine pilgrimage to Santiago. At the end of the poem an angel appears to Charlemagne, telling him that God wishes him to go and worship St. James in Galicia. Charlemagne therefore sets off with his barons, leaving his army in the charge of

(i) A. Thomas proves that it cannot go back earlier than 1211. See Romania, XVII, 1887, pp. 280-282.

Gui de Bourgogne:

"Atant es un bel angre qui gete grant clarté,
 Aussi com s'il tenist un grant chierge alumé.
 'Karles,' ce dist li angres, 'dirai toi vérité;
 Ne sui pas hons terestre, ains sui esperités;
 Ce te mande li sires qui en crois fu penés
 Que ailles en Galisce por saint Jake acorer;
 Ancois que tu reviegnes, je te di par verté,
 Orrois vos tens noveles dont vos joiant serés.
 Après ceste joïe autre joie raurés;
 Mais ne t'esmaier mie, drois empereres ber,
 Qu'icil te conduira qui tout a à garder.
 Je ne te puis plus dire que ne m'est commandé;
 Mais cil qui nos servons et iver et esté
 Gart ton cors et ta vie et ton riche barné.'"(19)

The motif of the pilgrim disguise is also used earlier in the same poem. Charlemagne changes clothes with a pilgrim, and tells Ogier of his plan to enter the Saracen city of Luiserne in this guise, to find out the easiest point of entry in the walls.⁽²⁰⁾

The pilgrim disguise occurs again in Anseïs de Cartage. There two messengers from King Anseïs, Raimon and Felix, encounter two pilgrims resting in the shade of a tree. In reality, the pilgrims are messengers from the Saracen king, Marsil, and they have been sent to France as spies to find out whether Charlemagne will send help to Anseïs in Spain. Felix recognises them as Fabur and Matifier, and when they admit their real purpose in going to France, he and Raimon overpower them, and take them to Charlemagne:

"Or vous dirai, ki erent li paumier,
 Ki la mengoient par deaus l'olivier;
 Mesage estoient Marsillion le fier,
 De Franche vienent oïr et encerker
 (De) Karlemaine, le fort roi droiturier,
 S'il secorroit Anseïs, le guerier . . ."(21)

We have said that the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne⁽ⁱ⁾ treats a theme

(i) This poem probably dates from the first half of the 12th century.

similar to that of the Spanish legend of King Louis of France's pilgrimage. Both are based on a pilgrimage undertaken by a French king to satisfy himself of some particular truth. In the French chanson, Charlemagne goes to Jerusalem and Constantinople with his twelve Peers and eighty thousand men, all dressed as pilgrims, to see whether there is any truth in his wife's assertion that Hugo, Emperor of Greece and Constantinople, is more handsome and majestic than he is.⁽²²⁾

The identity of the kings therefore differs in the French and Spanish legends. Both are of French nationality, but Charlemagne is the hero of the one, and Louis VII of the other. Also, although they both undertake the pilgrimage mainly to verify something they have been told about a foreign emperor - Hugo of Greece and Constantinople, or Alfonso VII of Castile - the goal of their pilgrimage varies, and only Louis goes to Santiago.

Charlemagne disguises himself as a pilgrim on yet another occasion - in the chanson de geste Gaydon.⁽ⁱ⁾ While Charlemagne is besieging unsuccessfully his vassal, Gaydon, he disguises himself as a pilgrim, and, accompanied by Duke Naimmes, manages to enter his stronghold of Angers. He adopts the disguise to spy on Gaydon undetected:

"Charles s'en va à guise de paumier,
 Il et dus Naynmes, où moult se pot fier.
 Chascuns tenoit le grant bordon plénier;
 Barbes ont grans jusqu'au nou dou braier,
 Et sont plus noires que mores de morier,
 Huezes enz jambes où il n'ot fil entier;
 Jusqu'à la porte ne voldrent detrier.

(i) The extant text of Gaydon is 13th century, but Martín de Riquer believes that it is a rehandling of an earlier version. M. de Riquer: Los Cantares de gesta franceses, Madrid, 1951, p. 245.

"Naynmes apelle en basset le portier;
 'Qvrez, biaux frere, por Deu le droiturier.
 Chevalier sonmez et si sonmez paumier,
 Si revenonz dou sepulcre proier.
 En no pais volionz repairier;
 Parmi la ville (nos covient) adrecier,
 Et nonporquant bien averienz mestier
 Que li frans dus noz donnast à mengier...
 - Je l'otroi bien, ce respont li portiers.
 Or venez ens, por Deu le droiturier.
 Que Jhesus laist dant Gaydon le guerrier
 A Karlemaine son seignor apaier!'
 Karles l'entent, le chief prinst à hocier;
 Et cil lor va l'uisset desverroillier.
 Karles i entre, l'emperere au vis fier,
 Et avec lui dus Naynmes li Baiviers."(23)

In Aye d'Avignon the Saracen emir, Ganor, uses the pilgrim disguise as a pretext for entering France in pursuit of his former captive, Aye. While Ganor is absent on a genuine pilgrimage to Mecca, Aye is rescued by her husband, Garnier, and his French companions, who flee back to France. Having followed them to Avignon, Ganor asks Aye for hospitality one day as she comes from vespers. He claims to be on a pilgrimage to several French sanctuaries as a form of penitence for killing one of his brothers in a tournament. Aye is deceived, and offers Ganor hospitality in the house of Garin Bonnefoi, where her son, Gui, is living. Ganor and his two Saracen companions later drug their host, and flee back to Aigremore, taking Aye's son with them in revenge for Garnier's rescue of Aye. (24)

The enchanter Basin uses the pilgrim disguise in Jehan de Lanson,⁽¹⁾ to bring help to the twelve Peers of France under siege in the castle of Lanson. After many adventures, Basin manages to enter

(1) According to L. Gautier, this chanson does not go back in its present form beyond the 13th century. Gautier, L.: Les épopées françaises, III, Paris, 1868, p. 258.

Charlemagne's palace unrecognised in his pilgrim dress. He informs Charlemagne of the plight of the Peers, and asks for help to be sent to them. (25)

The final example of the pilgrim disguise motif which I wish to cite is an episode of the Anglo-Norman version of Boeve de Haumtone.⁽¹⁾ This concerns Boeve's visit to the palace of King Yvori de Monbrant, who has married Josiane in his absence. Boeve arrives while Yvori is out hunting, and enters the palace disguised as a pilgrim. Josiane fails to recognise him until he demonstrates his ability to ride his own horse, Arundel, which no one has been able to ride since his departure:

"Kant il vint a Monbrant, si oi parler
ke le roi Yvori estoit a chacer,
e oveske lui tuz ses chevalers,
nul ne fu remis for Josian e un esquier.
Boves le oi, grant joie out a qer
e avers la paleis vint si vout entrer,
mes un poie atent, ne voit trop haster,
e oyt Josian hautement plurer
e Boun de Hampton forment regrater:
'Hai!' dist ele, 'sire Boves, tant vus solai amer,
ja me fra vostre smur afoier;
kant je vus ai perdu, vivere mes ne qer.'
Boves le oi, pité li prent a qer,
en paleis entre en guise de palmer
e pus a Josian demande pur deu le deiner."(26)

These examples illustrate the importance of the pilgrimage motif in medieval literature, and we must also mention at this point that Santiago itself and the actual route play an important part in the epic legends.

(1) This poem is preserved in two Mss. in Anglo-Norman, one belonging to the 13th century, and one to the 14th century. Stimming, A.: Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone, Halle, 1899, pp. III-IV.

(4) The pilgrim route in epic legend

The route to Santiago is often connected with Charlemagne, for legend credits him with freeing it from the Saracens, and he came to be regarded as the initiator of the pilgrimage to Santiago. This is well illustrated in the anonymous Latin work known as the "pseudo-Turpin Chronicle", that is, the Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi (12th century?), which its author attributed to Archbishop Turpin of Rheims. (27)

According to this Chronicle, Charlemagne's entry into Spain with his army followed the appearance to him of St. James. The Apostle showed him the milky way leading to Galicia, urging him to go to Spain and free the route to his tomb from the Saracens. Afterwards he said that people would go there on pilgrimage. The Chronicle maintains that Charlemagne did, in fact, undertake a campaign in Spain, conquering from Pamplona to Santiago. (28)

Charlemagne also appears as the champion of St. James in Anseïs de Cartage, and is again credited with clearing the route. (29)

The route itself figures in the Spanish epic as well as the French. The F.Gz. is an obvious example, since places on the route provide the setting for some of the important scenes. For instance, Fernán González has the meeting with García of Navarre at Cirueña; (30) he defeats Sancho of Navarre at la Era Degollada; (31) and he is imprisoned by García of Navarre at Castroviejo. (32) Other places on the route are also mentioned in the account of García of Navarre's invasion of Castile during Fernán González's absence in Leon, e.g. Estella, Montes de Oca, Burgos. (33)

In these last examples, however, the legends tend to centre round the route itself, and they stand apart from the more incidental references to the pilgrimage, or the use of pilgrim dress for some purpose other than a strictly religious one, with which we are concerned more particularly.

(5) The disguise motif in general

Disguise as a pilgrim is a folk-tale motif. Antti Aarne cites it with reference to a type of tale containing a motif similar to Sancha's liberation of Fernán González.⁽³⁴⁾ A Count, who is taken into slavery in Turkey, possesses a shirt or handkerchief which remains white as long as his wife is faithful to him. The Sultan's messenger tries in vain to seduce her; she disguises herself as a pilgrim, follows the Turk, and wins the Sultan's favour with her musical accomplishments. He therefore presents her with three Christian slaves, and among them is her husband.⁽³⁵⁾

The pilgrim disguise has parallels in the numerous other forms of disguise adopted by the hero in medieval literature and legend with a similar purpose, that is, to gain entry to some place not easily accessible to him. In La Chanson de Floovant, for example, the hero's squire, Richier, disguises himself as a Saracen to enter the Saracen camp at Baume, claiming to be the emir's cousin, who has just escaped from captivity in France.⁽³⁶⁾

In Doon de Maience Charlemagne disguises himself as an old man to enter the kingdom of the Saracen Aubigant. He and his companions promise to deliver the Saracens from the besieging Danes, saying that afterwards they will take possession of Aubigant's town and

force the Saracens to become Christians. A merchant recognises Charlemagne through his disguise, and advises Aubigant to accept French help and then betray them. Garin and Doon also disguise themselves as old men, and challenge the Danes unrecognised. (37)

The disguise motif also occurs in Celtic legend. The Cycles of the Kings relates that Cú Choingelt enters a place in disguise where four enemies are holding a feast. When they are all drunk, his men storm the place and kill them. (38)

A Welsh story concerning Rhiannon, the bride of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved, tells how Pwyll disguises himself as a beggar and enters the enemy's hall. His motive is to prevent his betrothed from marrying Gwawl. (39)

We may also cite examples of disguise being used for similar reasons in old Scandinavian literature. One of the folk-tales used by Saxo Grammaticus in his Danish History concerns a king - Hiarn - who disguises himself as a slave at the court of his rival, Fridleif, to try and find a chance to slay him. (40) Another tale concerns Starkad, who disguises himself in a cowl to enter a certain goldsmith's house undetected. (41)

One of the poems in the Poetic Edda, Vafthruthnismol (c. mid 10th century), relates how Othinn, who is always in search of wisdom, visits the giant Vafthruthnir in disguise, to see whether he is as wise as he is reputed to be. (42) A similar tale appears in Snorre Sturluson's Prose Edda (12th - 13th century) - the Beguiling of Gylfi. When King Gylfi hears of the cunning of the Aesir people, he disguises himself as an old man, and goes to test their knowledge for himself. (43)

These are miscellaneous examples of the disguise motif, chosen to illustrate that the motif occurs universally, and is not restricted to the literature or legend of any one country. There are, however, two other examples of the motif presenting a closer parallel with Garcí Fernández's use of disguise. The first occurs in the Irish legend of the death of Curoi, where Cuchulainn adopts a beggar's guise to persuade the wife, Blathine, to betray her husband. The circumstances, though, are very different from the "Condesa Traidora".

Curoi tells his wife that a certain salmon which visits a neighbouring spring contains a golden apple in which is his soul, and this apple can be split with his sword. The wife reveals the secret, and the sword is stolen and the apple split. Curoi loses his strength, and Cuchulainn kills him.⁽⁴⁴⁾ As in the "Condesa Traidora", a treacherous woman is also persuaded by a person in disguise to betray a member of her family, and bring about his death.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The difference is that the Irish woman is persuaded to betray her husband, whereas Garcí Fernández persuades Sancha to betray her father.

The second parallel occurs in the legend of Salomon, of Oriental origin. King Salomon pursues his wife after her abduction by a pagan king. Disguised, he enters the castle where they are living, and eventually succeeds in putting them to death.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This legend has many similarities with the Argentina episode of the "Condesa Traidora", and I shall study their relationship in detail in the next chapter.

The disguise motif seems equally popular outside Europe, for we find it used elsewhere in Oriental literature. For example, one tale

with a theme similar to the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne contains it. This is the Histoire d'Aboulcassem Basry in the Mille et Un Jours, which are described as Persian tales. The Caliph, Haroun al-Raschid, believes that he is the most generous person in the world until his vizier tells him of a certain Aboulcassem at Basra, who surpasses him in magnificence and generosity. The Caliph sets out secretly for Basra to see whether this assertion is true. He enters the city unrecognised, and visits Aboulcassem, claiming to be a merchant from Bagdad to observe him undetected. (47)

The Arabic romance Antar (i) also makes frequent use of the motif of disguise as a means of entering a place otherwise inaccessible. King Zoheir visits his wife's sister disguised as a poor man to find out if she is the beautiful Temadhur, whom he thought that he had married. (48) Shiboob disguises himself as a slave in order to enter the enemy's camp and mark out for Antar the Asafeer camels, which he

(i) The romance treats the life and adventures of Antar, the son of an Arab prince of the tribe of Abs, and a coloured slave woman. He lived at the end of the 6th century and in the early part of the 7th century. According to T. Hamilton, Antar is one of the most ancient books of Arabian literature, composed during the 2nd century of the Hejirah. It was first put together, probably from traditional tales current at the time, by Osmay, an Arab writer and scholar at the court of Haroun al-Raschid, who was a contemporary of Charlemagne. There are many similarities between the medieval European romances and this Arabic romance, and since there already seems to have been some communication between the courts of Haroun al-Raschid and Charlemagne, and frequent intercourse between the Eastern and Western kingdoms of the Roman world between the 8th and the 10th centuries, we may wonder whether the romance of Antar was known in medieval Europe, and encouraged there the taste for adventures of chivalry. Anyhow, we find in it a number of ideas, motifs, and themes also occurring in medieval European literature and legend, some of which I shall point out in the course of this study. See Antar, A Bedouen Romance, trans. Terrick Hamilton, I, London, 1819, 'Preface' and p. xxv.

has to obtain as dowry for Ibla's hand. (49) Shiboob also dresses as a woman to gain access to King Amroo's dwellings, his motive being to find out what has become of Ibla, who has disappeared. (50) Later he uses the disguise of a Syrian slave to enter the dwellings of the tribe of Shiban whilst reconnoitring for Antar, prior to rescuing Ibla. (51)

On other occasions, Amarah enters the tents of the Carad family disguised as a slave to catch sight of Ibla, whom he loves; Shiboob, wearing slave's clothes, waylays Amarah after one of these visits; (52) he also enters the land of the Amirites disguised as a pauper of Yemen to discover where Antar's uncle, Malik, has gone. (53)

The motif occurs on numerous other occasions, but these examples suffice to show its obvious popularity in Arabic literature, and the type of disguise adopted, i.e. generally that of a slave or poor person.

Conclusions

All these examples make it clear that disguise of some kind is a very common motif in medieval literature and legend in general, and it is not restricted to the French and Spanish epic legends. We have seen in the Introduction that it occurs on another occasion in the C.1344 version of the "Condesa Traidora", when Garcí Fernández's first wife disguises herself as a man to flee to France with the French Count.

Deception by means of disguise is a folklore motif, occurring in Celtic, Scandinavian, and Oriental literature, as well as in the Romance epic legends. The favourite forms of disguise are those of

wandering people, since they enable the impersonator to travel undetected from one place to another. In particular, I have shown that there are numerous examples where the disguise is that of a pilgrim, and this form appears in folk-tales.

The false pilgrimage is a commonplace motif, and it may occur in epic legends having little or no direct relation with pilgrim routes. We must distinguish between the two different kinds of pilgrimage in the epic: (a) the ordinary pilgrimage which is actually carried out; for example, Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Santiago in obedience to the angel's command in Gui de Bourgogne; and (b) the pilgrimage which is merely a pretext, undertaken to effect some specific purpose, such as entering a forbidden place. The distinction is important, since the latter type of pilgrimage sometimes forms a major part of the plot. It may be essential to help the hero accomplish some task which would be impossible without some alibi, or some way of travelling incognito.

The PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora" illustrates both types of pilgrimage. On the occasion of her meeting with Garcí Fernández, Argentina and her parents are on a genuine pilgrimage to Santiago, which does not seem to have been undertaken for any ulterior motive. Presumably, Argentina's abductor also intends to go to Santiago, but visits Argentina en route. These first two episodes centring round real pilgrims are therefore based on chance encounters on the way to Santiago.

Garcí Fernández's pilgrimage to Rocamadour is an example of the pretext pilgrimage, which provides him with an excuse for entering

France unrecognised and avenging himself on his wife and her lover.

Prior to its appearance in the "Condesa Traidora", the false pilgrimage is used in a similar way in the following Spanish legends: (a) the legend of Sancho II, where the king uses it to gain entry to his brothers' territory; (b) the legend of King Louis of France, where it is a pretext for entering Spain to find out whether the King's wife is really the Castilian Emperor's illegitimate daughter; (c) the F.Gz., where Sancha uses it as a pretext for visiting Fernán González in prison.

Outside Spain, and still prior to the PCG, we have noted several examples of the pretext pilgrimage or pilgrim disguise being used for a similar reason, although not necessarily linked with Santiago. Of these, Anseïs de Cartage is close to the "Condesa Traidora", for in both cases the disguise is used to enter France unrecognised. The legend of Salomon, though, is nearest to Garcí Fernández's purpose for adopting the disguise.

We may conclude, then, that the disguise motif in the "Condesa Traidora" illustrates a theme popular in the epic and medieval literature in general, but it may be modified according to the habits and customs of the country in which the legend is circulating. The pilgrim disguise is one which would have been familiar to a medieval audience and close to their experience. The choice of this dress in many legends in preference to that of the leper, minstrel, or beggar is quite understandable, for as pilgrimages became so common in the Middle Ages, anyone claiming to be a pilgrim could travel without attracting attention to himself.

(6) Santiago as a pilgrimage centre

It only remains now to explain briefly the development of the pilgrimage to Santiago and Rocamadour. By the time the motif first appears in connection with the "Condesa Traidora" legend, there had been pilgrimages to Santiago for over three centuries, and the casual literary reference to this pilgrimage was almost a stock motif, serving to explain away the type of chance encounter we find in the Castilian legend.

There is already evidence of pilgrimages to Santiago in the 9th century. Dozy mentions one around 844 made by Al-Ghazal, an Arab diplomat and poet. Following an embassy to the King of the Normans, he visited Santiago, where he stayed for two months, and then went back to Castile with returning pilgrims. Ibn-Dihya, the 12th century historian and philologist gives details of this embassy. (54) G.G. King believes that this is the earliest authentic reference to Santiago. (55)

In Spanish Chronicles, two of the earliest references to the apostle's tomb are made by the Chronicle of Sampiro (10th and 11th century), (56) and the Silence. (57) There we are told that Alfonso III had a primitive church built over the tomb of St. James in 872. Outside Spain, there is a reference to the cult of St. James in the additions to the martyrology of Florus of Lyons, (58) which probably date from the second third of the 9th century. (59) This suggests that the pilgrimage soon lost its local character, and attracted both foreign and native Spanish pilgrims from an early date.

We know for certain that foreign pilgrims travelled to the

Peninsula by the middle of the 10th century. The earliest French pilgrim whose name has been recorded - Bishop Gotescalc of Puy - visited Santiago in 950. (60) It seems likely that there were other foreign pilgrims before this, although their names have not come down to us, since the records tended to mention only those of high social standing, or anything of particular note connected with a pilgrimage.

In the late 10th century, there are other references to visits of important pilgrims, (61) and from the 10th to the 11th century the pilgrimage grew spontaneously, attracting more and more foreigners. According to Morales, it was firmly established under Ferdinand I (1033-1065), (62) and certain Spanish kings seem to have encouraged it deliberately. For example, the Silense tells us that Sancho the Great opened up a road from the top of the Pyrenees to Nájera, seizing it from the Moors and providing a safe route for the pilgrims:

"Ab ipsis namque Pireneis iugis adusque castrum Mazara quidquid terre infra continetur a potestate paganorum eripiens, iter sancti Iacobi quod barbarico timore per devia Alave peregrini declinabant, absque retractionis obstaculo currere fecit." (63)

By the early 12th century, the pilgrimage had acquired an international reputation. Not only French, but also German, English, and Flemish pilgrims travelled there, some as early as the 11th century, and it became customary for the Peninsular kings to make the pilgrimage.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, therefore, the route to Santiago was the obvious choice for the authors of the medieval legends when mentioning a pilgrimage within the Peninsula. We cannot attach much

significance to the fact that the "Condesa Traidora" makes this sanctuary the ultimate goal of its French travellers, whom we encounter in Castile, for this is undoubtedly a fiction attached to the legend in accordance with contemporary custom.

(7) Rocamadour as a pilgrimage centre

(a) The church of Rocamadour

The "Condesa Traidora's" reference to Rocamadour is particularly interesting, since this sanctuary does not play nearly such an important rôle as Santiago in the medieval epic legends. The pilgrimage to Rocamadour is also a late addition to the Castilian legend, appearing for the first time in the FCG version.

Like Santiago, Rocamadour became one of the main pilgrimage centres of medieval Europe, but this probably did not develop until the 12th century. There is evidence of a church at Rocamadour some years before this, in which an image of the Virgin was venerated with the name of Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour. The earliest reliable document testifying the church's existence is dated c. 1095. It is a donation by the lord of Borme and his wife of all their possessions to the church.⁽⁶⁴⁾ In 1105 a Papal bull referred to the churches of Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour, in connection with a list of churches or parishes belonging to the abbey of Tulle.⁽⁶⁵⁾⁽ⁱ⁾ This document proves that the church at Rocamadour was already of some importance in the early 12th century.

(i) The word 'churches' in this bull may be incorrect, for Edmond Albe has drawn attention to a later bull issued by the same Pope (Pascal II) in 1115, which refers only to the 'church' of Roc-Amadour in the singular. See Albe, E.: Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au XII^e siècle, Paris, 1907, pp. 18-19.

An earlier document, dated 968, also mentions the church of Roc-Amadour by name, but its authenticity is doubtful. It records that Bishop Fretaire of Cahors gave the church to the monastery of Tulle in that year:

"sciant omnes praesentes et futuri, quod dominus Froterius, nutu Dei Caturcensis episcopus, dedit Deo et Sancto Martino et monachis Tutelensibus et B(ernardo) abbati, ecclesiam de Rocamador. Facta est donatio ista in mense Augusto anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCLXVIII . . ." (66)

There is doubt as to its authenticity because the Bishop of Cahors confirmed the donation in 1113, and it is possible that it was only invented in that year. However, it does suggest that the church was then considered to have existed in the 10th century.

In Spain the oldest document referring to Rocamadour is one dated 1181, in which King Alfonso VIII of Castile, his wife, and son, Sancho, donate the towns of Fornellos and Orbanella to God and the church of Rocamadour. S. Baluze cites this document in the Historiae Tutelensis. (67) Prior to this, there is no proof that Rocamadour was known in Spain, but this donation indicates that by the late 12th century the church was considered sufficiently important there for a Castilian monarch to endow it.

The Virgin of Rocamadour was revered particularly in Navarre, and there was a church of this name in Estella, probably built before the 13th century. (68) The Fuero General de Navarra contains a reference to Rocamadour, which probably means the French sanctuary rather than the church at Estella:

"Nui ynfanzon que va en romeria non deve ser peyndrado ata que torne. Si va á San Iaime deve ser seguro un mes; á Rocomador XV dias; á Roma III meses; á Oltramar un ayyno; á Iherusalem un ayyno et un dia . . ." (69)

The fact that Rocamadour is mentioned here in connection with the pilgrimage to Santiago, Rome, and Jerusalem suggests that it refers to the French sanctuary, owing to the international importance of all these pilgrimages. (i)

We know, then, that the church of Rocamadour existed in the late 11th century, and possibly considerably earlier, although reliable documentary evidence for this is lacking. However, there is little testimony for the pilgrimage before the 12th century.

(b) Development of the pilgrimage to Rocamadour

The first references to the performing of miracles by the Virgin of Rocamadour, and to the pilgrimage itself, are in an anonymous work known as the "Livre des Miracles". The author's own words imply that this was written in 1172, for he declares that an incident when a poor woman of Rouergue was half devoured by wolves occurred in 1166, and he is writing six years later:

"Anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo sexagesimo sexto contigit istud in Rutenensi territorio.

Nos autem scripsimus post prescriptam supputationem anno sexto . . ." (70)

The "Livre des Miracles" is a record of miracles alleged to have been performed in the author's own time, not a history of the pilgrimage to Rocamadour. Nevertheless, it contains references which

(i) The exact date of this Fuero is not known, but two different dates have been suggested - (a) that it was compiled in 1117, see Yanguas y Miranda, José de: Diccionarios de los Fueros del Reino de Navarra, San Sebastian, 1828, p. xi, n. i, and (b) that it was compiled shortly after 1237. J.M. de Corral believes that the second date is the more probable, since by that time the pilgrimage was an international one. A reference to it at the earlier date would mean that the pilgrimage to Rocamadour was known in Spain before it was known in France. See Corral, José María de: Santa María de Rocamadour y la milagrosa Salvación de una Infanta de Navarra en el siglo XII, His, VII, Madrid, 1947, pp. 573-574.

indicate the existence of an organised pilgrimage when it was written. The author mentions the visits of numerous important people to Rocamadour in the latter part of the 12th century, for example, Robert, Count of Meulan (I, 15); the Prince of Lorraine (I, 22); Alexander, abbot of Cîteaux (1166-1175, II, 1); the Count and Countess of Montbéliard (II, 4); Manassès, archbishop of Arles (II, 13); and Étienne, abbot of Cluny (abbot 1161-1173, II, 38).⁽⁷¹⁾ This is not a complete list of the notables mentioned in the "Livre des Miracles", but it is enough to show that by this time the sanctuary had acquired some importance as a place of pilgrimage. The author tells us, too, that the fame of the Virgin of Rocamadour was not restricted to a local area, but had spread far afield to all nations, in the East as well as the West.⁽⁷²⁾

Apart from the "Livre des Miracles", there is also some historical evidence for the pilgrimage in the 12th century. Robert de Torigny, the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, has recorded that Henry II of England made a pilgrimage to Rocamadour in 1170. In connection with this particular pilgrimage, he relates the discovery in 1166 of a body believed to be that of St. Amador, in a tomb at the entrance to the church of Notre-Dame. His account of these events indicates that Rocamadour was already a place of pilgrimage, for he declares that the newly-discovered body was exposed to the pilgrims in the church, and many miracles were performed there through the intermediary of the Virgin Mary.⁽⁷³⁾ The phraseology suggests that there were some miracles before this, but after the discovery of the Saint's body a greater number were performed.

Another important pilgrim to Rocamadour in 1170 was the Count of Flanders, Philippe d'Alsace. In 1181 the abbot of Siegbourg in Germany also went there, and in the early 13th century a number of pilgrims evidently visited Rocamadour from other countries as well as from France. (74)

A lawsuit in the 12th century between the abbeys of Marcilhac and Tulle over the possession of Rocamadour contains a reference suggesting that the pilgrimage may go back to the early half of the century. The monks of Tulle evidently tried to establish their possession of the church unjustly, according to the monks of Marcilhac, and it was provisionally handed over to the latter in the time of abbot Ebles of Tulle (abbot 1113-1152). It is recorded that the only decorations found in the church were small chains which used to be put round the necks of penitent pilgrims. (75)

There may therefore have been pilgrims to Rocamadour before those mentioned in the "Livre des Miracles", for we must remember that the author mentions only those pilgrims reputed to have been the object of miracles, and we know for certain that not even all the pilgrims of note were recorded there. Before the late 12th century, though, it seems likely that the pilgrimage was only on a small scale, and it did not acquire its international reputation until nearer the end of the century. This may have resulted from an increased interest in Rocamadour after the discovery in 1166 of the supposed body of St. Amador. The fact that the 12th century Liber Sancti Jacobi does not mention Rocamadour as a place of pilgrimage supports this theory. By 1266 we know that there was an organised brotherhood of Rocamadour,

which was one of the associations formed by pilgrims for their mutual protection. (76)

An interesting point to note is that the "Livre des Miracles" sometimes refers to Santiago in conjunction with Rocamadour, for in relating several miracles the author records that pilgrims visit first one sanctuary, and then the other. For example, in one tale a citizen called Jean, from the town of Acra, visits the church of Rocamadour first, and then goes on a pilgrimage to Santiago. Afterwards he returns to Rocamadour to give thanks for a miracle which occurred on the way to Santiago. (77) On another occasion, Pierre, a citizen of Tours, goes on a pilgrimage to Rocamadour and Santiago, and is pursued by bandits. (78) References to the double pilgrimage also occur in two other tales, one where the abbot of Tulle is returning from Santiago, (79) and the other where punishment is meted out to a knight who strikes a pilgrim from Rocamadour and Santiago upon his refusal to sell him his cap. (80)

These references indicate that the two sanctuaries were sometimes visited on the same pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, so the choice of the two centres in the "Condessa Traidora" legend is in accordance with contemporary practice.

(c) The pilgrimage to Rocamadour as a literary motif

The pilgrimage to Rocamadour appears in connection with another Spanish epic hero apart from Garcí Fernández - the Cid. The Crónica Rimada, which relates the Cid's exploits in his younger days, contains this motif. The King of Aragon sends a challenge to the King of Spain demanding that he should hand over Calahorra to him, or a jousting

his kingdom. The King of Spain appeals to Rodrick for help, and he asks for the matter to be delayed until he has been on a pilgrimage to Santiago and Rocamadour. The king grants him thirty days, and we are told that Rodrick accomplishes the pilgrimage to Santiago, although there is no further mention of Rocamadour:

"Essas horas dixo Rodrigo: Señor, placeme de grado.
 A tal plaso nos dedes que pueda ser tornado;
 Que quiero yr en romerya al padron de Santiago.
 E à Santa Maria de Rocamador, sy Dios quissiere guissarlo.
 Essas horas dixo el rey: En treynta dies avrás afarto."(81)

It is on his way back from Santiago that Rodrick meets and helps the leper, who turns out to be St. Lazarus. (i)

The Crónica del Cid, which also relates this meeting with the leper, does not mention the pilgrimage to Rocamadour, (82) and neither do the ballads connected with the Cid. This, and the fact that the reference to Rocamadour in the Crónica Rimada is in the nature of an insertion, suggests that it was a late addition to the Cid legends.

The ballad relating Garcí Fernández's revenge for his wife's adultery also refers to Rocamadour. Having recovered from the illness during which his wife flees to France, Garcí Fernández lets it be known that he is going to Rocamadour with gifts, in fulfilment of a promise he made on account of his health:

(i) The extant manuscript of the Crónica Rimada is late 14th or early 15th century, but both Damas Hinard and Dozy believe the poem itself is considerably older. Damas Hinard thought that it was composed after the Poema de Mio Cid, although there were probably only about twenty or thirty years between them. See Crónica Rimada, appendix in Poème du Cid, ed. Damas Hinard, Paris, 1858, p. lxxix. Dozy has suggested that the poem was written between 1157-1230, basing his theory on a reference in the poem inferring that there are five Christian kings in Spain at the present time. He points out that between these years there were, in fact, five kings in the Peninsula - in Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. See Dozy, R.: Recherches ..., II, pp. 85-87.

"El conde Garcí Fernandez
 Gran enojo recebia,
 Y sano de su dolencia
 A los suyos les decia
 Que por cumplir la promesa
 Que por su salud hacia,
 Se iba a Rocamadour
 Con dones en romería."(83)

Finally, the 13th century Cantigas de Santa María include seven miracles performed by the Virgin of Rocamadour. (84) These show that by the 13th century the sanctuary enjoyed considerable fame in the Peninsula, and the miracles reputed to have been performed there were also known in Spain.

It is clear that references to the pilgrimage to Rocamadour are anachronistic both with regard to Garcí Fernández and the Cid, since the former was Count of Castile from 970-995, and the Cid lived in the following century - c. 1043-1099. We have seen that most probably the pilgrimages did not gain an international reputation until towards the end of the 12th century, but the authors of the medieval legends were not bothered about this kind of anachronism. They were concerned merely with mentioning a sanctuary which had become famous throughout Europe in their own time.

To sum up, Garcí Fernández's visit to Rocamadour is fictitious, and it is used in the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora" to explain his entry undetected into France. It is possible that both pilgrimages, to Santiago and to Rocamadour, were introduced into the Spanish legend under the influence of the frequent pilgrimages in the French chansons de geste. They evidently did not form a part of the earliest legend about Garcí Fernández, and by the time they appeared in it, at least some of the French chansons containing the motif were probably known in the Peninsula.

Notes to Chapter 5.

- (1) Reig, Carola: El Cantar de Sancho II y Cerco de Zamora, RFE, Anejo XXXVII, Madrid, 1947, p. 36.
Ciro, Georges: Une Chronique Léonaise Inédite, BH, XI, 1909, §§ 1-3, p. 267.

"Post mortem igitur diue memorie domni fernandi regis regnauerunt filii eius sicut ipse iusserat et regna ill' diuiserat. Primo genitus (Sñci' in Castella alf') medius in (legione) garsias minimus in portugalle. Urrace infantisse dedt (= dedit) comorā medietatem illius terre.

Rex vero Santius cum esset magnanimus fortis uiribus acer ingenio quorundam suggestione instigatus qui eum in regni particione et forte minoratum et deterioratum asserebant et delusum se arbitrans non potuit animo sustinere.

Sed post mortem matris Santie regine que obiit VII idus nouembris Era MCV et sepulta iacet in Legione statim armatis trecentis electis militibus de castellanis ad limina sei iacobi ca orationis se simulat profisci, quem fratres honorifice susceperunt et transitum eidem liberum concesserunt. Sed cū garsias illi apud sc̄m yreneum doli nescius et obsequiosus occurreret, mox captus et uinculis mancipatus castellam p̄ extra caminum ducitur et in graui custodia per XXIIII annos usque ad obitum detinetur."

- (2) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Relatos poéticos en las crónicas medievales, RFE, X, 1923, pp. 352-363.
- (3) Chronicon Mundi, IV, pp. 104-105.
- (4) De Rebus Hispaniae, VII, ix, p. 116.
- (5) PCG, II, § 978, pp. 656-658.
- (6) Riquer, Martín de: Los Cantares de gesta franceses, Madrid, 1952, p. 229.
- (7) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Relatos poéticos en las crónicas medievales, op. cit., p. 354.
- (8) Vázquez de Parga, Luis; Lacarra, Jose María; Uría Riu, Juan: Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, I, Madrid, 1948, Pt. I, ii, p. 64.
See also as proof of the pilgrimage, Flórez, E.: Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas, I, 1761, pp. 281-282.
- (9) Chronicon Mundi, IV, pp. 104-105.
- (10) Poema de Fernán González, ed. AZamora Vicente, v. 607, p. 180.

- (11) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 622, p. 185.
- (12) PCG, II, § 710, pp. 412-413.
- (13) PCG, II, § 718, p. 420.
- (14) PCG, II, § 718, pp. 420-421.
- (15) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., note to v. 752, p. 225.
- (16) PCG, II, § 617, p. 351.

"Et algunos dizen en sus cantares et en sus fablas que fue este Bernaldo fijo de donna Timbor hermana de Carlos rey de Francia, et que viniendo ella en romeria a Santiago, que la conuido el conde San Diaz et que la leuo pora Saldanna, et que ouo este fijo en ella, et quel reçibio el rey don Alfonso por fijo . . ."

- (17) Durán, A.: Romancero General, I, BAE, X, Madrid, 1924, no. 713, p. 470.
- (18) Durán, Agustín: Romancero General, I, op. cit., No. 742, pp. 487-488.
- (19) Gui de Bourgogne, ed. F. Guessard and H. Michelant, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1859, l. 4094-4107.
- (20) Gui de Bourgogne, op. cit., l. 1277-1288.

"L'emperere de France an retorna arier,
 Devant lui regarda, si choisi un paumier,
 Qui ot espié et paume et chapel en son chief.
 L'emperere de France le prist à araisnier:
 'car me prestés vos dras, qui ne sont pas antier,
 Et si vestez les miens, qui sont riche et mult chier.
 - Volontiers, à non Dieu' ce li dist li paumiers.
 Entre lui et le roi sont andui despoillié.
 Karles vesti la guige, mist le chapel el chief,
 Les housiaus a liez desi au col du pié,
 L'escherpe cordowane a à son col lacié;
 Il a pris le bordon, grant et gros et antier . . ."

l. 1294-1304.

"Il en a apelé le bon Danois Ogier.
 'Amis, ce dist li rois, mult me puis merveiller:
 Il out fait roi en France de Guion le guerrier,
 A moi n'à mon pooir ne pristrent onc congié;
 Certes, c'est une chose dont me puet auier.
 Par icel saint apostre que quierent penancier,
 Ne voil que l'an me tiegne à coart n'à lanier,

Que je encor ne puisse monter sor mon destrier
 Et porter mon escu, ferir dou branc d'acier.
 Je m'an irai léans la cité espier,
 Savoir où li mur sont plus legier à percier.'"

- (21) Anseis von Karthago, ed. J. Alton, Tübingen, 1892, pp. 327-329, l. 9073-9078.
- (22) Paris, Gaston: La chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, R, IX, Paris, 1880, pp. 1...
- (23) Gaydon, ed. F. Guessard and S. Luce, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1862, p. 295.
- (24) Aye d'Avignon, ed. F. Guessard and P. Meyer, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1861, pp. 71-78.
- (25) Gautier, L.: Les épopées françaises, III, Paris, 1868, pp. 257-270.
- (26) Stimming, A.: Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone, Bibliotheca Normannica, VII, ed. H. Suchier, Halle, 1899, pp. 55-56, l. 1381-1395. See also l. 1396-1464.
- (27) Vázquez de Parga, Luis; Lacarra, Jose María; Uría Riu, Juan: Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, I, op. cit., Pt. III, ii, p. 499 ...
 Bédier, J.: Les Légendes épiques, III, Paris, 1912, pp. 97-98.
- (28) Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin, ed. C. Meredith-Jones, Paris, 1936, pp. 91-92.

" . . . Quapropter tibi notifico, quia sicut Dominus potencio-rem omnium regum terrenorum te fecit, sic ad praeparandum iter meum et deliberandum tellurem meam a manibus Moabitarum te inter omnes, ut tibi coronam aeternae retributionis exinde praeparet, elegit; caminus stellarum quem in celo vidisti, hoc significat quod tu cum magno exercitu ad expugnandum gentem paganorum perfidam, et liberandum iter meum et tellurem, et ad visitandam basilicam et sarcofagum meum, ab his horis usque ad Galleciam iturus es, et post te omnes populi a mari usque ad mare peregrinantes, veniam delictorum suorum a Domino impetrantes, illuc ituri sunt, narrantes laudes Domini et virtutes eius, et mirabilia eius quae fecit."

This is the version according to the Codex Calixtinus, a 12th century Ms. preserved in the archives of the Cathedral at Santiago. The "pseudo-Turpin Chronicle" formed Book IV of the Liber Sancti Jacobi, which was compiled in the 12th century as a form of propaganda for the pilgrimage to Santiago. C. Meredith-Jones believes the Chronicle was composed in the early 12th century, and suggests the tentative date of c. 1130 for its composition. See Meredith-Jones, G., op. cit., pp. 42 ..., 71-75.

- (29) Anseïs von Karthago, op. cit., p. 307, l. 8485-8486.
- (30) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 582-584, pp. 172-173.
- (31) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., XIII, pp. 92-97.
- (32) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., XXIII, pp. 177-179.
- (33) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., XXXII, p. 221.
- (34) Aarne, Antti: The types of the folk-tale, trans. Stith-Thompson, FFC, 74, Helsinki, 1928, p. 134.
- (35) Bolte, J. and Polívka, G.: Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, III, Leipzig, 1918, no. 218, "Die getreue Frau", pp. 517 . . .
- (36) La Chanson de Floovant, ed. F.H. Bateson, Loughborough, 1938, l. 1204-1282.
- (37) Doon de Maience, ed. F. Guessard, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1859, pp. 221-233.
p. 224, l. 7417-7423.
"O le roy ot .l. mestre qui (le) fist tresmuer
Et palir et cangier et viel homme sembler,
Les cheveux canuir et la barbe mesler
Et la chiere fronchir, les espaules combrer
Et la barbe canue à son menton gluer,
N'ot pas XXV ans, mès bien cuidast jurer
Plus de C en éust, qui l'en véist aler."
- (38) Dillon, Myles: The Cycles of the Kings, London, 1946, p. 88.
- (39) MacCulloch, J.A.: Celtic Mythology, The Mythology of all Races, III, Boston, 1918, p. 94.
Schoepperle, G.: Tristan and Isolt, II, London, 1913, p. 426.
- (40) Saxo Grammaticus: Danish History, I-IX, English version by O. Elton, introd. by F. York Powell, London, 1894, p. xcvi, and vi, § 176, pp. 217-218.
- (41) Saxo Grammaticus, op. cit., vi, § 190, pp. 233-234, and § 192, p. 235.
- (42) The Poetic Edda, trans. H.A. Bellows, Scandinavian Classics, XXI and XXII, New York, London, 1923, pp. 68-83.
- (43) Snorre Sturluson: The Prose Edda, trans. A.G. Brodeur, Scandinavian Classics, V, New York, 1916, pp. 13-84.

(44)Thurneysen, Rudolf: Die irische Helden-und Königsage, Teil 1 and 2, Halle, 1921, p. 434.

(45)Die irische Helden-und Königsage, op. cit., p. 434.

" . . . und Cuchulainn geht in Gestalt eines aussätzigen Bettlers nach Cathair Con Roi und weiss Blathine zu bereden, ihren Mann zu verraten."

(46)Foulché-Delbosc, R. and Krappe, A. Haggerty: La Légende du Roi Ramire, RHi, LXXVIII, 1930, p. 535.

(47)Les Mille et un Jours, ed. Panthéon Littéraire, trans. Pétis de la Croix, Paris, 1838, pp. 6-7.

(48)Antar, trans. T. Hamilton, London, 1819, I, pp. 17-18.

(49)Antar, op. cit., I, pp. 210-211.

(50)Antar, op. cit., II, pp. 256-257.

(51)Antar, op. cit., II, pp. 342-343.

(52)Antar, op. cit., IV, pp. 48-49.

(53)Antar, op. cit., IV, p. 152.

(54)Dozy, R.: Recherches . . . , II, pp. 268-269.

(55)King, G.G.: The Way of St. James, Hispanic Notes and Monographs, I, New York, London, 1920, I, v, pp. 97-98.

(56)Ferrerías, Juan de: Historia de España, Part 16, Madrid, 1727, Apend., p. 26.

(57)Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, p. 35, l. 12-15.

(58)Quentin, H.: Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen âge, Paris, 1908, p. 372.

"VIII KL. Aug. Natale beati Iacobi apostoli . . . ut liber Actuum Apostolorum docet. Huius beatissimi apostoli sacra ossa ad Hispanias translata, et in ultimis earum finibus, videlicet contra mare Britanicum, condita, celeberrima illarum gentium veneratione excoluntur."

(59)Quentin, H., op. cit., pp. 384-385.

(60)Vázquez de Parga, L.; Lacarra, J.M.; Uría Riu, J.: Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, op. cit., I, Pt. I, i, pp. 41-42.

- (61) Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Ríu, op. cit., I, pp. 39-46.
- (62) Morales Ambrosio de: Continuación de la Crónica General de España, in Las Glorias Nacionales, La Crónica General de España, F. de Ocampo, I, Madrid, Barcelona, 1852, Bk. IX, vii, pp. 508-509.
- (63) Historia Silense, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
- (64) Albe, E.: Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au XII^e siècle, Paris, 1907, p. 19.
and Corral, José María de: Santa María de Rocanador y la milagrosa salvación de una Infanta de Navarra en el siglo XII, His, VII, Madrid, 1947, p. 559.
- (65) Corral, J. M. de, op. cit., p. 559.
- (66) Rupin, Ernest: Roc-Amadour, Étude Historique et Archéologique, Paris, 1904, p. 87.
- (67) Baluze, S.: Historiae Tutelensis Libri tres, Paris, 1717, col. 493-496.
- "Ego Aldefonsus Dei gratia Rex Castellae et Toleti, unā cum uxore mea Alienor Regina et cum filio nostro Rege Sancio, libenti animo et voluntate spontanea . . . pro animabus parentum meorum et salute propria facio cartam donationis et stabilitatis Deo et beatæ Mariæ de Rupe Amatoris Ecclesiae et vobis Dompno Geraldo Tutelensis Ecclesiae Abbati cunctisque successoribus vestris et universo ejusdem Ecclesiae conventui praesenti pariter et futuro in perpetuum valituram . . . Cum tali itaque et tanta libertate dono et concedo praedictas villas Ecclesiae gloriosae virginis de Rupe Amatoris et vobis praefato Abbati G., et omnibus successoribus vestris . . ."
- (68) see Corral, José María de, op. cit., p. 555.
- (69) Fuero General de Navarra, ed. P. Ilarregui, Pamplona, 1869, Bk. III, xxvii, p. 69.
- (70) Albe, E.: Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au XII^e siècle, op. cit., II, 15, p. 206.
- (71) Albe, E., op. cit., p. 52.
- (72) Albe, E., op. cit., pp. 61-64, and I, 4, p. 77.
- (73) Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel, ed. Léopold Delisle, Rouen, 1872, II, p. 23.

"Henricus rex Anglorum perrexit causa orationis ad Rocam Amatoris, qui locus in Cadulcensi pago montaneis et horribili solitudine circumdatur. Dicunt quidam quod beatus Amator famulus beatæ Mariæ et

aliquando bajulus et nutricius Domini fuit, et assumpta piissima matre Domine ad aetheras mansiones, ipse Amator praemonitus ab ea ad Gallias transfretavit, et in praedicto loco heremiticam vitam diu transegit. Quo transeunte et in introitu oratorii Beatae Mariae sepulto, locus ille diu ignobilis fuit, excepto quod vulgo dicebatur ibi beati Amatoris corpus requiescere, licet ignoraretur ubi esset. Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXVI, quidam indigena illius regionis ad extrema veniens, praecepit familiae suae, divina forsitan inspiratione, ut in introitu oratorii corporis sui glebam sepelirent. Effossa itaque terra, corpus beati Amatoris integrum reperitur, et in ecclesia juxta altare positum, integrum peregrinis illud ostendunt; et ibi fiunt miracula multa et antea inaudita per beatam Mariam. Ad hunc ergo locum, ut diximus, rex Henricus causa orationis veniens . . ."

(74)Rupin, Ernest, op. cit., pp. 195-197.

(75)Rupin, Ernest, op. cit., p. 91.

". . . Nisi catenulas super altare quae collo peregrinorum imponebantur . . ."

(76)Rupin, Ernest, op. cit., p. 192.

(77)Albe, E., op. cit., I 4, pp. 77-79.

(78)Albe, E., op. cit., II 44, pp. 257-259.

(79)Albe, E., op. cit., I 36, pp. 132-135.

(80)Albe, E., op. cit., I 24, p. 114.

(81)Crónica Rimada, appendix in Poème du Cid; ed. Damas Hinard, Paris, 1858, p. xcvi, l. 535-539.

(82)Cronica del famoso e invencible cauallero Cid Ruy Diaz Campeador, Medina del Campo, 1552, vii, f. iii.

(83)Durán, Agustín: Romancero General, I, op. cit., no. 713, p. 470.

(84)Alfonso el Sabio: Cantigas de Santa María, pub. La Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1889,

Nos. VIII	Vol. I p. xl	CXLVII	Vol. I p. xxvi-xxvii
	II p. 15		II p. 218-219
CLVII	I p. lxxiii	CLVIII	I p. li
	II p. 229-230		II p. 230-231
CLIX	I p. li	CXXIV	I p. lxxiii
	II p. 231		II p. 299-300
CCCXXI	I p. cxvii		
	II p. 460-461		

6. The revenge theme

The PCG is the first Chronicle to relate Garcí Fernández's revenge. This follows Argentina's flight to France with the French Count during her husband's illness. Restored to health, Garcí Fernández follows them in disguise, determined not to return to Castile until he has avenged himself on both guilty parties. With Sancha's aid, he slays them as they lie asleep. On his return to Castile, he summons his people and explains that he is now worthy to govern them, since he has avenged his dishonour.

This kind of personal revenge does seem to have been practised among the ancient and medieval peoples of Europe, and medieval law recognised it for a time. It was linked closely with the concept of honour, for any insult offered to a man through his wife involved loss of honour, and required satisfaction from the guilty party to restore it.

(1) Possible origins of the medieval Spanish concept of honour, and revenge for adultery in the Middle Ages

In the medieval Peninsula, women's virtue was one of the fundamental things on which a man's honour rested. Therefore, because honour depended on opinion, a gentleman had to safeguard his wife's reputation. It was recognised that an offended husband had the right to punish both the seducer and his wife to preserve his honour, and no blame was attached to him if he slew them. These ideas are reflected in Spanish literature, particularly in the Golden Age drama, where we may find the offended man striking in cold blood, without any feeling of regret or remorse, and afterwards experiencing nothing but satisfaction. He was certainly not deterred by any fear of divine

retribution. Such is the case with Garcí Fernández, for he does not kill the French Count and Argentina in a transport of passion or jealousy, but deliberately plans his revenge, executing it secretly and in cold blood, and revealing his purpose only to Sancha. This is done not merely in revenge for the personal insult, but also because he wishes to prove his worthiness to govern Castile. His action fulfils the obligation which his wife's infidelity imposes on him, and there is no question of making him account for it. He himself appears to be the sole judge of the matter, and he is acting fully within his rights in taking justice into his own hands.

Sometimes, too, a relative of the victim protected the murderer, for it was recognised generally that honour came before a person's own blood. This idea may partly underlie the help Sancha proffers in slaying her own father, although she is motivated chiefly by dislike of her step-mother, and a desire to escape from her present mode of living.

There are at least four possible sources for the concept of honour as it existed in medieval Spain. It may be of Roman, Arabic,

Germanic, or Judeo-Christian origin. (i) Each of these peoples entered

(i) In an article on the concept of honour in the 16th and 17th centuries, A. Castro summarizes different theories which have been advanced to explain the origins of this concept in the comedia. These include suggestions that it was of Visigothic, Arabic, or chivalresque origin, or that it came from the Italian dramatists of the 16th century. Obviously, the latter theory could not apply to the idea of honour in the "Condesa Traidora" legend. Castro also points out the correspondences between the doctrine of honour in the comedia and contemporary moral ideas, as expressed by the Casuists. He then draws attention to some medieval precedents for this concept in the Partidas and St. Thomas Aquinas, which suggest that the ideas found in the Golden Age are based on universal principles, which already existed in the Middle Ages. See Castro, Américo: Algunas Observaciones acerca del Concepto del Honor en los Siglos XVI y XVII, RFE, III, 1916, pp. 1-50, 357-386, and also in Semblanzas y Estudios Espanoles, ed. Juan Marichal, Princeton, 1956, pp. 319-382.

the Peninsula, and had a certain influence upon Spanish society and customs. At different times they each permitted death for adultery and the punishment sometimes extended to the adulteress as well as the adulterer.

(a) Honour and Revenge for adultery among the Romans

In Roman society a woman was the property of the pater familias. This meant that she came under the power of her father, or the male head of the family, as long as she remained within that family. When she married, she passed into her husband's family, and so into the power of her husband, as long as he was head of that family. This meant that she stood in the position of daughter to him. Patria potestas gave the father the power of life and death, until during the Empire. (1)

During the Republic, the punishment for adultery was apparently a matter of private revenge, for a woman's husband (or father) was permitted to put both offenders to death to vindicate his honour. Aulus Gellius, in the Noctes, states that the husband had a right to kill his wife with impunity and without a trial, if she were caught committing adultery:

"In adulterio uxorem tuam siprehendisses sine iudicio impune necares." (2)

Her companion in crime might be beaten, mutilated, or killed without fear of consequences. (3)

Quintilian makes some interesting references to a law which allowed the slaying of the adulterer:

"Occidisti adulterum, quod lex permittit . . ." (4)

"Si adulterum occidere licet, et loris caedere . . ." (5)

He mentions, too, a law forbidding the adulteress to be executed without the adulterer:

" . . . ut in illo adultero sacerdote, qui lege, qua unius servandi potestatem habebat, se ipse servare voluit, proprium controversiae est dicere, Non unum nocentem servabas, quia te dimisso adulteram occidere non licebat. Hoc enim argumentum lex facit, quae prohibet adulteram sine adultero occidere."(6)

Finally, he declares that both guilty parties may be slain by law:

"Adulterum, inquit, cum adultera occidere licet. Legem esse certam est."(7)

A woman might also be condemned to death for adultery by a domestic tribunal, consisting of her husband and blood relations, although the sentence passed might be divorce instead of death.

Under the Empire, the husband's right to kill his wife when caught in the act was temporarily abolished. According to the lex Iulia de adulteriis passed by Augustus Caesar between 18-16 B.C., the penalties for adultery were banishment to an island and partial confiscation of the property belonging to both the man and the woman. The latter's husband or father had the right of pursuit for sixty days; after that, any citizen might exercise the right for four months. (8)

After the lex Iulia, the husband might slay with impunity anyone of low condition, i.e. a slave, family freed man, an infamis, or a condemned criminal, provided he were caught committing adultery with the wife in the husband's house, and as long as the husband turned out his wife and reported the circumstances to the magistrates. (9) He was therefore only permitted to kill certain adulterers now, but the father had wider powers. If he caught his married daughter

committing adultery in his own or his son-in-law's house - i.e. in flagrant delict - he might kill both guilty parties, provided the daughter was still in his patria potestas, or had passed into her husband's control. (10) Also, he had to slay them both together, for if he killed one without the other he was guilty of homicide. (11)

In Constantine's time, death was prescribed for the adulterer, and usually the woman as well; (12) in the sixth century, Justinian decreed the punishment of death by the sword for the adulterer, and the woman was to be given a flogging and sent to a nunnery, although a husband might pardon her and take her back within a period of two years. If he refused to do so, she had to take the veil. (13)

It is quite clear, then, that for some time Roman law sanctioned the system of the husband's personal revenge on both guilty parties. Behind this was the idea of wiping out a dishonour suffered through one's wife, and we shall see that similar ideas underlay the Arab conception of honour.

(b) Honour and Revenge for adultery among the Arabs

Although the Moslems practised polygamy, they insisted on absolute fidelity from their wives, and men possessed a control over their womenfolk against which they could not appeal. A Moslem's honour suffered as soon as any insult was offered to his harem, but he could regain his honour by striking back at the authors of the insult, even though this might involve the sacrifice of the innocent.

Marcel Dieulafoy believes that the Moslems took these customs to Spain, but since the harem was a luxury, the laws to which these customs gave rise applied particularly to the upper classes of society,

who were the only people to observe them strictly. As the ideas concerning honour in Spain were so contrary to its Christian and Catholic faith, and so different from the habits of other Western peoples, Dieulafoy concludes that their origin must lie in the Moslem customs. In support of his belief, he points out several characteristics common to the two societies. For instance, both were prepared to violate natural sentiments; both were passionate and capable of experiencing jealousy; and in both societies women had an attitude of resignation, since from childhood they had to obey their father, or a close male relative, and marry as he wished. (14)

Undoubtedly, there are similarities in the sentiments of the Moslems and Christian Spaniards as regards honour, but we cannot simply accept Dieulafoy's view that the Spanish idea of honour requiring revenge is very different from the habits of other Western peoples. The whole conception of revenge, as we find it in medieval Spain, is similar to Germanic practice, as I shall show.

Richr Farès contributes to our understanding of the Arabic idea of honour in pre-Islamic society, i.e. 500-622 A.D. He maintains that the whole life of these people was submitted to the moral principle of honour, which implied certain ways of being, seeing, and acting. It was applied by opinion, that is, by society in general, rather than by any particular organisation, and the agent enjoyed praise when he conformed with the customs established by honour. Its elements, therefore, constituted a system of laws among the Arabs before Islam.

Women's chastity was one of the elements of honour. A seduced

woman insulted not only her family, but also her group or tribe, since people belonging to the same group considered themselves descendants of a common ancestor. They believed they shared the same blood, and were all offended as soon as any individual member was insulted. They took great care to preserve their name, and since blood was required to wipe out a dishonour, a seducer was customarily put to death by the sword. If the seduced woman was responsible, she, too, was slain by her father or a male relative, although the means of doing this varied. She might be buried alive, poisoned, or smeared with honey and left to be eaten by flies.

The Arabs also regarded the abduction of women as a great dishonour. It was usual for a conquering Arab tribe to carry off as captives the womenfolk of the enemy tribe. This form of abduction required the women's immediate liberation to enable the dishonoured party to rehabilitate himself.

Another important element of honour was purity of genealogy, which helps to explain the importance laid on women's chastity. A woman's misconduct was considered prejudicial to her family's solidarity, since any mixture of blood brought impurity of genealogy, which harmed a group's solidarity. Women were honoured, then, to avoid any stain on the purity of descent. Bichr Farès concludes:

" . . . et s'il honore la femme, ça n'est point par courtoisie, c'est plutôt dans le but de ne point porter atteinte à la pureté de la descendance."(15)

According to R.A. Nicholson, in pre-Islamic society the man who did not strike back when struck was regarded as a coward. No honourable man could forgive an injury, or fail to avenge it. Ven-

geance therefore became almost a physical necessity for them, in view of their great fear of dishonour. (16)

W. Robertson Smith notes that in early Arabia a wife's adultery with anyone but her kinsfolk or brothers was a criminal offence, and the eldest man of a group was the special guardian of the common wife's chastity. The system of polyandry, by which the wives were the common property of the kinsfolk, gradually gave way to the practice of individual marriage, and then insistence on the wife's fidelity increased. Fidelity to the husband was regarded as a sacred duty, when involving the position and honour of the children. (17)

In the early Moslem era, Reuben Levy declares that the women of Arabia were subject to their nearest male kinsman or husband "whose right over her was regarded in the same way as his right over any other property". A wife's honour was in her husband's keeping, and it rested with him to prevent its violation. If a man from another tribe seduced a married woman, although it was not a dishonour or unlawful act, he was open to vengeance from the outraged husband and his kinsmen, as well as from the wife's kinsmen. Also, although no dishonour was attached to an accusation of adultery, it gave the husband grounds for repudiating his wife. (18)

Finally, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes confirms that death as the punishment for adultery was the normal form of punishment among the Moslems, both in the past and to-day. It was the practice for the offended husband, or the head of the family, to do away with the guilty woman. He concludes that this is a common cause of murders, which are punished by the courts only in so far as this is sanctioned

by the moral code of the people. (19)

The Arabs' harsh punishment for adultery is illustrated in the Geography of Strabo, and in Arabic literature. Referring to the marriage system in Arabia Felix or Yemen, Strabo tells us that all kindred held their property in common, the eldest being lord. All had one wife, but an adulterer, whom he defines as a man of another family (i.e. belonging to another small group), was punished with death. (20)

The Koran denounces those guilty of fornication, prescribing as punishment one hundred strokes of the whip for both guilty parties. (21) It does not, therefore, distinguish between the guilty man or woman with regard to punishment. It also requires four witnesses to be produced if a charge of adultery is brought against a married woman. Those failing to produce the witnesses are to be scourged with eighty stripes. (22) Another Sura refers only to adulterous women, and prescribes that if four witnesses testify their guilt, they are to be confined to their houses for the rest of their lives. (23) At one time, too, stoning was evidently prescribed as punishment in place of scourging. (24)

The Ring of the Dove, a treatise on the art and practice of Arab love, also illustrates the severity with which adultery was treated. The author, Ibn Hazm (994-1065), denounces it, saying:

"How horrible is this offence, concerning which Allah has clearly declared in His revelation that the one guilty thereof shall be exposed to shame and treated with all severity and rigour . . . It is the unanimous opinion of all Moslems . . . that the married fornicator shall be stoned until he expires."

He adds that some prescribe a hundred lashes for the adulterer, which

they support with reference to the Koran. He goes on to enumerate the only cases in which it is lawful to shed the blood of a Moslem. Among these is fornication after marriage, for adultery is one of the deadly sins. It is condemned because it

"violates the sanctity of the harem, confuses the lawful offspring of wedlock, and separates husband and wife, which last God has declared to be a most grievous offence . . ." (25)

The Risala, a treatise on the dogma and law of Islam according to the Malekite rite, conjures Moslems to refrain from anything illicit, and in particular it indicates that they are not to indulge in illicit sexual relationships. Allah has declared that Moslems' lives, goods and honour are sacred, but the shedding of a Moslem's blood is permitted in certain cases, for example, if he is guilty of fornication after marriage. (26)

Similarities between the Arab and the Spanish ways of thought on the subject of adultery and its punishment do suggest that Arab behaviour may have influenced the Spaniards in this respect. Discussing the position of women in Moslem Spain a thousand years ago, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz shows that ideas prevailed there close to those we have examined in pre-Islamic and Islamic society.

He points out that the family formed the foundation of Moslem society, based on polygamy, and the father's absolute authority. A man's wives, concubines and children had to submit to him completely, and a father or guardian married his daughter to the husband of his choice. Once married, a Spanish-Moslem woman passed from her father's authority to that of her husband. She owed him complete submission then, and he was permitted to kill her if she was guilty of adul-

tery. (27)

(c) Honour and Revenge for adultery among the Germanic peoples

The third possible source for the system of private revenge for adultery in medieval Spain is a Germanic one. When discussing crime and punishment generally in the Old French romances, F. Carl Riedel seeks a Germanic origin for the principle of private revenge. He finds that vengeance was a "means of retribution very widespread and ancient, forming as it does, one of the chief sources not only of medieval criminal law, but of the laws of nearly all races of all times at some period of their development." (28)

The principle of private vengeance survived in the 12th and 13th century penal law in conflict with organised punishment, to which it gradually gave way. Riedel sees this principle of vengeance as a remnant of the early customs and traditions of the Germanic races which swept over Gaul during the decline of the Roman Empire. In Merovingian times, it was invoked, among other crimes, for adultery, violation or rape of a married woman, and an insult to the family's honour, and it was too deeply rooted to be replaced by public vengeance until the feudal system began to crumble. Public vengeance therefore only replaced it in the 14th and 15th centuries. (29)

Riedel notes, too, that in early times adultery was punishable as treason at the offended husband's discretion. The law allowed him to exercise the death penalty on his wife and her lover within limited conditions, although the Church forbade this form of legalised murder. (30)

A 13th century French jurisconsult, Philippe de Remi Beaumanoir,

allowed the outraged husband to take the life of his wife and her lover if he caught them in the act of adultery, although merely finding them in the same room was insufficient evidence of the crime. (31)

In his History of the Franks, Gregory of Tours gives an example of this type of private vengeance, alleged to have happened in the 6th century. An abbot called Dagulf committed adultery with a neighbour's wife, and the husband killed them both with axe blows while they lay asleep in bed. (32) The idea of slaying them in this way is parallel to Garcí Fernández's final execution of his revenge.

Tacitus confirms that the Germanic peoples regarded adultery as an offence punishable by the husband. He informs us that adultery was rare among the Germans, but the guilty woman was deprived of her hair, stripped in the presence of kinsmen, expelled from the house and flogged through the village by her husband:

"Paucissima in tan numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verberare agit; publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia . . ." (33)

Tacitus omits to say whether the adulterer received punishment.

The Germanic laws make it clear that adultery was considered one of the most serious offences, and if the adulterer were slain, no penalty was imposed upon his murderer. The Lex Frisionum mentions this, (34) and a decree of King Childebert prescribed that those committing rape should be slain, and if the woman had acted with her consent, both parties were to be slain. (35) The Lex Visigothorum prescribed handing over both guilty parties to the adulteress's husband, and permitted him to kill them both:

"Si adulterum cum adultera maritus vel sponsus occiderit, pro homicida non teneatur."(36)

Finally, according to the Lex Burgundionum:

"Si qua mulier maritum suum, cui legitime iuncta est, dimiserit, necetur in luto."(37)

Turning now to Spain, G. Ticknor rejects an Arab origin for honour as it appears in the Golden Age drama. He points out that the old Gothic laws of Spain, which were in operation before the Moorish invasion, recognised the same system as we find in the Spanish drama. These were renewed and re-enacted in the Fuero Juzgo, which was the first Castilian version of the laws, compiled in the 13th century during Ferdinand III's reign, and they applied to the Christians who did not come under the Moslems' authority. (38)

Concerning adultery, the Fuero Juzgo recognised the following laws:

(a) If a wife consented to committing adultery while her husband was alive, both wife and adulterer were to be handed over to the husband to treat as he wished:

"Quod si mulieris fuerit fortasse consensus, marito similis sit potestas de his faciendi quod ei placet."(39)

(b) The husband might accuse his wife before the judge, and if the adultery was proved, then she and the adulterer were given into the husband's power:

"Adulter et adultera secundum superioris legis ordinem ipsi tradantur, ut quod de eis facere voluerit, in eius proprio consistat arbitrio."(40)

(c) If the husband killed his wife and the adulterer, it was not regarded as homicide. (41)

(d) Similarly, if a father killed his daughter for committing adultery, he was not liable to punishment. If she had no father, her brother or uncles were permitted to do as they wished, both with her and the adulterer.

These laws therefore entrusted the preservation of domestic honour to the husband or a close male relative, and sanctioned the slaying of both guilty parties. The Christians in the Peninsula continued to observe them into the 13th century, although their use varied from region to region of Castile. They were observed in the new states formed as the Reconquest progressed; ⁽¹⁾ the Silense provides evidence of their use in Leon, for the author tells us that Vermudo II of Leon confirmed the laws of Wamba. ⁽⁴²⁾ The granting of numerous municipal fueros meant that the laws of the Fuero Juzgo gradually diminished in use, and in 1348 Alfonso XI gave a new form of legislation, and authorized the laws of the Siete Partidas. After John II's reign, the laws of the Fuero Juzgo do not seem to have been used, although they were never actually derogued.

The Siete Partidas still acknowledged the offended husband's right to kill, on certain conditions. The section concerning adultery begins by denouncing it as one of the greatest sins man can commit, because it not only causes harm, but also dishonour. It may harm the husband because if the wife has a child by another man, this child will inherit together with their own children. Therefore, since the dishonour and harm are not equal for a wife whose husband commits adultery and a husband whose wife errs, only the husband has

(1) i.e. in Leon, Galicia, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, Asturias, and Sobrarbe, as well as in Castile.

the right to accuse his wife before the judge. (43)

The husband must accuse his wife of adultery first, but if he neglects to do so and she sins again, then her father or a male relative may accuse her. (44)

The husband must confront the man whom he suspects in writing, forbidding him to speak to his wife or to be alone with her. If he finds them together later, he is not to incur punishment if he kills the offender. In any case he may kill the adulterer if he catches them in the act, but instead of slaying his wife himself, he is to hand her over to be punished by law. (45)

If the adulterer is a man to whom the husband must do reverence - e.g. if he is his overlord, or has freed him - then he must accuse him to the judge instead of killing him. (46)

A father finding his married daughter committing adultery in his own house or his son-in-law's house may kill both guilty parties, but he must not kill one and spare the other. (47)

Finally, the Siete Partidas did allow the guilty wife to be pardoned. Law XV prescribes that if a man is proved to have committed adultery, he must die for it, but a woman whose guilt is proved must be whipped publicly and sent to a convent, although the husband may pardon her if he wishes. (48)

To sum up the legal position with regard to adultery in the mid 14th century, an outraged husband might still put the adulterer to death, but with three reservations:

(a) If he suspected a particular man, but had no proof of his guilt, he had to write him a warning.

(b) He might only slay him if he caught the guilty pair in the act.

(c) If the adulterer fell within a certain category - i.e. if he were a man to whom the husband owed respect - then the offended man had to lodge a formal accusation before the judge. Instead of being slain as well as her lover, the offending wife had to be accused formally and punished by law. Only the father retained the right to kill his daughter and the adulterer, if he found them together under his own roof or that of the offended husband.

Certain local medieval fueros in Spain also permitted an injured husband to kill another man if he caught him committing adultery with his wife. For example, the Fuero de Estella (Navarre) of 1164 states:

"Si maritus aliquem nocte cum sua uxore cepit et illum interficit, calumpnia non est ibi."(49)

According to the Fuero de Miranda, the husband might kill one or both guilty parties with impunity:

"Et si invenerint eum facientem fornicium cum uxore velata ubicumque, interficiat ambos, aut unum si plus non potuerit . . . et maritus non sit inimicus, nec pectet homicidium, nec exeat de villa; sed alcaldes dent ipsum pro quite . . ." (50)

Finally, the Fuero de Soria, compiled between 1190-1214, prescribes that a man who abducts a married woman by force is to be handed over to the husband, with all his possessions, and the husband may do as he likes with them. If the man commits adultery with the wife, he must die. If, however, a married woman commits adultery willingly, then both guilty parties are to die for it. An offended husband may not pardon only one of the guilty pair, and a father may kill anyone he finds in his house committing adultery with his

daughter. The same right is granted to a woman's brother or closest male relative. (51)

It is evident now that crimes against married women were punished severely by Spanish medieval law, which sanctioned the right of vengeance in crimes involving loss of honour - e.g. for the violation or abduction of a married woman. Generally, before the offended party could proceed legally against his enemy, a judicial declaration of enmity was necessary, as the Fuero Juzgo makes clear. However, there were certain crimes, including adultery, where an offender discovered in the act could be killed immediately by people authorised to do so, without the formal accusation or sentence.

Blood vengeance - the wiping out of an insult with the offender's blood - was a Germanic institution, and we know that Germanic customs survived to some extent after the Moorish invasion in the 8th century, and were applied in some of the fueros until the 14th century. Then Roman and canonical law replaced the Visigothic code. Although use of the old Visigothic customs varied greatly from state to state, they persisted to a greater extent in Leon, Castile, and Portugal than in Aragon, Navarre, and Catalonia. (52)

(d) Other possible sources of honour and revenge for adultery

The Old Testament indicates that adultery also seems to have required the death penalty among the Hebrew people, although this frequently took the form of burning. In Genesis Judah condemns his adulterous daughter-in-law, Tamar, to be burnt. (53) Also, both Leviticus and Deuteronomy assign the death penalty to adulterer and adulteress. (54)

Chivalry is one more source suggested for the vengeance practised by husbands on their adulterous wives in Spanish literature, for Fitzmaurice-Kelly has tried to explain it as a perverted outcome of chivalresque ideals. (55)

D.C. Stuart has rejected this theory on the grounds that the honour of the Provençal courts is something very different from that found in Castile. He shows that although the Amadís de Gaula has ideals of chivalresque honour common to the romances of chivalry, there honour is something to be gained instead of something inborn which requires to be kept free from any stain. (56) The latter is the type of honour possessed by Garcí Fernández - i.e. it is something innate which may be destroyed by any stain on his reputation. His wife's misdemeanour may cause this, and once such a stain has appeared, the only remedy is secret punishment of the parties causing it. Such punishment, successfully exacted, will remove it. There is no suggestion in the "Condesa Traidora" legend that Garcí Fernández acquires honour by noble or heroic deeds.

P. Muñoz Peña believes that honour originated in the Middle Ages from the fusion of Christianity and the Germanic spirit. He sees it then in all spheres of life and personified in chivalry. (57) He notes that the Castilian idea of honour is closely linked with patriotism, and he finds the first signs of the sentiment of honour in deeds accomplished when the Spaniards had to fight against those who tried to take away their independence - the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans. For example, it was a feeling of honour which made the Spaniards prefer death at Sagunto to becoming slaves

of Carthage. Later, at the time of the Moorish invasion, he sees signs of honour in King Rodrick, for example, who either died fighting in battle, or through shame at his defeat, which meant he did not dare to appear vanquished before his subjects. We may note here that a similar feeling impelled the legendary Garcí Fernández to seek revenge in France secretly, before confronting his people. This meant that he was not compelled to admit his shame to the Castilians until he had restored his lost honour, and in doing so, proved his worthiness to rule them.

Muñoz Peña singles out three Spanish epic heroes as personifications of the life, aspirations, and sentiments of their race. These are Bernardo del Carpio, Fernán González, and the Cid, whose actions illustrate the sentiment of Castilian honour. He believes that the Christians in Spain were influenced by the customs and sentiments of the Arabs from the time they began to inflict defeats on the Moslems - in the late 12th and the 13th centuries - and he notes that the Arabs in particular had a high regard for everything pertaining to honour. (58)

Conclusions

To sum up this material, we have seen that the idea of personal revenge for an injury such as adultery was common to several ancient peoples who contributed to the development of modern Spain. We may explain this because primitive societies conceived wrongs essentially as injuries to an individual, or possibly a group of individuals linked together by some relationship, whether of blood or tribal. The Arabs illustrate this, since an injury for them was not merely

an individual matter, but it extended to the whole family or group. Punishment for such an injury took the form of revenge or reprisal, which was considered the responsibility of the offended person, or failing that, of his kindred. Only later was this system of personal revenge replaced by a system of official legal reparation for an injury, in the form of a fine. (59) Among some of these peoples an injury against a person implied a sense of dishonour, and we have seen that in medieval Spain the sin of adultery brought this dishonour for the wronged husband. He could only regain his former honour by revenge, which implied bloodshed, at least until late into the Middle Ages in Spain. Medieval Spanish law sanctioned personal revenge for adultery, although unless the guilty parties were discovered in the act, it required a formal accusation from the offended man before he was permitted to proceed with his own form of revenge.

We have seen that at some periods Roman law permitted the slaying of both offenders, when caught in the act, and that the Germanic laws also recognised the husband's right to put both parties to death. The form of punishment for adultery varied among the Arabs, but all, of whatever age, are equally outspoken in denouncing it and prescribing a harsh punishment - whether stoning, whipping, or death. The Spanish Moslems permitted a husband to kill his erring wife, and although in the Peninsula itself many customs differed between Moslem Spain and the kingdoms not under Moslem rule, all were in agreement in allowing revenge and death for adultery.

Undoubtedly, honour played an important part in the conduct of Arab or Moslem life, and it could be lost through the type of insult

we find in the "Condesa Traidora" legend, and only regained by striking back at the offender. Indeed, revenge was obligatory for an honourable Arab who did not wish to be branded as a coward. It seems unnecessary, then, to seek the origin of the Castilian sense of honour in chivalry, since the innate type of honour we find in the Peninsula seems more akin to the Arab way of thinking, and this was something existing before chivalry came to play such a prominent part in the life of the medieval nobleman.

Garcí Fernández's action in the "Condesa Traidora" is therefore well in accordance with the recognised customs of his own time, and, indeed, with customs still sanctioned legally at the time this episode of the legend first appears in the PCG. It is hard to point to any one source for the system of private revenge for adultery in the Peninsula, since Romans, Germanic peoples, and Moslems all, at some time, treated the sin in a similar way. It seems very possible, though, that this type of revenge is a legacy of the Germanic peoples, for we know that their laws had an important influence on medieval Spanish law, but the emphasis which we find on the dishonour implicit in the adultery of the wife is very reminiscent of the Arabs.

Garcí Fernández's revenge occurs in fictitious circumstances, for there is no evidence that he slew his wife, or that he married twice. This suggests that the episode may have had a literary origin, and we must now examine this possibility.

(2) Revenge in the Spanish epic

Revenge plays an important part in the epic in general, forming the basis of many legends, both of Spain and other nations. As far

as the Spanish epic is concerned, for example, revenge for an insult provides the chief motivation in the "Infantes de Lara" legend. There Ruy Velázquez's betrayal of his nephews and their father, Gonzalo Gustioz, to the Moors is in revenge for the youngest Infante's insult to his wife. Their death in turn demands revenge by the Infantes' half-brother, Mudarra,⁽ⁱ⁾ who restores his family's honour by the death of those responsible for the betrayal - i.e. Ruy Velázquez and Doña Lambra.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Revenge is required in the Poema de Mío Cid for the insult the Infantes de Carrión offer to the Cid's daughters in the Cantar de Corpes. Instead of taking his revenge privately, however, the Cid accuses the Infantes at the judicial court at Toledo, over which King Alfonso presides. Finally, his revenge is achieved by single combat between the guilty parties and three of his vassals.⁽⁶¹⁾⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ This form of revenge is therefore very different from the type of personal revenge we have been discussing, although it is required for a similar reason, namely, an insult offered to the Cid through his daughters.

According to the Romanz dell Inffant García, which is included in the PCG, before marrying King Sancho's son, Doña Sancha demands revenge on Fernán Laínez for insulting her and striking the Infante García before his assassination. When the guilty man is brought to her, she carries out her revenge by mutilating him and then having him paraded through Castile and Leon.⁽⁶²⁾

(i) Mudarra is the son of Gonzalo Gustioz and the Moorish princess who attended him in prison.

(ii) Pedro Vermúdez challenges Fernando González

Martin Antolínez challenges Diego González

Muno Gustioz challenges Asur González. See Poema de Mío Cid, §§ 143-152.

The Castilians avenge their assassinated king, Sancho, in the legend of the siege of Zamora, for Diego Ordóñez formally challenges the people of Zamora, who are sheltering the assassin, Bellido Dolfo. The challenge is accepted by Arias Gonzalo's sons, three of whom are killed by Diego Ordóñez before the judges terminate the duels. (63)

None of these epic legends, though, centres round the theme of revenge for a sexual motive, although underlying them is the idea of revenge for an insult offending a person's honour. This requires blood for blood, or the administration of some violent form of punishment in the epic. The Poema de Mío Cid and the legend of the siege of Zamora show that this need not be a personal matter for the offended party, but it may be settled by single combat.

There are, however, three Spanish legends where revenge is taken for a sexual insult. This theme forms the basis of the legend of Rodrick, last Visigothic king of Spain; it occurs in the F.Gz., and also in the legend of Sancho II.

In the legend of Rodrick, the father, Count Julian, takes revenge for the king's seduction of his daughter, but he does not kill or confront the offender personally, as Garcí Fernández does, and neither does he kill his daughter. We have seen in Chapter 3 that, instead, his revenge takes the form of Spain's betrayal to the Moors, but, like Garcí Fernández, he plans and executes it secretly, and manages to conceal his anger. According to the later versions in the Toledano and Fray Gil de Zamora's Martirio de San Nicolás, the revenge is for the seduction of Julian's wife, not his daughter.

An episode of the F.Gz. relates how Doña Sancha and Fernán

González kill the wicked Archpriest, who discovers them hiding in the mountains after the Count's release from prison. He takes advantage of the fact that the Count is in chains to threaten to betray them unless Doña Sancha does his will:

"El falso (descreydo) llieno de crueldat,
 mas que sy fues(s)en canes non ovo piedat.
 '(EL) conde, sy tu quieres que sea porydat,
 dexa me con la duenna conplir mi voluntat.' . . .
 La infant donna Sancha, duenna tan mesurada
 - nunca omne (non) vyo duenna tan esforçada -,
 (trauol' a la boruca), diol' vna ggran(d) tyrada,
 dixo: 'Don trraydor, de ty sere vengada.'
 El conde a la duenna non podia ayudar,
 ca tenia ggrandes fyerros e non podia andar,
 cuchy(e)llo en la mano ovo a ella llegar,
 ovyeron le entramos al traydor de matar."(64)

Although there is no seduction here, the very suggestion of it is enough for the insulted woman and the man who has promised to marry her to slay the Archpriest.

The legend of Sancho II of Castile gives another example of a wife's abduction, and the offended husband's subsequent revenge, but this motif only appears in the Najerense version. There Sancho marries an Infanta of Navarre, daughter of Queen Stephanie. While on her way to Castile, she is abducted by her illegitimate step-brother,⁽ⁱ⁾ who loves her. He flees with her to the Moorish king of Zaragoza, and is also protected by his uncle King Ramiro of Aragon, who loves him as if he were his own son, because of his worth and skill in arms. Anxious for revenge, King Sancho attacks Zaragoza with his army, killing Ramiro in battle at Graus. He returns

(i) The step-brother is also called Sancho. He is the son of King García of Pamplona and a concubine.

victorious to Castile. The date given for this battle is era 1108:

"Inter hoc santius rex desponsauerat sibi filiam regine steph'ie. Que cum ad ipsum duceretur, infans domnus santius quem rex garsias pampilon̄ ex concubina habuerat saltum in uiam dedit quia nuntii amoris celo truciabantur.(i) Rapuit eam et cum ipsa ad regem maurorum cesaraugustanum se contulit. Et ad patrum suum regem ranimirum. qui eum pro sua probitate et armorum nobilitate quasi filium diligebat. Quod rex santius ulcisci desiderans cesaraugustam cum suo perrexit exercitu. Cui ranimirus rex cum suis in loco qui gradus dicitur occurrens ab eo in bello interfectus est. Era MCVIII . . . Inde rex santius cum uictoria reuersus est castellam."(65)

The motif of the Infanta's abduction seems to be completely fictitious, and there is no proof that Sancho was even married, although it has been suggested that he may have married a foreign princess called Alberta. Carola Reig asserts that this is probably an interpolation in the legend, and it may be the result of contamination of an episode taken from another national, or foreign, epic. Other Chronicles do not refer to the episode, but give different reasons for Sancho's attack on Zaragoza, and his battle against Ramiro, (66) The PCG explains the attack because Sancho wishes to impose tribute on the King of Zaragoza, and this is the only region which still remains to be made his tributary. (67) Ramiro himself challenges Sancho, angered by the latter's excursion against territory forming the frontier of his own kingdom. They fight, and after Ramiro's defeat, they come to terms. (68)

Although the form of revenge in this legend differs from that of the "Condesa Traidora", the Najerense account is interesting, since it provides an earlier example in a Peninsular legend of the basic motif - revenge for a wife's abduction. However, it indicates

(i) G. Cirot suggests emending this to: "quia nuntii amoris zelo trucidabant eum."

that the revenge is for the abduction rather than adultery, and, unlike Argentina, Sancho's wife is presumably taken away against her will. The two legends, then, only coincide as regards the fundamental situation, and the details are in no way similar.

We may conclude, then, that the only other Castilian epic legend containing the theme of revenge for adultery of the hero's wife is the late version of the Rodrick legend. Although this is not a common motif in the Spanish epic, medieval literature in general provides many examples of the punishment of adultery by the death of one, or both guilty parties, at the husband's hand, and this appears to be a folklore motif.

(3) Revenge for adultery as a folklore motif

Revenge for this type of offence appears in Celtic epic literature. For example, The Swimming-place of the Two Birds relates how a husband slays his wife's supernatural lover for committing adultery with her. Nar's wife was Esti, and she had a lover called Bude, possessed of magic powers. He and his foster-brother, Luan, used to change into the form of birds, and Bude would visit Esti and sleep with her. Nar discovered the real identity of the birds, and killed them both with a spear. Esti went to the Plain of Esti, where she died. (69)

The Death of Celtchar Mac Uthechair contains an episode in which Blái the Hospitaller, one of the famous men of Ulster, seduces Celtchar's wife. Celtchar discovers this, and avenges himself by killing Blái with a spear. (70)

In another tale, The Death of Fergus Mac Róich, Ailill knows of

a liaison between his wife, Medb, and Fergus, but instead of punishing the guilty man himself, he persuades his brother (Lugaid) to kill him by throwing a lance at him as he and Medb are bathing in a lake. (71)

The motif also occurs in a prose tale contained in the collection of legends known as the Rennes Dindsenchas. Bennan, son of Boirchenn, kills Ibel for committing adultery with his wife, Lecon, daughter of Lotar. (72) Finally, the story of Ailech II, in the verse form of the Dindsenchas refers to Corrcend, who kills Aed, son of Dagda, for seducing his wife. (73)

Old Irish literature and legend also acknowledge, then, that a husband may kill or punish the person who commits adultery with his wife, although the punishment does not appear to have extended to the wife as well. Other primitive societies evidently knew an unwritten law which permitted a husband to mutilate or murder his wife's lover, and sometimes the wife also. A variety of peoples applied this form of punishment, apart from those who sanctioned it legally, mentioned in the early part of the chapter. For example, among the Reindeer Koryaks even the suspicion of adultery meant death, and among the Land Dyaks of Borneo the husband who discovered his wife's adultery had to cut off her head, and that of her lover. (74)

(4) Revenge for adultery in legends outside Spain

The husband's personal revenge for his wife's adultery is fairly common in legends outside the Peninsula. For example, it occurs in Germanic tradition, in the 13th century Heimskringla, a collection of Scaldic poems and traditional tales made by Snorre Sturlason, and in the Forrnanna Saga.

The Heimskringla relates that King Sigurd Sleva goes to the house of Herse Klypp, whose wife, Aalog, receives him in her husband's absence. That night the king seduces Aalog against her will, and then continues his journey. When Klypp discovers what he has done, he and his relations go to attack Sigurd Sleva. Klypp slays him with his sword, but is then killed himself by Erling Gamle. (75)

The Latin translation of the Old Norse Fornmanna Saga includes the same tale, only there the king falls in love with Thorkel Klypp's wife, Olava, and sends Thorkel Klypp to England to fetch tribute. He seduces his wife in his absence, and when Thorkel returns and learns of his dishonour, he advances to meet the king, whom he kills with his battle axe. (76)

We have already discussed Procopius's account of the revenge of Senator Maximus for his wife's seduction by the Emperor Valentinian. His revenge entails persuading the Emperor to put to death his best general, thus leaving himself defenceless against the Huns. Later, he kills Valentinian by his own hand, and then marries his wife, Eudoxia. (77)

Finally, we have mentioned the legend of Buern Bucecarle, where the husband punishes the adultery in a different way. Instead of killing the guilty man personally, he brings an enemy army against him. The idea underlying his action is the same, though, i.e. that the adulterer must die:

"Ja ad li reis od mei gev;
Par force fist sa felunie;
Ore est dreiz ke perde la vie." (78)

Buern himself also says to his wife:

"Jo querrai kil perdrat la vie."(79)

The essential difference between all these examples and the "Condesa Traidora" is that the latter is the only legend where the wife is guilty and is killed as well as the adulterer.

(5) Revenge for adultery in medieval literature in general

Adultery is a common theme in the fabliaux and the romances of medieval French literature. The oldest fabliaux date from c. 1200, and a large number of them deal with erotic themes. Many are based on 'triangle' tales concerning a husband, wife, and her lover, and the wife's infidelity provides the basis for some of them. The husband and the lover are the two adversaries, and it is more frequent to find the lover is the victor. In the cases where the lover is defeated or punished, he is always a priest or peasant. When the husband is noble and the lover of inferior social status, normally the noble triumphs.

Some fabliaux include the motif of the outraged husband avenging himself by killing the lover, or by causing his death. (80) This happens, for example, in an episode of Du Pescheor de Pont Seur Saine, where a priest caught committing adultery with a knight's wife is forced to jump into the river and is drowned. (81) Du Prestre c'on Porte relates that a priest loves another man's wife, commits adultery with her in her husband's absence, and is later found by him asleep in the bath. The husband avenges himself by strangling the priest with a rope. (82) However, it does not seem usual in the fabliaux for the husband to avenge himself by slaying his wife as well as her lover.

The romances also express the idea that adultery requires the death of the guilty parties, including the offending woman. Two accusations of adultery, one in Joufrois, and the other in The Erle of Tolous, make this clear. The former ⁽ⁱ⁾ tells how a wicked seneschal of England falsely accuses queen Halis of adultery, because she has discouraged his own protestations of love. Believing that the accusation is true, the king decides to hang or burn the queen:

"Uns chevaliers molt desleiaus
 Que de la cort ert seneschaus,
 Avoit la raïne prelé,
 Qu'ele li donast s'amisté,
 Pluisor foiz l'en avoit requise;
 Mais grant folie avoit enprise,
 Qu'ele ne lo voloit amer,
 Ne sa paroule escouter . . .
 Car il ala conter le roi,
 Que un garchon de la cosine
 Avoit trové a la reïne
 Amedous gisant en un lit,
 Et qu'il en fesoit son delit . . .
 De ce fist li rois grant folie
 De la parole, qu'ot oïe,
 Qu'onques raisons n'i esgarda
 Por ce, que ire la trobla
 Trestuit son sen et sa mesure;
 Car trop fu la parole dure,
 Que l'seneschaus le fist entendre.
 Por ce fist la reïne prendre
 Li rois et jura deu li voir,
 Qu'il la feroit pendre o ardoir . . ." (83)

Joufrois offers to fight the seneschal and prove that he is a traitor, and has lied to the king. The latter agrees, they fight, and Joufrois kills the seneschal. (84)

The Erle of Tolous ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ relates that two nobles wish to kill the
 (i) Joufrois is an Old French poem about Joufrois of Poitiers, preserved in a MS. which seems to belong to the beginning of the 14th century. F. Muncker suggests, however, that the poem must go back originally to the beginning of the 13th century. See Joufrois, ed. K. Hofmann and F. Muncker, Halle, 1880, p. III.
 (ii) The Erle of Tolous is a Middle English romance adapted from a lost French original, probably belonging to the late 12th or early 13th century. See Riedel, F.C.: Crime and Punishment in the Old French Romances, Columbia University Press, 1938, p. 5.

Emperor's wife, who has rebuffed their advances, because they fear that she may tell the Emperor about them. They persuade a young knight, Sir Antore, to hide in her chamber, and then enter themselves, kill him, and accuse the queen of adultery. They inform the Emperor, saying that she should die, and according to the law she should be burnt. The court meets and is about to condemn her to death, when it is pointed out that hitherto the queen has been blameless, and Antore was killed without being given a chance to defend himself. A judicial duel is arranged, and the Erle of Toulouse defeats the two accusers, who are burnt on the fire intended for the queen. (85)

Another important medieval legend containing the theme of the death of both guilty parties at the husband's hand is the legend of Constantine the Great's unfaithful wife. It is told in the mid 13th century Weltbuch of Jansen Euenkel.

Constantine asks his chancellor to have some coins struck commemorating him. The chancellor has a brother with crippled feet, who pays court to the queen. One day he obtains her favours, and eventually this reaches Constantine's ears. He so arranges matters that he surprises his wife and the cripple together one day. He stabs his wife with his sword, and makes his horse trample the cripple to death. The chancellor has coins struck depicting a man stabbing a woman, and leaves the country. (86)

This legend was quite well known in Europe, judging by references to it in medieval literature. It was certainly known in France, for in Bérout's 12th century poem Le Roman de Tristan we read:

"Par moi avra plus dure fin
Que ne fist faire Costentin

A Segoçon, qu'il escolla
 Qant o sa feme le trova.
 Il l'avoit coroné a Rome,
 Et la servoient maint prodome;
 Il la tint chiere et honora;
 En lié mesfist, puis en plora."(87)

The 13th century story of Bertran de Paris de Roergue also refers to her treachery:

"De Costanti l'emperador m'albir
 Que ne sabetz com el palaitz najor
 Per sa molher pres tan gran des honor,
 Si que Roma'n volc deixar e gurpir."(88)

She is mentioned, too, as a treacherous wife in the verse form of the Roman des Sept Sages.⁽ⁱ⁾

All these examples make it clear that in medieval literature and legend, as well as in medieval law, adultery was regarded as a crime requiring the death of the guilty person or persons, and a private or personal form of revenge was a characteristic theme. We have said already that this form of punishment for adultery was not specifically Spanish, but was common to many ancient and medieval peoples. Medieval literature generally exonerates the outraged husband from all blame, and in the examples cited so far there is no suggestion that he was responsible in any way for his wife's infidelity even if the adultery is committed with the wife's consent. In this respect, then, the "Condessa Traidora" legend appears to coincide with the legends of other nations.

We have established, then, as a recurring theme in medieval literature the idea of the faithless wife committing adultery without

(i) The extant Ms. of this work probably dates from 1284, although the original Western version may have gone back to the 12th century. See Le Roman des Sept Sages, ed. Jean Misrahi, Paris, 1933, pp. vii-xvii.

having cause for dissatisfaction with her husband, and the wronged man's subsequent revenge, entailing at least the death of the adulterer. There is, however, an important legend which has a very close parallel with the "Condesa Traidora". This is the legend of King Salomon, in which the offended husband brings about the death of his faithless wife and the adulterer. It appears in the German poem of Salman und Morolf and in the Russian 'bylines', and according to A. Haggerty Krappe and R. Roulché-Delbosc, it first appeared in Europe in the 11th century. (89)

(6) The Salomon legend and its parallels

(a) Salman und Morolf⁽ⁱ⁾

The Salomon legend, as it appears in the German poem, is as follows: Salman, king of Jerusalem, abducts Salme, the daughter of a pagan king, Cyprian of Endian, and takes her to his kingdom, where she is baptised. Another pagan king, Fore, attacks Salman's kingdom to win Salme as his wife. He is defeated, given into her custody, and compels her to love him by means of a magic ring. Fore's minstrel gives Salme a magic herb, which puts her into a trance resembling death. She is buried, but later the minstrel takes her out of the coffin and abducts her. Salman's helper, Morolf, goes in

(i) The earliest extant Ms. of this poem dates from the beginning of the 15th century, although the actual material dates from the 12th century, since another German poem, König Rother, includes an episode similar to Salman und Morolf, on which it is believed to have been partly modelled. König Rother dates from between c. 1144-1156, or soon after. See De Boor, Helmut: Die Deutsche Literatur, I, Munich, 1949, p. 243. Gustav Ehrismann suggested before De Boor that the original poem of Salman und Morolf was dated c. 1190. See Ehrismann, Gustav: Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, II, Munich, 1922, p. 317.

search of Salme, disguised as a pilgrim. He begs from her, and she invites him to play chess, but he betrays himself and is taken prisoner. He escapes, is recaptured, escapes again, and then puts everyone at Fore's court to sleep with a potion, dresses Fore in the chaplain's habit, and puts the real chaplain in bed with Salme. He escapes and returns to Salman.

Salman himself then reconnoitres with his army, also disguised as a pilgrim. He is recognised, treated scornfully by Salme, and condemned to death by Fore. In prison Fore's sister comforts him. He is taken to the gallows, but blows his horn three times to summon his army. The pagans are defeated and Fore hanged. Salman returns to Jerusalem with Salme, and Fore's sister is baptised.

The second episode of the poem concerns Salme and Princian, and contains the motif of the death of the faithless wife. Salme is abducted a second time, but by Princian, disguised as a pilgrim, who wins her love by a magic ring. Morolf again reconnoitres in various disguises, including that of a pilgrim, and then reports Salme's whereabouts to Salman. Morolf marches against Princian and eventually slays him in battle. Salme is taken back to her husband, and her death occurs when Morolf opens one of her veins in a bath. Salman finally marries Fore's sister. (90)

The 12th century version of Salman und Morolf may have differed considerably from the extant poem, for this seems to have been amplified by doubling. There are two main episodes, that of Salme and Fore, and that of Salme and Princian, and the second is little more than a repetition of the first. Salman's wife is abducted

twice, and she is won back on two occasions, once by her husband, once by Morolf. There is no suggestion that Salman should kill her on the first occasion, for she has to be brought back for the second abduction. Later, it is Morolf who kills her, not the husband she deserted. In this version, then, Morolf really plays the rôle of hero, since he is responsible for bringing Salme back the second time, and for punishing her.

Unlike the "Condesa Traidora", in this legend the original abduction has some motivation, since Salman himself abducts Salme initially, has her baptised, and marries her. When she is abducted from him, it is by another pagan.

Gustav Ehrismann traces Salman und Morolf back to a Hebrew tradition. According to this, Salman possessed a ring which gave him power over the creatures of earth and Hell. His greatest enemy was Aschmedai, the prince of the spirits, who acquired the ring, and with it power over Salman. He robbed Salman of his kingdom and his wife, but Salman went about disguised as a beggar, overcame Aschmedai, and regained his power.

According to both the Hebrew and the German version, then, an enemy takes Salman's wife from him, and as Salman comes under Aschmedai's power in the Hebrew tradition, so he falls into Fore's power and is imprisoned by him in the German poem. Also, in both cases the enemy is finally overcome, and Salman wins back his former position. Ehrismann believes that the Hebrew tradition spread to the West through the Jerusalem pilgrims from the 4th century A.D., and it also spread to the Byzantine Empire. (91)

(b) The Russian version

The Russian version of the legend of Salomon's faithless wife coincides in its broad outlines with the German version, except that Salomon himself helps to punish his wife, Salomonie, and her lover.

Salomonie takes a potion, which her lover gives her, to make her appear dead, so that she is buried. Her lover, who is a powerful king, then has her exhumed and carries her off.

Another version relates that Tsar Vassili Akoulevitch of Constantinople has Salomon's wife abducted from Jerusalem. One of his courtiers, Ivan, visits her palace and invites her to go on his ship, in her husband's absence. He gives her the potion, which sends her to sleep, and then carries her off to Constantinople, where she becomes the Tsar's wife. During the next three years, Salomon gathers together an army, and pursues her to Constantinople. Having instructed the army to hasten to his aid when he blows his horn thrice, he enters the town disguised as a beggar, asks for alms outside the palace, and is recognised by his wife. She invites him in, puts him to sleep with a potion, and shuts him up in a chest. When the Tsar returns home, she betrays her husband, and persuades the Tsar to hang him. Salomon asks permission to sound his horn before he dies. This is granted, and at the third blast his army comes to his aid. Vassili is hanged in place of Salomon, together with Ivan, and the treacherous wife. (92)

The basic elements of the Salomon legend, therefore, are as follows. King Salomon's wife is unfaithful to him, possibly because she was abducted and married to him against her will. A foreign

king carries her off, aided by a potion which gives her a semblance of death. When Salomon discovers what has happened, he pursues her in disguise, and is recognised by his wife, who betrays him to the adulterer. Before being hanged, Salomon is allowed to blow his horn. His army arrives, frees him, and defeats his enemies. The legend ends in the death of the adulterer and the unfaithful wife.

(c) Comparison of the Salomon legend and the "Condesa Traidora"

There are several parallel incidents between this legend and the whole revenge episode of the "Condesa Traidora".

(i) King Salomon and Garcí Fernández both marry foreign wives: Salomon's is a pagan, and Garcí Fernández's is French.

(ii) Neither wife has any children, and both are unfaithful to their husbands, for they are abducted by foreigners, who are people of their own nationality: Salomon's wife by a pagan, and Argentina by a French Count.

(iii) Both offended husbands pursue their wives, although the Salomon legend does not state explicitly the necessity of revenge.

(iv) Both husbands adopt a disguise - pilgrim and poor man, or beggar - to enter the enemy's dwelling.

(v) Both receive help from someone else. Salomon only recovers Salme in the German poem with the help of Morolf and his army; in the Russian version, Salomon receives help from his army; Garcí Fernández enters the French Count's dwelling with the servant's help, and then Sancha aids him in his revenge.

(vi) Both husbands avenge themselves by killing the faithless wife and the adulterer, although the method of killing varies.

Here the similarities end, and there are differences in the way the two legends are developed. For instance:

(i) Although Salomon's wife takes a magic potion before her abduction, there is no suggestion that Argentina is abducted in this way.

(ii) Salomon's betrayal and pursuit are not kept secret, since he sets off to avenge himself accompanied by his army. Garcí Fernández accomplishes his revenge in great secrecy, taking only a squire with him to France.

(iii) Salomon's wife discovers her husband's presence. Argentina is completely unaware that Garcí Fernández has pursued her, and he discloses his identity only to Sancha.

(iv) Salomon's wife betrays him to the adulterer, and Salomon is in danger of being hanged. He can therefore only save himself by blowing his horn to summon his army. Garcí Fernández's life is never endangered in this way.

(v) The offended husbands receive help from different quarters. Salomon's comes from outside - from his own men; Garcí Fernández's comes from inside the adulterer's dwelling - from a relative of the offender.

(vi) Garcí Fernández is exonerated from all blame, for there is no suggestion that he himself abducted his wife, or married her against her will.

Despite these differences, the main theme of these legends is obviously the same, although the action of the "Condesa Traidora" is simpler. The common theme is the wife's abduction by a person of

her own nationality or religion, the husband's pursuit, his disguise, and his revenge on both guilty parties.

Now there are other medieval legends concerning different people, which coincide with the basic elements of these particular legends, and some also contain other motifs found in the "Condesa Traidora". Two of these legends are Russian variants, one of which contains the motif of the helpful abductor's relative, who makes the husband's revenge possible. Others are a German legend about a knight called Rudolf de Slusselberg, told in the Historia infidelis mulieris; the story of Walther and Hildegund in the Polish Walther-sage, which is included in the Chronicle of Boguphalus; a Portuguese legend concerning King Ramiro, of which there is a later Aragonese version told on similar lines; a French poem Li Bastars de Buillon; and an Indian tale in The Ocean of Story.

(d) The Russian variants

(i) The first Russian variant relates that Ivan Godinowitsch, nephew of Prince Vladimir, abducts Nastasja (or Maria Dmitrejewitschna), daughter of a merchant, Dmitrij. She is already betrothed to Koschtschei Tripetowitsch, who pursues and overtakes them. Ivan is the victor in the ensuing fight between the two men, and as he kneels on his rival's chest, asking Nastasja to bring him his knife, Koschtschei persuades her to help him, saying that if she marries him, she will lead an Empress's life, but married to Ivan she will be nothing but a washerwoman. With her help, Ivan is bound up, and Koschtschei and Nastasja enter the tent to take their pleasure. A raven appears, prophesying that Ivan will be the ultimate victor.

When Koschtschei tries to shoot it, the arrow flies back and strikes him. Nastasja offers to free Ivan, on condition that he does not punish her. He refuses, and she tries to kill him, but drops the sword, which cuts his fetters in falling. He punishes her by cutting off her hands, and lips, and tearing out her tongue. (93)(i)

(ii) The second variant relates that Michajlo Iwanowitsch Potok catches sight of a white swan, and when he goes to kill it, it turns into a beautiful maiden, whom he marries. During one of Potok's absences, a Prince abducts his wife. When he returns, he dresses as a pilgrim and pursues them to the Prince's court. There his wife recognises him and changes him into a stone. The holy Nicolaus restores him to his original form, but his wife again deceives him, and he is nailed to a wall. The Prince's daughter, Anna, falls in love with him and frees him, so he kills his treacherous wife and marries Anna.

According to yet another version, Potok is given food and drink following his return home, and as he lies asleep after the meal, he is dragged into a cellar and nailed to the wall. The guilty Prince is called Fedor, and it is his sister, Anna, who frees Potok. Subsequently, Potok marries her and kills both Fedor and his wife (Maria). (94)

These Russian variants therefore include the basic motifs of abduction of the unfaithful wife, or betrothed, and the offended man's pursuit. In the first version, as the latter dies himself, the abductor punishes the woman, by mutilation instead of death.

 (i) In another version, he cuts off her arms, legs, and lips.

The second version is closer to the "Condesa Traidora", since it also includes the motifs of the husband's pursuit disguised as a pilgrim; the abductor's helpful sister or daughter, who makes the husband's revenge possible by freeing him; the death of the wife, or both guilty parties, at the offended man's hand; and finally, his subsequent marriage to his helper, Anna.

(e) The Historia infidelis mulieris

The parallel episode in the legend about Rudolf de Slusselberg occurs in different circumstances, for the wife first contracts leprosy. Rudolf is asked to divorce her, but refuses, and they go to Portugal, where the knight learns of a miraculous fountain with waters said to cure leprosy and other diseases. This fountain is difficult of access, being surrounded by serpents and venomous animals, but Rudolf attacks these with his sword, and enables his wife to approach the fountain and bathe in its water. Her leprosy is cured, and she is then very beautiful.

While her husband is absent, the host of their lodging-place approaches her and plays on her ambition. He tells her of a certain splendid foreign king, suggesting that she would make him a fit wife, and offers to take her to his land. She agrees and flees over the sea to the king's city with the host and her children (a son and daughter). When Rudolf discovers this, he disguises himself as a pedlar and follows them:

" . . . sed cum nullum penitus suo placeret auditui, miles ipse, abjectis vestibibus ad miliciam pertinentibus, formam induit institoris, comparatis itaque gemmis, annulis aureis et aliis generis diversi clenodiis, classe reperta et inmissis in eam singulis, que causa navigacionis exposcit, in comitiva unius noti famuli, a regina sibi deputati, ad insequendum suum hospitem se recepit."(95)

Upon reaching the foreign king's city, he lays out his wares near the temple where the king and his new wife are going to offer sacrifices. The children are also brought to the temple, and the pedlar's jewels attract the boy's attention. He goes to examine them, recognises his father, and tells his mother. She verifies her former husband's identity and betrays him to the king, whom she urges to seize him quickly.

The king asks his people's advice concerning the prisoner's fate. One counsels letting his wife decide this, and she has him bound to a pillar in their bedroom, with coals burning near him. She then delivers herself to the king in her husband's presence. Once the adulterous pair have fallen asleep, the son cuts his father's bonds and gives him his arms. Rudolf kills the king, queen, and his daughter with one stroke of the sword, as they lie asleep. He then flees back to his own land, taking his son with him:

" . . . qui, dum ex eisdem armatus fuisset, doloris immensi, quem pertulerat, oblitus, extracto regis ense, qui ad ipsius caput in pariete pendeat, regem regine et filiam regi supponens, omnes insimul uno ictu perfodit, acceptoque secum filio et apertis camere januis, custodibus camere minime perturbatus, optatum se recepit ad iter . . ." (96)

Here, again, we find the motifs of the unfaithful wife, who flees of her own accord to marry a foreigner, the husband's pursuit in disguise, and his revenge on both guilty parties. The analogy with the "Condesa Traidora" is obvious, for in both legends the offended husband kills his wife and her lover in their bedroom as they lie asleep, and he only does this with another person's help. He then returns to his own country, taking his helper with him.

The extant manuscript of the German legend belongs to the middle of the 15th century, but the material itself seems to be considerably earlier, and its language points to the late 12th or early 13th century. Similarities in the phraseology of this legend and another one - the Albanus legend - have made A.E. Schönbach conclude that they were the work of the same person, a Cistercian by the name of Transmundus of Clairvaux. The exact date of his death is unknown, but it was probably during the first or second decade of the 13th century. Schönbach therefore suggests that the Historia infidelis mulieris may date from the beginning of the 13th century.

At the end of the 12th century, Clairvaux was evidently the home of an extensive edifying literature, and it is possible that the monks spread abroad the legend of Rudolf de Slusselberg. Indeed, by the 13th century it may already have been included in a book with other tales. (97)

(f) The Polish Walthersage

The Polish legend of Walther and Helgunda first appears in the so-called Latin Chronicle of Boguphalus. This is a particularly interesting variant of the legend of the unfaithful wife, since it also contains the motif of help being given to the hero in return for his promise of marriage. The story is as follows:

In the time of the pagans a certain Count Walther, owner of the castle of Tynecz, captures Prince Wyslaus of the city of Wyslicia, and has him imprisoned in the castle tower. Now Walther is married to Helgunda, whom he abducted to Poland. She had been betrothed to Almano, son of the king of Almania, but when Walther serenaded her,

she fell in love with him, rejected Almano, and fled with Walther. Almano pursued them, and fought Walther, who killed him. It is during Walther's absence that Prince Wyslaus inflicts harm on his people, so Walther rises against him, defeats, and imprisons him.

While Walther is away fighting for two years, Helgunda complains of her lot to one of her women. Realising her mistress's need, she tells her that Prince Wyslaus is imprisoned in the tower, and persuades her to have him released at night, and later returned there secretly. Helgunda follows her advice, but is so delighted with Wyslaus that instead of returning him to the tower, she flees with him to Wyslicia, abandoning her husband. When Walther discovers that his prisoner has carried off Helgunda, he pursues them and enters the city while Wyslaus is hunting. On seeing her husband, Helgunda tells him that Wyslaus carried her off violently. She lures Walther to her room and betrays him to Wyslaus, who has him chained to the wall, and orders a bed to be prepared there.

Wyslaus entrusts Walther to the care of his sister, whom no one will marry because of her despicable nature. She takes pity on him and asks if he will marry her if she frees him from his bonds. He promises, and bringing a sword from her brother's bedroom she places it between Walther's back and the wall:

"Habebat autem Wyslaus quandam sororem germanam, quam ob despicabilitatem ipsius nemo cupiebat in uxorem. Cujus custodiae Wyslaus prae caeteris custodibus Walteri plus confidebat. Haec Walteri afflictionibus nimium compatiens ipsum, pudore puellari prorsus semoto, a Waltero percontatur, si ipsam habere vellet in uxorem, si suae calamitati subveniret, a vinculis liberando? Spondet ille et juramento confirmat, quod eam maritali affectione quoad vixerit, pertractet et contra Wyslaum fratrem ejusdem gladio suo, ut eadem optaverat, nunquam dimicabit."(98)

The following day, while Wyslaus and Helgunda are making love, Walther addresses them, saying that if he were free, he would avenge himself. He then moves forward, free from his chains, and strikes them with the sword, slaying them both:

"Ipsis sic inter se confabulantibus, Walterus, liber a vinculis, saliens, ense vibrato, ante lectulum stare conspicitur, et mox, datis improperiis, manum cum ense in altum erigens, ipsius ensem in ambos cadere permittit; qui cadens utrosque per medium scidit. Sic unte-que eorum detestabilem vitam miserabiliori fine conclusit."(99)

Apart from this tale's general similarities with the revenge theme of the "Condesa Traidora", the actual method of revenge is very similar, since both parties are killed in bed with a sword at the same time. The other common motif, which I have already mentioned, is the help given by the adulterer's sister in exchange for the marriage promise. Since she frees Walther and gives him the sword, she makes the revenge possible, as Sancha does in the Castilian legend. The main differences between the legends are that Walther himself is guilty of abducting his wife initially, there is no disguise motif for the husband's pursuit, and the latter's presence is made known to his wife, who betrays him to her lover - hence his capture.

Walther and Hildegund are the subject of earlier poems. They appear, for example, in fragments of an Anglo-Saxon poem in 9th century writing, and in a 13th century Middle High German poem, which is also fragmentary. Although these do not tell us much about the form of the story, they prove that Walther and Hildegund were well-known figures in medieval literature. However, the Chronicle of Boguphalus seems to be the first time a story appears about them in this form.

The Chronicle, which narrates Poland's history until 1272, has been shown to belong to the 14th century.⁽ⁱ⁾ R. Heinzel has suggested that the author, or a reviser, may later have inserted the section concerning Walther and Helgunda in the finished Chronicle, from an earlier source. He supports this theory by the fact that the tale is set in the history of the 12th century, although its events refer to pagan times, which means that it ought really to come at the beginning of the Chronicle, rather than in its present position. He does add that this is not necessarily proof of a later insertion, because as the story has no historical links, it would have been difficult for the historian to link it up with tales of Poland's pagan princes.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

We may conclude, then, that the material may have gone back beyond the 14th century, and it certainly has a close analogy with the Salomon legend and the other variants in Europe. As far as we know, however, it is not older than the legend of Rudolf de Slusselberg, and we have no proof, either, that it is older than the "Condesa Traidora" legend.

(g) The Portuguese legend of King Ramiro

The Portuguese legend of King Ramiro appears first in the Libro de Linhagens. The oldest extant Portuguese manuscript belongs to the 16th century, but the legend probably dates originally from the 14th century.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

(i) For the earlier years this Chronicle draws on a certain Vincentius Kadlubek, or some of the derivatives, but for the years 1217-1272 the main source is the Great Polish Annals, and Bishop Boguphal of Posen (died 1253) seems to have had something to do with these Annals.

It relates that King Ramiro II of Leon visits his enemy, the Moor Alboçar Alboçadon, and asks for his sister in marriage. Alboçar refuses, pointing out that Ramiro is already married to Aldora, and his sister is betrothed to the King of Morocco. Ramiro therefore abducts her one night, takes her to Leon and baptises her with the name of Artiga. Alboçar, wishing to avenge himself for the dishonour, abducts Queen Aldora, taking her to Gaya. Ramiro sets out in pursuit, accompanied by his son, Ordoño, and some vassals, in ships camouflaged with green cloth. Having requested his men to go to his aid when he blows his horn, he disguises himself, and at the fountain below the castle of Gaya, he puts a cameo in the water-jug brought there by the queen's French servant girl. The queen recognises the cameo and instructs the girl to bring her husband secretly to the castle. She hides Ramiro in her rooms, but locks him in, and betrays him to Alboçar. Ramiro resorts to trickery to save himself. He confesses his guilt in abducting Alboçar's sister, and asks the Moor to summon all his relations, and permit him to sound his horn. The treacherous wife urges Alboçar to kill Ramiro, so he has him taken into the yard, and allows him to blow his horn. At once his vassals come to his aid. Ramiro himself slays Alboçar with his sword; his vassals slay the rest of the Moors, and Ramiro embarks with his wife and has her thrown into the sea. He returns to Leon, tells his people of his wife's treachery and marries Artiga, by whom he has a son, Alboçar Ramirez. (102)

The Portuguese legend coincides with the "Condessa Traidora" in that a foreigner abducts the wife of a Spaniard - Ramiro of Leon, or

Garcí Fernández - who pursues her to the abductor's dwellingplace, which he enters by reason of his disguise. In both cases the disguised husband speaks first to a servant of the house, who is French - the wife's servant-girl in the Portuguese legend, and Sancha's servant in the Castilian legend - and only through her intervention does the offended husband enter the abductor's dwellingplace. Both versions record that the husband kills both guilty parties, although the circumstances of their deaths differ. Ramiro slays only the adulterer on the spot, and postpones his wife's death until they are at sea. Having avenged themselves, Ramiro and Garcí Fernández both return to their own land, remarry, and announce their wife's treachery and their second marriage to their subjects. Their new wives are both foreigners - Artiga is a converted Moor, and Sancha is French - and they are both blood relations of the first wife's abductor. Artiga is Alboáçar's sister, and Sancha is the French Count's daughter. Both subsequently give birth to an heir - Artiga to Alboáçar Ramirez, and Sancha to Sancho García.

Owing to the similarities between these two legends, Foulché-Delbosc and Haggerty Krappe have deduced that the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora" provided the source for the Portuguese legend. They believe the latter is a rehashing of the Salomon legend, and is therefore of Oriental origin. (103)

Gaston Paris acknowledged a connection between the legend of Ramiro and that of Salomon, and agreed that the latter was of Eastern origin, and reached Europe - the Slav, German, and Roman countries - through the intermediary of Byzantium. He believed that there was

an older version of the Portuguese legend than the extant texts, and suggested that this was a Leonese poem with Leonese heroes, adding:

"Il est étonnant qu'on n'en trouve aucune trace dans les traditions épiques espagnoles."(104)

G. Baist refuted this theory, and saw the source of the Portuguese legend as a mingling of some tradition with many stories and a good deal of invention:

"Uebrigens glaube ich nicht, dass ein leonesisches Volkslied Quelle sei, sondern sehe Mischung von etwas Tradition, mit viel Geschichte und noch mehr Erfindung in der Erzählung."(105)

G. Paris's assertion does not take into account the "Condessa Traidora" legend, and it seems quite possible that this provided material for the legend of Ramiro, since as far as we know the latter did not go back beyond the 14th century. As we have it, it is unlikely that the Portuguese legend is older than the PCG variant, for it is overloaded with detail. There are, for example, the two abductions and the double revenge theme. Ramiro's abduction of Alboçar's sister demands retaliation, and means that he is not himself blameless, as is Garcí Fernández. Alboçar therefore only abducts Aldora in revenge for Ramiro's action, and this in turn leads Ramiro to seek revenge.

Other additions in the Portuguese legend are the husband's pursuit over the sea; the details of the ship's camouflage; and the concealing of the cameo in the water-jug as a means of disclosing Ramiro's presence to his wife. This last motif seems to be an Oriental one, for it appears elsewhere in an Arabic poem. (106)

Yet another addition is the episode where Ramiro is in danger of being

hanged, but saves himself by obtaining permission to blow his horn. The PCG version, then, is considerably shorter than the Portuguese one, which appears to have been amplified, possibly under the direct influence of the Salomon legend.

(h) The Aragonese legend of Count Rodrick

The Aragonese variant is preserved in a manuscript belonging to the end of the 15th century, and its content is fairly close to the legend of Ramiro.

It concerns a certain Count Rodrick of Alfanzara, whose beautiful wife sends a message of love to the Moorish king at Camanyaz. Delighted at this, the Moor gives her servant a narcotic to put under her tongue when she is asleep, and so give her the appearance of death. The Count has her buried after three days, but she is later exhumed and the 'tractant' takes her to the Moorish king. They live together for eight months, but she does not conceive any children, and the legend adds that her marriage to the Count was also childless.

A certain Christian beggar comes to Camanyaz and recognises her hand as she gives him bread. He informs the Count, who disguises himself as a poor man, tells his squires that he is going to Camanyaz, and advises them to hide in a nearby gorge in case he needs help. He arrives at Camanyaz as a pilgrim, and makes himself known to the Countess when she gives him alms. Feigning gladness, she hides him in her room telling him that she was brought there against her will, and wants to return to him. At the Moor's approach, she locks him in a chest, and then takes her pleasure with the king on the same chest. She betrays the Count to the king, and in reply to the

Moor's question as to what he would do if their positions were reversed, the Count says that he would put a chain round his neck, give him a horn, and burn him on a bonfire on a high hill. On the way there, the prisoner would blow the horn. The king follows his proposal, and the Count's supporters come forth from their hiding-place and attack the Moors. Some are killed, others flee, and the king and the queen are thrown on the bonfire. The Count returns to Alfanbra taking with him the king's servants. (167)

Again, there are basic similarities between this legend and the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora". In both cases it is a Countess who lets herself be abducted by a foreigner, and the behaviour of the Countess in the Aragonese legend is reminiscent of that of the Countess of Castile in the Najerense and later versions of the "Condesa Traidora". She encourages the attentions of a Moorish king in the same way as the Castilian Countess encourages the attentions of Almanzor, or the unnamed Moorish king.

Other similarities are: the pursuit of the wife overland, instead of a sea crossing as in the legend of Ramiro; neither Countess has any children; the husband's disguise is the same - that of a pilgrim - and this enables him to enter the guilty man's dwelling; both husbands avenge themselves by killing the two offenders, and subsequently return to their own region.

Incidents where the Aragonese legend differs from the PCG and coincides with the legend of Ramiro are: the husband makes himself known to his wife, who hides him inside her lover's dwelling-place; she betrays him to her lover, and so he has to resort to trickery to

save himself; the motif of blowing the horn to summon aid, which means that the husband only achieves his revenge with the help of his supporters; and the revenge does not take the form of death by the sword.

There are variations between the Aragonese and Portuguese versions, for whereas King Ramiro was himself guilty of an abduction, Count Rodrick is as blameless as Garcí Fernández. The legend of Ramiro omits the narcotic given to the wife, her burial and exhumation, and the recognition of the hand. The husband's hiding-place varies, for whereas Ramiro is hidden in a room next to the Moorish king's chamber, Count Rodrick is hidden in the chest. As the pursuit is overland, the Aragonese legend does not mention the camouflage of the ships, or the motif of recognition by means of the cameo.

Despite these differences, on the whole there is a closer analogy between the Portuguese and Aragonese legends, and the latter shows signs of having undergone the direct influence of the Salomon legend in a different way from the legend of Ramiro - i.e. in the addition of the narcotic, burial, and exhumation of the wife.

(i) Li Bastars de Buillon

The 14th century poem Li Bastars de Buillon provides yet one more example of a similar theme. During her husband's absence, the bastard of Buillon's wife, Ludie, who was baptised by force and married to him, takes refuge with the emir Corsabriu. The bastard pursues her to Corsabriu's castle at Mont-Oscur disguised as a charcoal burner, and makes himself known to her. She pretends to welcome him, and promises to return with him if he pardons her. However, she

advises Corsabriu, who seizes the bastard and prepares to hang him. He begs as a last favour to be allowed to blow a horn to summon the angels from heaven to receive his soul. Corsabriu agrees, and the horn is heard by the bastard's Christian helpers - the Duke of Tabarie and his company - who are stationed close by. They arrive in time to free the bastard and put the emir to death. (108) The difference between this poem and the other variants is that the bastard himself does not kill Ludie. Instead, Duke Hugues of Tabarie asks permission to punish her as she deserves, and she dies at the stake.

(j) The Indian tale in The Ocean of Story

It only remains now to mention the parallel Indian tale. This relates how, during her husband's absence on business, a wife elopes willingly with a Bhilla. (i) When the husband returns and learns what has happened, he follows them to the Bhilla's village, and is received by his wife, who says she was abducted by force. Expressing the fear that the Bhilla will soon return from hunting and kill them both, she hides her husband in a cave, assuring him that they will kill the Bhilla at night when he is asleep, and escape together. However, she betrays her husband, and the Bhilla ties him to a tree. That night he lies down to sleep beside the wife in view of her husband. Once they are asleep, the husband prays to Bhavānī (ii) for help. She appears and frees him from his bonds. He cuts off the Bhilla's head with his sword, awakens his wife, and they depart

(i) Bhīllas are defined by Tawney as "a wild mountain tribe". See Somadeva: Kathā Sarit Sāgara, trans. by C.H. Tawney as The Ocean of Story, ed. N.M. Penzer, I, London, 1924, p. 152, n. 1.

(ii) Bhavānī = the mother of the three worlds. See Somadeva: Kathā Sarit Sāgara, op. cit., I, pp. 2-3.

together, the wife secretly carrying the Bhilla's head. When they reach a town, she displays the head, and accuses her husband of killing the Bhilla, saying the latter was her husband. They are taken to the king, who frees the husband after hearing his story, and has the faithless wife's ears and nose cut off. (109)

Again in this tale we have the motifs of the wife's abduction of her own free will in her husband's absence, the pursuit, and the death of the sleeping lover. The wife, too, is punished finally, although on the orders of the king instead of at her husband's hands. Another similarity with the "Condesa Traidora" legend is the motif of carrying off the Bhilla's head as proof of his death, although the wife in the Indian tale has not the same motivation as Garcí Fernández and Sancha.

Foulché-Delbosc and Haggerty Krappe have suggested that the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora" legend, and the Aragonese legend of Rodrick of Alfanbra, represent a fusion of the Salomon legend with the Indian tale:

"Il n'y a donc pas de doute que les versions de la Crónica General et du texte aragonais représentent une fusion de la légende de Salomon avec un deuxième conte d'origine indienne et que je vais appeler 'La femme infidèle et le voleur.'" (110)

There does not seem to me to be any reason for believing in the direct influence of the Indian tale on the Castilian legend, for, apart from the problem of transmission, there are considerable fundamental differences between them. The PCG version omits the whole section concerning the wife's reception and betrayal of her husband, together with the idea of tying him up and making him witness their

behaviour together. We have already seen that Garcí Fernández's wife is completely unaware of his presence, even when he is hidden under the bed. Also, in the Indian tale, the husband only metes out punishment to the adulterer as he sleeps, and he is prepared to pardon his wife, who betrays him again by her public accusation. Finally, the motif of carrying the dead man's head in the "Condesa Traidora" may be explained without reference to the Indian tale. It is in accordance with the practice of many medieval peoples, as I shall show in a later chapter. There is therefore no need to suppose that it was taken from the Indian tale.

(7) Relationship of the Salomon legend and its parallels with the "Condesa Traidora"

There is no denying the close connection between the basic events of all these legends - the three Iberian legends, the German legend of Rudolf de Slusselberg, the French Poem Li Bastars de Buillon, the Indian tale, and the Salomon legend. The question is, then, whether the latter could have provided the basis for the revenge episode of the "Condesa Traidora", and the other legends.

References to the Salomon legend in some medieval works prove that it was known in at least one romance country. The Roman des Sept Sages in verse mentions Salomon's wife among other treacherous wives, including those of Constantine, Samson, and Arthur:

"D'enghien et d'art savoit plus seule
 Que la femme au roi Constantin,
 La Salemon ne la Fortin, (i)
 Ne la femme Artu de Bretagne
 Ki tant sot de male bargaigne
 Que par son enghien porcacha
 Comment Murdres envenima." (ill)

(i) Fortin = Samson.

Elie de Saint Gille, a French chanson de geste dating in its present form from the 13th century, indicates that its author knew the Salomon legend, since he mentions that Salomon's abducted wife feigned death:

"Dame," che dist Elies, "ne sui pas a aprendre.
 Salemon si prist feme, dont sovent me ramenbre,
 Quatre jors se fist morte en son palais meesme,
 Que onques ne crola ne puing, ne pié ne membre;
 Puis en fist uns vasaus toute sa consienche.
 Par le foi que vous doi, fole cose est de feme:
 Certes con plus le garde donques le pert on senpre."(112)

Le Blasme des Fames, a poem directed against women, also refers to the deception of Salomon's wife: (1)

"Neis le sage Salomon
 Qui de sens ot si grant renon,
 Que plus sages que lui ne fu,
 Si fu par sa fame decéu."(113)

We know that the Salomon legend provided the Russian epic with material, and that it appeared in Germany in the poem of Salman und Morolf. It seems reasonable to suppose, then, that it also provided the basis for the Historia infidelis mulieris, and Li Bastars de Buillon.

The difficulty is to know whether the "Condesa Traidora" was influenced directly by the Salomon legend, or by one of the other parallel legends. There seems to be a close analogy between the Castilian legend and the Historia infidelis mulieris. Their basic incidents coincide with one or other of the parallel legends - i.e. the wife leaving her absent husband voluntarily; the husband's blamelessness for his wife's infidelity; the flight to another land; the acceptance of a foreign lover; and the husband's pursuit in

(1) A. Jubinal has published Le Blasme des Fames in a collection of poems belonging to the 13th and 14th centuries.

disguise. However, quite apart from these common features, the dénouements of the two legends are very similar. We have seen that both adulterer and faithless wife are slain while asleep in bed, but with the help of another person, who makes this possible - the son who frees his father by cutting his bonds, or the adulterer's daughter, who hides the offended husband under the bed and warns him when the guilty parties are asleep. Also, both husbands return afterwards to their own lands, taking with them the person who helped in their revenge. The similarities between these legends therefore suggest that there may have been some connection between them.

(8) Concluding remarks

We may now sum up by saying that the whole episode concerning Argentina has a fictitious character, and it is out of keeping with the general nature of the epic. This has little place for love, probably because medieval women had no part in the warrior's active life, and it was considered unworthy for a woman to sway an heroic knight.

We have seen that the motif of the husband's revenge for his wife's adultery is a folklore one, and the idea of adultery virtually imposing an obligation on the husband to punish the offenders is a favourite medieval theme, although it does not often occur in the epic. As far as the Spanish epic legends are concerned, the obvious analogy with the "Condesa Traidora" is the legend of King Rodrick, which was well known before the revenge episode first appeared in connection with Garcí Fernández. The legend of Rodrick, however, agrees with the "Condesa Traidora" only in so far as:

(a) the basic theme is revenge for an insult offered through a wife - or daughter in the earliest versions.

(b) Count Julian and Garcí Fernández are both absent when the dishonour occurs, although Julian is out of the country, whereas Garcí Fernández is lying ill. The Rodrick legend does not include the abduction theme, for Count Julian's wife, or daughter, remains in the one place - the king's palace - and is seduced there.

(c) Both offended Counts plan and carry out their revenge in secret, although Julian's is directed against the seducer only.

In view of the differences between them, it seems unlikely that the Rodrick legend influenced the "Condesa Traidora", and we are justified in looking beyond the Spanish epic legends for some other possible source for the Argentina episode.

Certainly, the character of the unfaithful and heartless wife was a commonplace in medieval literature and legend, and apart from her rôle in the romances, fabliaux, or legends such as that of Constantine, we have found her appearing in several basically similar legends, which may go back to the Salomon legend, of Eastern origin. A comparison of the main events of these legends with the "Condesa Traidora" will help to clarify their common features:

	<u>"Condesa Traidora"</u>	<u>Salman und Morolf</u>	<u>Russian 'bylines'</u>
<u>Abductor of wife</u>	A French Count.	(i) Fore, a pagan king (Salme initially abducted by Salman). (ii) Princian.	A king, or Tsar Vassili Akoulevitch of Constantinople.
<u>Circumstances of abduction</u>	While G.F. is ill, Argentina flees with French Count from Castile to France.	(i) Salme is given a magic herb, buried, exhumed, and abducted by	Salomonie is given a magic potion, and abducted by the

	<u>"Condesa Traidora"</u>	<u>Salman und Morolf</u>	<u>Russian 'bylines'</u>
<u>Circumstances of abduction</u> (continued)		Fore's minstrel. (ii) Abducted by Princian disguised as a pilgrim, with the aid of a magic ring.	king, or the Tsar's courtier.
<u>Husband's pursuit in disguise</u>	G.F. pursues as a pilgrim, accompanied by a squire.	(i)(a) Morolf pursues disguised as a pilgrim. (b) Salman pursues disguised as a pilgrim, and accompanied by his army. (ii) Morolf pursues Salme in different disguises - cripple, pilgrim, musician, butcher, shop-keeper.	Salomon pursues accompanied by an army, and enters the town disguised as a beggar.
<u>Husband's reception</u>	G.F.'s presence unknown to wife and adulterer.	(i)(a) Morolf is recognised and captured, but escapes. (b) Salman is recognised by Salme, and condemned to death by Fore.	Salomon is recognised and duped by his wife; invited into adulterer's palace and shut up in chest; betrayed to Tsar.
<u>Helper</u>	G.F. helped by adulterer's daughter, Sancha, in return for promise of marriage.	(i)(a) Salman helped by Morolf, who first pursues Salme. (b) Helped by his army which saves him when he blows his horn thrice. (ii) Helped by Morolf, who discovers Salme's whereabouts.	Salomon helped by his army when he blows his horn three times.
<u>Circumstances of the revenge and fate of offenders</u>	G.F. is hidden under the bed; he slays French	(i) Pagans defeated by Salman's army,	Tsar and the wife are hanged.

	<u>"Condessa Traidora"</u>	<u>Salman und Morolf</u>	<u>Russian 'bylines'</u>
<u>Circumstances of the revenge (continued)</u>	Count and his wife in bed, when asleep.	and Fore is hanged. (ii) Morolf slays Princian in battle, and returns with Salme. He slays her by opening a vein.	
<u>Husband's return to his own land</u>	G.F. returns to Castile with helper (Sancha), and heads of his first wife and French Count. Marries Sancha.	(i) Salman returns to Jerusalem with Salme. (ii) Morolf returns with Salme. Salman marries Fore's sister.	
	<u>Historia infidelis mulieris</u>	<u>Walthersage</u>	<u>Legend of Ramiro</u>
<u>Abductor of wife</u>	Host of lodgings, on behalf of a foreign king.	Wyslaus, prince of Wyslicia.	A Moor, Alboçar Alboçadon (Aldora initially abducted by Ramiro).
<u>Circumstances of abduction</u>	During husband's absence, the wife flees with the host and her children from Portugal to the king's city over the sea.	During husband's absence at war, Helgunda flees with Wyslaus (husband's prisoner) to Wyslicia.	Aldora is abducted by Alboçar when in Minhor, and taken overseas to the castle of Gaya.
<u>Husband's pursuit in disguise</u>	Rudolf de Slusselberg pursues disguised as a pedlar.	Walther pursues alone - no disguise.	Ramiro is accompanied by his son, Ordoño, and his vassals. Enters Alboçar's castle disguised as a Moor.
<u>Husband's reception</u>	Rudolf is recognised by his son, who tells his mother. She verifies his	Walther meets his wife, who pretends she was abducted forcibly; she lures	Ramiro himself informs his wife of his presence by means of the cameo in the

	<u>Historia infidelis mulieris</u>	<u>Walthersage</u>	<u>Legend of Ramiro</u>
<u>Husband's reception (continued)</u>	identity and betrays him to the king.	him to her room and betrays him to Wyslaus.	water-jug. She hides him in her room, and betrays him to Alboçar.
<u>Helper</u>	Rudolf helped by his son.	Walther helped by adulterer's sister, in return for promise of marriage.	Ramiro helped by his vassals when he blows his horn three times.
<u>Circumstances of the revenge and fate of offenders</u>	Rudolf is tied up in adulterers' bedroom; slays the adulterer, wife, and his daughter when asleep in bed.	Walther is tied up in bedroom; slays adulterers in bed with sword.	The Moors are slain by Ramiro's vassals; Ramiro himself slays Alboçar in the palace yard, and has his wife thrown into the sea.
<u>Husband's return to his own land</u>	Rudolf returns to Germany with his helper (his son).	Not mentioned.	Ramiro returns to Leon. Marries Artiga, Alboçar's sister.
	<u>Legend of Count Rodrick of Alfandra</u>	<u>Li Bastars de Buillon</u>	<u>Indian tale (Ocean of Story)</u>
<u>Abductor of wife</u>	The 'tractant', on behalf of the Moorish king at Camanyaz.	Ludie flees to the emir Corsabriu.	A Bhilla.
<u>Circumstances of abduction</u>	The Countess is given a narcotic, buried, and exhumed by abductor.	During husband's absence, flees to Corsabriu's castle at Mont-Oscur.	During husband's absence on business, the wife flees with the Bhilla to his village.
<u>Husband's pursuit in disguise</u>	Rodrick is disguised as a poor pilgrim, and accompanied by some of his people.	The bastard pursues disguised as a charcoal-burner.	No disguise.

	<u>Legend of Count Rodrick of Alfandra</u>	<u>Li Bastars de Buillon</u>	<u>Indian tale (Ocean of Story)</u>
<u>Husband's reception</u>	Rodrnick makes himself known to his wife; she hides him in a chest in her room; betrays him to the Moor.	The bastard makes himself known to his wife; she pretends to be repentant; betrays him to Corsabriu.	The husband goes straight to his wife; she pretends she was abducted by force, and hides him in a cave; betrays him to the Bhilla.
<u>Helper</u>	Rodrnick helped by his supporters when he blows his horn.	Helped by his followers, under the Duke of Tabarie, when he blows his horn.	Helped by Bhavanī.
<u>Circumstances of the revenge and fate of offenders</u>	Moorish king and faithless wife are thrown on bonfire prepared originally for Count Rodrick.	Corsabriu is slain by the lance of Hugues de Tabarie.	The husband is tied to a tree. Slays the Bhilla when he is asleep, and cuts off his head. Spares the wife, who is mutilated on the king's order.
<u>Husband's return to his own land</u>	Rodrnick returns to Alfandra.		

None of these legends makes the revenge a matter of passion or jealousy carried out when the husband finds his wife with another man. Instead, it is something he deliberately sets out to achieve, and it may entail following his wife a long way and seeking her out, often in disguise. In other words, all the legends agree with the type of premeditated revenge we find in the "Condessa Traidora" legend.

It is feasible that the revenge episode of the Castilian legend is connected either with the Salomon legend itself, which must have been well known in Europe by the 13th century, or with one of the

parallel legends. In this case, the basic elements were originally of Eastern provenance, and we have an example of a legend of Eastern origin being attributed to European characters.

With regard to the European variants, we can only say with any certainty that the original version of the poem about Salman, and the legend of Rudolf de Slusselberg, were probably earlier than the PCG. The Portuguese legend of Ramiro may not have gone back beyond the 14th century, and its more detailed form certainly makes it unlikely that it is older than the episode in the PCG. There is no reason to believe, either, that the Aragonese version is older than the "Condesa Traidora", and I have suggested that this links up with the legend of Ramiro rather than with the Castilian legend.

Again, we are brought to the conclusion that the analogy seems closest between the Historia infidelis mulieris and the "Condesa Traidora". Apart from the similar ending, they have in common the obvious desire for the revenge to be carried out personally and secretly, without outside help. Although the heroes are aided by one person eventually, they strike the actual death-blow themselves.

The dénouement of the Walthersage is also very close to the "Condesa Traidora", both because of the motifs of help given by the adulterer's sister in return for the marriage promise, and because Walther slays the adulterers in bed. This legend may go back beyond the 14th century, but proof is lacking, and it seems more likely that it has some connection with the Historia infidelis mulieris rather than the Castilian legend.

In the other parallel legends, the hero receives help from his

army, or a large gathering of his vassals, before avenging himself, and he summons them by blowing his horn. The only exception is the Indian tale, where help comes from Bhavānī, in response to the husband's entreaties for her help. The Salomon legend and the Aragonese legend of Count Rodrick of Alfanbra are the only legends with a supernatural aid to the abduction, in the form of the magic herb or potion producing the appearance of death.

We must stress that even though the main events of this episode of the "Condesa Traidora" were probably based on the Salomon legend or one of its parallels, it has been further elaborated with new elements. Examples are: the pilgrimage motifs, the explicit desire to avenge a dishonour, the idea of hiding the hero under the adulterers' bed, and the carrying of their heads back to Castile.

Notes to Chapter 6

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"Car il est clere chose que se uns hons defent a un autre par devant justice ou par devant bonnes gens qu'il ne voist plus entour sa fame ne en son ostel pour li pourchacier tel honte, et il, après la défense, le trueve en fet present gisant a sa feme, s'il ocist l'homme et la fame, ou l'un par soi, il n'en pert ne cors ne avoir . . ."

Riedel, F. Carl, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

- (32) Gregorii Turonensis episcopi: Historiae Francorum, ed. René Poupard, Paris, 1913, VIII, xviii, p. 317.

"Cum autem sepius Dagulfus abba pro sceleribus suis argueritur, quia furta et homicidia plerumque faciebat, sed et in adulteriis nimium dissolutum erat, quodam tempore uxorem vicini sui concupiscens, miscebatur cum ea. Requirens occasiones diversas, qualiter virum adultere, qui in terra huius monasterii conmanebat, deberet oppremere, ad extremum contestatus est ei, dicens quod, si ad uxorem suam

accederet, puniretur. Illo quoque discedente ab hospiciolo suo, hic nocte cum uno clerico veniens, domum meretricis ingreditur. Postquam autem diutissime bibentes inebriati sunt, in uno strato locantur. Quibus dormientibus, adveniens vir illi, accenso stramine, elevata bispinne utrumque peremit . . ."

- (33) Taciti, Cornelii: De Origine et Situ Germanorum, ed. J.G.C. Anderson, Oxford, 1938, § 19.
- (34) Georgisch, P.: Corpus Iuris Germanici Antiqui, Magdeburg, 1738, Lex Frisionum, Tit. V, 1, f. 418.
- (35) Georgisch, P., op. cit., Decretio Childeberti Regis, f. 475. Rullkoetter, William: The Legal Protection of Women among the Ancient Germans, Chicago, 1900, pp. 79-80.
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- (38) Ticknor, G.: History of Spanish Literature, II, London, 1849, pp. 363-364 and p. 364, n. 20.
- (39) Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano, pub. Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1815, III, § 4, p. 55.
- (40) Fuero Juzgo, op. cit., pp. 40 and 56.
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- (42) Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, p. 58.
- "Mortuo Ranimiro, Veremudus Ordonii filius ingressus est Legionem, et accepit regnum pacifice. Vir satis prudens; leges a Vambano principe conditas firmavit . . ."
- (43) Las Siete Partidas, pub. Real Academia de la Historia, III, 1807, Pt. VII, Tit. xvii, Ley I, p. 648.
- (44) Las Siete Partidas, op. cit., Ley II, p. 648.
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- (46) Las Siete Partidas, op. cit., Ley XIII, p. 655.
- (47) Las Siete Partidas, op. cit., Ley XIV, p. 656.
- (48) Las Siete Partidas, op. cit., Ley XV, p. 657.
- (49) Hinojosa, E. de: El Elemento Germánico en el Derecho Español, Madrid, 1915, p. 59.

- (50) Muñoz y Romero, Tomás: Colección de Fueros Municipales, I, Madrid, 1847, p. 351.
Hinojosa, E. de, op. cit., p. 59.
- (51) Fueros Castellanos de Soria y Alcalá de Henares, ed. G. Sánchez, Madrid, 1919, LV, §§ 534, 540, 541, p. 210.
- (52) Hinojosa, E. de, op. cit., p. 31 . . .
- (53) Genesis, XXXVIII, 24.
- (54) Leviticus, XX, 10.

"And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death."

Deuteronomy, XXII, 22.

"If a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband, then they shall both of them die, both the man that lay with the woman, and the woman . . ."

- (55) Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James: A History of Spanish Literature, London, 1898, p. 325.
- (56) Stuart, D.C.: Honor in the Spanish Drama, RR, I, 1910, p. 252.
- (57) Muñoz Peña, P.: La idea del honor como elemento artístico en la literatura castellana, RCo, LV, 1885, pp. 458-459.

"La idea del honor hay que buscarla en la edad media, en la cual, a consecuencia de la fusión de dos factores importantísimas, el cristianismo y el germanismo, produjo este delicado y singular sentimiento del honor en todas las esferas de la vida, y aun se compendia y se personifica en una institución de inmensa trascendencia, en la caballería, que es la reunión de todas aquellas ideas y sentimientos, que teniendo su punto de partida en el valor personal del hombre, coloca a éste en defensor de los fueros de justicia . . ."

- (58) Muñoz Peña, P., op. cit., LV, pp. 460 . . . , and LVI, p. 43.
- (59) Reinhard, J.R.: Burning at the Stake in Medieval Law and Literature, SpXVI, 1941, No. 2, "Rudimentary Ideas of Crime and Punishment"; p. 190.
- (60) PCG, II, § 751, pp. 446-448.
- (61) Poema de Mío Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1951, §§ 124-152.
- (62) PCG, II, § 789, p. 472.

- (63) PCG, II, §§ 839, 841, 842, 843, 844, pp. 513-518.
- (64) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, Madrid, 1946, v. 643, p. 192, and v. 649-650, p. 194.
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- (67) PCG, II, § 815, p. 495.

"Et por que todas las otras tierras de los moros; Portugal et Luzenna et Seuilla et Cordoua et Toledo et Celtiberia et Carpentania el rey don Fernando su padre las auie crebantadas et parados los moros moradores llanos et pecheros a ell et a los otros sus herederos, fue muy apoderado sobre Saragoça."

- (68) PCG, II, § 816, p. 496.
- (69) Cross, T.P.: The Celtic Origin of the Lay of Yonac, Rev.Celt., XXXI, 1910, pp. 446-447.
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- (71) Todd Lecture Series, XIV, op. cit., pp. 33-35.
- (72) Stokes, Whitley: The Prose tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas, Rev.Celt., XVI, 1895, no. 98, p. 50.
- (73) Ailech II, in Edward Gwynn: Poems from the Dindshenchas, Todd Lecture Series, VII, Dublin, 1900, p. 43, l. 15-18.
- "Corrcend, son of Fatheman, from Cruach Clune, smote
Aed, high-born famous, who was son to the sorrowful Dagda,
Because Aed came to Corrcend's wife into her bed;
Ill was the deed when no ally allowed it."
- (74) Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. María Leach, I, New York, 1949, "Adultery", pp. 13-15.
- (75) Sturlason, Snorre: Heimskringla, trans. Samuel Laing, London, 1930, VI, ix, p. 124.
- (76) Scripta Historica Islandorum, (Societate Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium), III, Hafniae, 1829, pp. 87-91.
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Liebrecht, Felix: Zur Volkskunde, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 41.

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- (101) Foulché-Delbosc, R. and Krappe, A. Haggerty: La Légende du Roi Ramire, op. cit., p. 489.
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- (103) Foulché-Delbosc, R. and Krappe, A. Haggerty: op. cit., p. 534.
- (104) Paris, G.: La Femme de Salomon, R, IX, 1880, p. 436 . . .
- (105) See G. Baist's discussion of G. Paris: La Femme de Salomon in ZRP, V, Halle, 1881, p. 173.
- (106) Braga, Theophilo: Epoetas de Raça Mosárabe, (Historia da Poesia Portuguesa), Oporto, 1871, iii, pp. 117-119.
- (107) Foulché-Delbosc, R. and Krappe, A. Haggerty; op. cit., pp. 520-526.
- (108) Li Bastars de Buillon, ed. Aug. Scheler, Brussels, 1877, §§ 200-213, pp. 205-222.
Paris, G.: Li Bastars de Buillon, R, VII, 1878, pp. 461-462.
- (109) Somadeva: Kathā Sarit Sāgara, trans. by C.H. Tawney as The Ocean of Story, ed. N.M. Penzer, V, London, 1926, pp. 80-82.
- (110) Foulché-Delbosc, R. and Krappe, A. Haggerty; op. cit., p. 540.
- (111) Le Roman des Sept Sages, ed. Jean Misrahi, Paris, 1933, pp. 14-15, l. 424-430.
- (112) Elie de Saint Gille, ed. Gaston Raynaud, Société des Anciens textes français, Paris, 1879, pp. 59-60, l. 1792-1798.
- (113) Jubinal, Achille: Jongleurs et Trouvères..., Paris, 1835, pp. 81-82.

7. Help given in return for a promise of marriage

The motif of giving help in return for a promise of marriage must now be examined in more detail. The "Condesa Traidora" introduces it when Garcí Fernández says that he will marry Sancha and take her back to Castile with him, if she will help him avenge himself on her father and step-mother. The motif does not appear until the PCG version of the legend.

In the previous chapter we have mentioned the motif's appearance both in the Walthersage, where the adulterer's sister helps Walther avenge himself in return for his promise of marriage, and in the Russian variant where the abductor's daughter or sister, Anna, frees the offended husband. This makes his revenge possible, and afterwards he marries her. We have said that there is no proof that the Walthersage is older than the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora", and we cannot conclude with any certainty that the Castilian legend could have imitated either the Polish or the Russian legends. We must therefore look to other sources for the motif in the PCG.

(1) Motif of the helpful woman who hides the hero under the bed

Numerous folk-tales are based on the motif of the mother, daughter, or wife of the enemy or ogre helping the hero to perform some task which he has been set. This occurs, for example, in the type of tale where the hero sets out on a journey to obtain some information, or perform some task, which he achieves with the help of a relative of the enemy - or sometimes the devil - who possesses that information, or the ability to aid him. By helping the hero the woman therefore betrays her husband, father, or son, and this

type of tale links up with another motif connected with Garcí Fernández's revenge, for the help may entail hiding the hero in the house before his enemy comes home. In some folk-tales, the helpful woman actually hides the hero under the bed to enable him to fulfil his mission. During the night she may make the enemy tell her the answers to the questions which the hero has been set, pretending that they are part of a dream, and the hero hears them from his hiding-place. Next morning, after the enemy's departure, the hero also leaves, often taking the helpful woman with him. (1)

As examples, we may cite some parallel tales occurring in France, Germany, and Iceland. The first is a Breton tale, Les trois poils de la Barbe d'or du Diable, in which the devil's elderly mother hides the hero, Charles, under her bed. While the devil is lying there asleep, she pulls out of his golden beard the three hairs which Charles has to obtain as a condition of his marriage to the king's daughter. (2) A variation of the tale relates that before marrying a merchant's daughter, a boy has to obtain three hairs from the devil's stomach and the answer to certain questions. The devil's servant-girl helps him by hiding him under her master's bed, pulling out the hairs while he sleeps, and asking the questions pretending she has dreamed them. When the boy returns home, he marries the merchant's daughter. (3)

Another version is a German tale of the love of a Princess and a woodcutter. The Princess's father will only agree to their marriage if the woodcutter brings him the devil's three golden hairs. This time the devil's wife helps the young man. She, too, hides him

under the bed in her husband's absence, and pulls out the hairs as he sleeps. She also obtains the answer to certain questions posed to the woodcutter on his way, by pretending to have dreamed them. (4)

In another German tale a knight promises his daughter in marriage to a herdsman, if he brings him three feathers belonging to a certain dragon. The herdsman achieves this, assisted by the dragon's maid-servant, who hides him under her master's bed in his absence, and pulls out the feathers when he is asleep. She gives them to the hero when the dragon has left his cave; the hero returns home and marries the knight's daughter. (5)

The last example is an Icelandic tale, and although the hero does not receive any help in performing his task, it includes the motif of hiding under the bed. A country-boy, Tritill Laeralitill, goes to ask a certain giant's advice and the answers to various questions. When he reaches the giant's cave, he hides under a bed, but the giant smells the presence of a human, and makes him leave his hiding-place. Eventually, the boy secures the required information. (6)

I have cited these tales as they include the motifs of the helpful woman who is prepared to betray her master, or a male relative, by helping the hero, and the idea of hiding the latter under the bed to achieve the purpose for which he undertook his journey. These are both motifs appearing in the "Condesa Traidora" legend - Sancha betrays her own father to help Garcí Fernández accomplish the purpose of his journey to France, and she hides him under her father's bed so that he may slay the French Count and Argentina as they lie asleep.

This suggests that the episode may be rooted in folklore.

(2) Help for a promise of marriage in Classical Literature

The enemy or monster's female relative or servant, who helps the hero to perform some task, is closely related to the woman who gives help in return for a promise of marriage. This is a very old motif, for there are examples of it in the literature of classical antiquity. The story of Jason and Medea contains it, for example, when Medea helps Jason perform the difficult tasks set him by her father, Aetes, in return for a promise of marriage.

The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius relates how Medea, having fled from her father's palace and joined the Argonauts, helps Jason seize the golden fleece by giving him good advice, and lulling to sleep the serpent guarding the tree on which the fleece hangs. In return for the promise of Medea's help, Jason swears that he will marry her on their return to Hellas.⁽⁷⁾ Here again, then, we have an example of a daughter betraying her father by helping the hero to accomplish a difficult feat, which is against her father's will.

The same motif appears in Ovid's Metamorphoses, which also recounts that Jason asks Medea's aid in performing the tasks set him, including taking the golden fleece from the tree guarded by the serpent. In return for her help, he promises marriage.⁽⁸⁾

One of the tales of Seneca's Centroversiae contains the motif in different circumstances. Pirates capture a young man, whose father is unwilling to ransom him, and the daughter of the pirate leader makes him agree to marry her in return for his freedom.⁽⁹⁾

(3) Help for a promise of marriage in Irish Folklore

We also find the motif occurring in Irish folklore, where a fairy gives help in return for the marriage promise. In the story of "The Festivities at the house of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe in the county of Clare", the fairy Uchtdealbh agrees on this condition to help Iollan Eachtoch, one of the chieftains of the Fenians of Ulster. Iollan is given Tuirreann in marriage, provided that he restores her to Fionn whenever he wishes, since she is his mother's sister. Uchtdealbh is a female spirit who attends Iollan, and jealousy causes her to transform Tuirreann into a greyhound, and send her to live at Fergus Fionnliath's house. When Fionn discovers that Tuirreann is no longer living with Iollan, he insists that she shall be returned to him. Iollan goes to Uchtdealbh, who agrees to help him out of his predicament if he will promise to marry her. Only then does she fetch Tuirreann from Fergus's house, and restore her to her human shape. (10)

(4) Help for a promise of marriage in medieval literature and legend

Another version of the motif is the freeing of a prisoner by his captor's daughter, or some close female relative, in return for a promise of marriage. We have already seen this in classical literature in Seneca's Controversiae, and medieval literature and legend contain numerous examples of it.

(a) In Spanish legends

The Najerense version of the legend of Fernán González relates that in return for his promise of marriage, the Count is freed from prison by Sancha, sister of King García of Pamplona, who captured him

at Cirueña. (11) The F.Gz. narrates the same episode at greater length. Sancha first says that she will free Fernán González if he will marry her:

"Sy vos luego agora d'aqui salir queredes,
 pleyto (e) omenaje en mi mano faredes,
 que por duenna en mundo a mi non dex(ar)edes,
 comigo bendiciones e mis(s)a prenderedes.
 Sy esto non fazedes en la carçel mor(r)edes,
 como omne sy(n) consejo nunca d'aqui saldredes;
 vos, mesquino, pensat lo, sy buen seso avedes,
 sy vos por vuestrra culpa atal duenna perdedes."(12)

The Count then promises to take her as his wife on this condition:

"Sennora, dixo el conde, por verdat vos lo digo,
 seredes mi muger e yo vuestro marydo."(13)

The PCG version of the legend also repeats the motif. (14)

The legend of the death of Sancho II of Castile contains a variation of the motif, for while Sancho is besieging Zamora, which belongs to his sister Urraca, she promises to deliver herself and all her possessions to the person who frees her from the siege. Bellido Dolfo agrees to do this, if she guarantees her promise. In exchange he plans to kill Sancho treacherously, and arranges for the people of Zamora to chase him out of the city as though he is fleeing and to reopen the city gates to him on his return:

"Quod cum urraca persensisset obortis lacrimis ait si quis me ab hac obsidione et angustia utrumque liberaret me et mea omnia illi darem. Tunc quidam filius perditionis bellidus ataulfus nomine qui eam super omnia cupid' affectabat accedens ad eam dixit si de promisso me certificas facio quod exoptas. Certus ergo de promisso habens cum quibusdam consilium portas fecit aperiri et se quasi fugientem insequi et ut reuertenti portas aperiant mandat uigilanti oculo prospectare."

(15)

This legend inverts the motif, since it is the man, Bellido Dolfo, who agrees to help the woman, Urraca, in exchange for her promise to marry him. Also, instead of freeing someone from prison,

he is to free Urraca and Zamora from the Castilian siege.

A promise of marriage is given to obtain help from the enemy's daughter in the PCG version of the 12th century chanson de geste Mainet, although here, too, the motif shows a variation. Galiana (= Galienne), daughter of King Galafre of Toledo, loves Maynet and he promises to marry her somewhat unwillingly, not so that she will free him, but so that she will give him arms and a horse. (16)

According to the Toledano, Charlemagne (= Maynet in the legend) took Galafre's daughter back to Gaul, where she was converted and married to him. (17) This legend therefore illustrates not only the promise of marriage motif, but also the flight of the enemy's daughter with a foreigner, and her subsequent marriage to him. However, in this version of Mainet the scene of the promise and flight is Spain, as it is in Sancha's escape with Fernán González, whereas in the "Condesa Traidora" legend it is France, and the couple flee back to Castile.

In discussing legends in Spain with motifs similar to the "Condesa Traidora", we must mention the parallel between Sancha's marriage to Garcí Fernández, and the fictitious marriage of Rodrick of Bivar and Jimena Gómez. Underlying both is the idea of the hero's marriage to the orphan whose father he has killed. This motif is connected with Rodrick in the Mocedades de Rodrigo, a legendary account of the Cid's early years, which first appears in prose in the C.1344. This legend assumes Rodrick's future wife to be a daughter of a Count Gómez de Gormaz. A dispute arises between his house and that of Rodrick's father, Diego Laínez, and in the ensuing

conflict Rodrick kills the Count. The dead man's daughter, Jimena, visits the king and asks him to give her Rodrick as her husband. The king summons him by letter, informs him of Jimena's request, and the marriage is celebrated, although Rodrick swears that he will not be seen with his wife until he has won five battles in the field.⁽¹⁸⁾

There is a later slightly different verse account of this legendary marriage in the Crónica Rimada, which Pidal places at the beginning of the 15th century.⁽¹⁹⁾ Here Jimena Gómez says to the king:

"Mostrarvos he asosegar a Castilla e a los reynos otro tal.
Datme a Rodrigo por marido, aquel que mató a mi padre."⁽²⁰⁾

Whereas the earlier version shows Rodrick grateful for the pardon Jimena is prepared to grant him in return for their marriage, the Crónica Rimada depicts him as very annoyed at the enforced marriage, and he adopts a haughty attitude towards the king.⁽²¹⁾ The ballad Día era de los Reyes also treats this subject, i.e. Jimena's complaints to the king about her father's death at Rodrick's hand, and her request to be married to him.⁽²²⁾

Behind this episode, then, is the idea of marriage to the person responsible for the crime, as compensation for the orphan. The third person, whom the orphaned woman approaches demanding justice, does not intervene in the "Condesa Traidora". Instead of complaining about Garcí Fernández's action, Sancha actually helps him accomplish her father's death, although she takes good care to secure first his promise of marriage. This suggests that her request, like Jimena Gómez's, is prompted by a desire for some form of compensation for the death of her parent, even though she has not been on good terms

with him since her stepmother's arrival.

(b) Outside Spain

The promise of marriage motif occurs frequently outside Spain in the Middle Ages, particularly in connection with the freeing of a prisoner. One of the tales in the Gesta Romanorum has a theme similar to the tale in the Controversiae. Pirates capture and imprison a certain young man, and his father refuses to ransom him. His captor's daughter often visits him, and he asks if she will free him. She agrees to do so, on condition that he marries her when the opportunity occurs. She flees with him to his own country, and does eventually marry him:

"Nichil aliud peto pro tua liberacione, nisi quod me in uxorem ducas tempore opportuno." Qui ait: 'Hoc tibi firmiter promitto.' Statim puella patre ignorante ipsum a vinculis liberavit et cum eo ad patriam suam fugit."(23)

Again, the daughter's rôle in this tale is analogous to Sancha's part in the "Condesa Traidora", since both women help a foreign stranger, betray their own father in doing so, and return with the foreigner to his own country. The chansons de geste frequently use similar motifs, generally in connection with a Saracen princess, who falls in love with her father's Christian prisoner, helps him in return for the marriage promise, and follows him back to his own land. Examples of this appear in the Chanson de Floovant, Fierabras,⁽ⁱ⁾ and the Prise d'Orange,⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ and Huon de Bordeaux⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ includes a closely

(i) The extant text of Fierabras is c. 1170. See Bédier, J.: Les Légendes Épiques, III, Paris, 1912, p.169, and IV, p.157.

(ii) The Prise d'Orange is dated shortly before 1150, according to M. de Riquer, although L. Gautier believes that the present version does not go back beyond the 13th century. He admits, however, that there was an earlier version. See Riquer, Martín de: Los Cantares de gesta franceses, Madrid, 1952, p.175, and Gautier, L.: Les épopées Françaises, III, Paris, 1868, p. 363.

(iii) Huon de Bordeaux dates from the late 12th or early 13th century. See Riquer, Martín de: Los Cantares de gesta franceses, op. cit., p.324.

related motif. We have already referred briefly to some of these incidents in Chapter 3. The Chanson de Floovant relates that Maugalie, daughter of the Saracen king who is holding Floovant prisoner, agrees to help him and other French prisoners to escape, if he will promise to marry her:

"'Richiers,' dit la pucelle, 'frans chevalier loez,
 Se de ton seignour lege avoie feauté
 Que il me vosit panre a moillier et a pers,
 Por la sue amitié relanquairai mon dé;
 Jamais jor de ma vie ne quier Maom amer.
 Puis si me penerai de ton cors henorer,
 Et de lui et des autres a vostre velonté.'"(24)

Afterwards she flees with them to Beaufort. Floovant later refuses the hand of Floréte, daughter of King Flore, and marries Maugalie in fulfilment of his promise.

In Fierabras, upon receiving Gui de Bourgogne's promise of marriage, Floripas, daughter of the Saracen king Balan, helps to free Gui and his French companions, who are her father's prisoners and have been entrusted to her care. She is baptised and encourages the French in battle. Gui also keeps his promise and marries her. (25)

According to the Prise d'Orange, a Saracen woman called Orable loves Guillaume. When the Saracens imprison him and his two companions, she visits them, promising to become a Christian and free them if Guillaume will marry her. He accepts the condition, but Orable herself is then imprisoned in the same place. She manages to keep her part of the bargain by helping one of the prisoners to escape through an underground passage, and he brings aid to them. Afterwards Guillaume marries Orable. (26)

There is no actual promise of marriage in Huon de Bordeaux,

but Huon kills the Saracen who was to marry Esclarmonde, daughter of the emir Gaudise, and he is imprisoned. Having fallen in love with him, Esclarmonde offers herself to him, and promises to free him if he will agree. He refuses, so she makes him fast until he is exhausted with hunger. Then, instead of asking him to marry her, she merely requests that he will take her back to his own country:

" . . . se poiés de çaiens escaper,
 Vous m'enmerriés o vous en vo regné."(27)

After a series of adventures Huon does eventually marry Esclarmonde. Like Floripas in Fierabras, Esclarmonde's action of betrayal is motivated by hatred for her father, and it has some similarity with Sancha's behaviour in the "Condesa Traidora" legend. Esclarmonde promises to take Huon and his companions to her father's bedside, proposing to let them kill him, and she says that she will strike the first blow:

"Quant vous serés fervestu et armé,
 Au lit mon pere vous vaurai droit mener,
 Et, par chelui qui Dix est apielés,
 Jou li vorrai le premier cop donner;
 Bien le porés ocire et decoper' . . ." (28)

Unlike Garcí Fernández, however, Huon protests at this suggestion, for Esclarmonde's father has not done him any harm. He does kill him finally, although not in Esclarmonde's presence. (29)

Although all these chansons provide examples of a motif similar to the "Condesa Traidora", and were all probably prior in date to the PCG, none is proved conclusively to have been composed earlier than the Najerense, where we have seen that the promise of marriage motif already forms part of the legend of Fernán González.

The late Professor Entwistle mentions another appearance of the

motif in the Greek epic of Digenis Akritas, which is preserved in a 14th century manuscript. It occurs in a tale related to Digenis by a Saracen girl, whom he encounters in an oasis on the way back from Mesopotamia. The girl's father, the emir of Meferké (or Miferkin), holds prisoner the son of the general of Antioch. The daughter, pitying him, enters into amorous relations with him in her father's absence. Fearing the emir's return, the young man plans to escape to Greece, and she agrees on condition that he marries her. While her mother is ill, she flees with him to the oasis, but there he secretly abandons her. Eventually Digenis succeeds in reuniting the couple, and they are married.⁽³⁰⁾⁽ⁱ⁾ This epic serves to emphasize the universality in the Middle Ages of the motifs of help from the enemy's daughter in return for a promise of marriage, and her flight to the hero's land, where the vow is fulfilled.

Lastly, we may cite two more parallels from Arabic literature. The tale told on the 236th night of the Arabian Nights includes a different form of the motif. There a certain man, As'ad, is imprisoned by Bakram, who puts his daughter in charge of his captive. She falls in love with As'ad, loosens his bonds, takes him food, and eventually frees and restores him to his brother.⁽³¹⁾ The similarity with our motif lies in the help given by the enemy's daughter and her consequent betrayal of her father, but in this tale there is no marriage agreement in return for her assistance.

(i) The motif of help in return for a promise of marriage appears here in a tale told within the framework of another story, and Professor Entwistle suggested that there may have been an original version of the Saracen girl's tale in which the epic hero Digenis did not appear. He based this assumption on the fact that the epic legend corresponds to the political and social conditions of the 10th century, and a similar type of tale was current in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia at that time.

The second example of a similar motif in Arabic literature is in Antar, where help is given to a prisoner in return for a promise of love. This happens when Basharah is captured by Rebia and thrown into a pit. He stations over him a beautiful slave-girl called Yamama. When Rebia is out hunting, she goes to Basharah and falls in love with him as soon as she sees him. She promises to free him from his peril, and supply him with provisions, if he will swear to be her lover. She then arranges for news of Basharah's plight to be sent to Antar, and he comes to his rescue. (32) The motif here is similar, although the promise required is not quite the same as in the other examples, since it is not one of marriage.

(5) Doña Sancha as a female type

Before summing up, we must compare briefly the Sancha of the "Condesa Traidora" with other similar female characters in medieval epic legend. The episode in which Sancha agrees to help Garcí Fernández shows her in possession of sufficient independence to bargain with the Count, since she will only consent to help him on a condition of marriage. There is no suggestion of marriage for love in the legend, for Sancha only wants to marry because her present form of life has been intolerable since her step-mother's arrival. She therefore exacts the promise of marriage as a way of escaping from an unpleasant atmosphere, and it is merely a marriage of convenience. If we bear this fact in mind, it helps to make Sancha's later conduct in betraying Garcí Fernández to the Moslems seem more credible.

Pio Rajna makes some interesting observations concerning a type of woman appearing in the French epic, and much of what he says may

by applied to Sancha. Discussing the early poem of Childeric, he notes that Basine is an early example of this type of woman, and their common characteristics are:

- (a) the woman is in love with a foreigner or an enemy,
- (b) she offers herself to him and makes him accept her love,
- (c) she betrays and abandons her country and relatives for him. (33)

We have already noted several examples of this type of female in the French chansons, where she generally appears as a Saracen, and has to be baptised before marrying the Christian hero. Such people are, for example, Maugalie, who strikes a bargain with Floovant, abandons her father and land, and flees with Floovant after freeing him from prison, or Orable, who leaves her husband and marries Guillaume in the Prise d'Orange.

The Sancha of the "Condesa Traidora" legend is obviously closely related to this type of female. Although there is no suggestion of love, she, too, strikes a bargain with a foreigner, whom circumstances have made her father's enemy. She deliberately instructs her servant to look for a handsome knight, and when Garcí Fernández is brought before her, she forces him to agree to marry her as a condition of obtaining her help, and then offers herself to him. She willingly betrays her father and step-mother to the foreigner, afterwards abandoning her country and fleeing with him to Castile.

The Countess already possesses some of these attributes in the Hajerense version of the legend. She also consorts with a foreigner and an enemy - Almanzor - and is flattered by his words of love to the point of betraying her country and husband to the Moors. In the

PCG and C.1344 versions Argentina, too, abandons her husband and adopted country, Castile, in fleeing with her lover to France.

It is clear, then, that a type of female character analogous to both Argentina and Sancha is found in other epic legends, and in the poem of Childeric. Love, or an agreement of marriage, between a woman and a foreigner or enemy, which results in her betrayal of her family or country to follow him, seems to be a fairly common epic motif. We are therefore brought to the conclusion that Argentina, and more particularly Sancha, represent a stock type of female found in the epic legends, rather than being real characters drawn with individual features.

(6) Conclusions

Clearly, the motif of the daughter who deceives or betrays her father in return for a promise of marriage is one occurring frequently in medieval literature and legend. It is often accompanied by the daughter's flight with the man she has helped, and their marriage.

Rendering help for the marriage promise is an old folklore motif, and the examples cited bear witness to its universal popularity in Europe since classical times. Although we find fairly close parallels in Oriental literature, in the Arabian Nights and Antar, the actual promise of marriage does not appear in these particular examples. The motif is close to the more general folk-tale theme of help given to the hero by his enemy's wife, daughter, or servant, where we also find the motif of hiding the hero under the bed, so that he may accomplish whatever task he has been set. The French chansons provide examples of hatred of one's father as motivation for helping

a foreigner, who is his enemy, e.g. Pierabras, or Huon de Bordeaux, where the daughter even suggests killing her father while he is in bed.

Regarding its use in Spain, the promise of marriage motif appears first in the Najerense version of the Fernán González legend, although this Chronicle does not connect it with the "Condesa Traidora". It was probably known in the Peninsula prior to the Najerense, for the legend in which it appears must have been circulating earlier than the Najerense for the writer of the Chronicle to have known and included it in his work as historical matter. It was probably known, then, earlier in the 12th century, at least, and none of the French chansons we have cited seems to be older than this. It could possibly have passed from the legend of Fernán González to the "Condesa Traidora" and perhaps also to the French epic. However, the evidence for this is not conclusive, since it may just represent a general folk theme which had become quite common in the medieval epic by the time of the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora".

Notes to Chapter 7

- (1) Aarne, Antti: Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegersohn, FFC, XXIII, Hamina, 1916, pp. 157-169.
- (2) Luzel, F.M.: Contes Populaires de Basse Bretagne, I, Paris, 1887, vi, pp. 86-97.
- (3) Les Trois Poils du Diable, told by Mme. Morin in RTrP, V, 1890, pp. 728-735.
- (4) Bolte, J. and Polívka, G.: Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, I, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 278-281.
- (5) Der Kuhhirt und der Drache, in ZDMS, ed. J.W. Wolf, II, Göttingen, 1855, pp. 384-385.
- (6) Rittershaus, Adeline: Die Neuisländischen Volksmärchen, Halle, 1902, no. I, § 1, p. 1.
- (7) Apollonius Rhodius: The Argonautica, trans. R.C. Seaton, London, 1912, iv. l. 92-211.

". . . 'but do thou, stranger, make the gods witness of the vows thou hast taken on thyself for my sake; and now that I have fled far from my country, make me not a mark for blame and dishonour for want of kinsmen.' She spake in anguish; but greatly did the heart of Aeson's son rejoice, and at once, as she fell at his knees, he raised her gently and embraced her, and spake words of comfort: 'Lady, let Zeus of Olympus himself be witness to my oath, and Hera, queen of marriage, bride of Zeus, that I will get thee in my halls my own wedded wife, when we have reached the land of Hellas on our return!'

- (8) Ovidius Naso: Metamorphoses, with a trans. by F.J. Miller, London, New York, 1916, vii, pp. 342-352, l. 1-158.
1. 89-97 "ut vero coepitque loqui dextramque prehendit hospes et auxilium submissa voce rogavit promisitque torum, lacrimis ait illa profusis: 'quid faciam, video: non ignorantia veri decipiet, sed amor, servabere munere nostro, servatus promissa dato.' per sacra triformis ille deae lucoque foret quod numen in illo perque patrem soceri cernentem cuncta futuri eventusque suos et tanta pericula iurat:"
- (9) Sénèque le Rhéteur: Controverses et Suasoirs, ed. H. Bornecque, I, Paris, 1932, Bk. I, vi, p. 116.

"Captus a piratis scripsit patri de redemptione; non redimebatur. Archipiratae filia jurare eum coegit, ut duceret se uxorem, si dimissus

esset; juravit. Relicto patre secuta est adolescentem. Redit ad patrem, duxit illam. Orbe incidit; pater imperat, ut archipiratae filiam dimittat et orbam ducat. Nolentem abdicat."

(10) The Festivities at the house of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe in the county of Clare, TOS, 1854, ed. N. O'Kearney, II, Dublin, 1855, pp. 160-167.

(11) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, BH, XIII, 1911, § 71, p. 416.

"Predictus comes .f. gonzaluet fuit capt' et filii ei' in cironia in eccl'ia scī andree apl'i. a pdco rege pampiloñ. G. Sanctii. et transmissus pampil.' inde clauillum inde tubiam. Vnde cum Sanctia eiusdem regis. G. sorore que prius ordonii regis legioñ. postea comitis albari harrameliz de alaua extiterat uxor. hñs nesciente frē colloquium: liberatus est dato prius eidem sacramento. qd' si eum inde educeret: eam duceret in uxorem . . ."

(12) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, § XXV, v. 631-632, p. 188.

(13) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., § XXV, v. 633, p. 189.
See also Cirot, G.: Sur le "Fernán González", BH, XXX, 1928, pp. 118 . . .

(14) PCG, II, p. 413.

" . . . 'yo uos sacare daqui ayna et muy bien et muy en paz. Mas si uos queredes que uos yo saque daqui luego, quiero que me fagades pleyto et omenage en la mi mano que me tomedes por mugier et que casades conmigo et non me dexedes por otra duenna ninguna. Et diguouos que si esto non fazedes, que non saldredes daqui nunca, et aqui morredes como omne de mal recabdo et sin conseio. Et non querades perder por uestra culpa tal duenna como yo so. Et si buen seso auedes, deuedes pensar en esto que uos yo digo.' El conde quando aquella razon oyo, touose por guarido, et dixo entressi: 'assi ploguiesse a Dios que fuesse ya como uos dezides,' et torno contra ella et dixol: 'Sennora, yo digo uerdad a Dios et a uos, que si uos esto complides que me dezides, que uos yo tome por mugier et que me case con uusco' . . ."

(15) Cirot, G.: Une Chronique Léonaise Inédite, BH, XI, 1909, § 14, p. 274.

(16) PCG, II, § 598, p. 341.

"E dixol Galiana: 'inffant, bien se yo de qual linnage uos sodes . . . E si uos quisieredes fazerme pleyto que me leuassedes conusco pora Francia, et me fiziessedes cristiana, et casassedes conmigo, yo uos daria buen cauallo et buenas armas, et una espada a que dizen Joyosa que me ouo dado en donas aquel Bramant.' E dixol

ell infant: 'Galiana, bien ueo que e de fazer lo que uos queredes, pero sabelo Dios que a fuerça de me, e prometouos por ende que si me uos agora guisaredes como auedes dicho, que yo uos lieue comigo pora Francia et uos tome por mugier.'

For the French version of the chanson see Paris, G.: Mainet, R, IV, 1875, p. 332.
and Gautier, L.: Les Épopées Françaises, III, (2nd ed.), Paris, 1880, p. 37 . . .

(17) De Rebus Hispaniae, IV, xi, p. 75.

" . . . in Gallias est reuersus ducens secum Galienam filiam Regis Galastri, quam ad fidem Christi commissam duxisse dicitur in vxorem."

(18) Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Epopeya Castellana a través de la Literatura Española, Buenos Aires, 1945, p. 116.

(19) Menéndez Pidal, R., op. cit., p. 119.
Durán, Agustín: Romancero General, II, BAE, XVI, Madrid, 1921, pp. 647-648.

(20) Durán, A., op. cit., II, p. 655, l. 355-356.

(21) Durán, A., op. cit., II, pp. 654-655, l. 280-422.

(22) Durán, A.: Romancero General, I, BAE, X, Madrid, 1924, no. 733, p. 483.

(23) Gesta Romanorum, trans. Charles Swan, London, 1924, V, "Of Fidelity", pp. 80-81.
Gesta Romanorum, ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p. 278.

(24) La Chanson de Floovant, ed. F. Bateson, Loughborough, 1938, pp. 103-104, l. 1554-1560.

(25) Fierabras, ed. A. Kroeber and G. Servois, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1860.
Gautier, Léon: Les Épopées Françaises, III, Paris, 1880, pp. 381 . . .
See also Bédier, Joseph: La Composition de la Chanson de Fierabras, R, XVII, 1887, p. 47.

(26) Gautier, L.: Les Épopées Françaises, III, Paris, 1868, pp. 362-379.

(27) Huon de Bordeaux, ed. F. Guessard and C. Grandmaison, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1860, p. 176, l. 5891-5892.

(28) Huon de Bordeaux, op. cit., p. 187, l. 6248-6252.

- (29) Huon de Bordeaux, op. cit., p. 199.
See also Paris, G.: Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Âge, Paris, 1900, pp. 53-61.
- (30) Entwistle, William J.: El Conde Sol, o la Boda Estorbada, RFE, XXXIII, 1949, pp. 251-264.
- (31) Arabian Nights, trans. R.F. Burton, III, London, 1897, p. 125.
- (32) Antar, trans. Terrick Hamilton, III, London, 1820, pp. 13-14.
- (33) Rajna, Pio: Le Origini dell' Epopea francese, Florence, 1884, pp. 270-272.

8. Cutting off and carrying the heads of the dead as trophies

After slaying Argentina and the French Count, Garcí Fernández cuts off their heads and carries them back to Castile as proof that he has avenged his dishonour. The "Condessa Traidora" legend is not the only Castilian one to include this motif, since it also forms the basis of an important episode of the legend of the Infantes de Lara, as it appears in the PCG. After slaying the seven Infantes and Nuño Salido in battle, the Moslems cut off their heads and carry them back to Córdoba, where Almanzor has them presented to the Infantes' father while he is still his prisoner:

" . . . Los moros estonces tomaron las cabeças de los VII infantes et la de Munno Salido, et fueronse con ellas para Cordoua.

Pues que Viara et Galbe llegaron a Cordoua, fueronse luego para Almançor, et empresentaronle las cabeças de los VII infantes et la de Munno Salido su amo. Almançor . . . fizo semeiança quel pesaua mucho por que assi los mataran a todos, et mandolas luego lauar bien con uino fasta que fuessen bien limpias de la sangre de que estauan untadas; et pues que lo ouieron fecho, fizo tender una sauana blanca en medio del palacio, et mando que pusiessen en ella las cabeças todas en az et en orden assi como los infantes nascieran, et la de Munno Salido en cabo dellas . . ." (1)

The custom of cutting off a dead enemy's head and carrying it away as a trophy seems to have been practised widely in the Middle Ages, judging by the frequent references to it in medieval literature. Nor was it restricted entirely to the Middle Ages, for Diodorus of Sicily and Livy both mention the custom before this with reference to the Gauls.

(1) Classical references

In discussing the methods of fighting practised by the Gauls, Diodorus of Sicily⁽ⁱ⁾ declares that when their enemies fall, they cut
 (i) Diodorus of Sicily wrote his Library of History, from which this is taken, in the 1st century B.C. The oldest extant Mss. belong to the 11th and 12th centuries.

off their heads, carry them home fastened to the necks of their horses, and hang them up on their houses as men do with the heads of wild beasts they have killed. They embalm the heads of the most distinguished enemies, and display them as showpieces to strangers. (2) Evidently the Gauls regarded these trophies as material profit of the victory, for according to Diodorus, they affirm that their ancestors refused a large amount of money in exchange for the head.

Livy refers to the custom in conjunction with the attack of the Senonian Gauls on the Roman legion at Clusium. He tells us that according to some people the legion was annihilated, and the consuls, who were not far from Clusium, only heard of the disaster when some Gallic horsemen came in sight with heads hanging from their horses or fixed on their lances, singing their song of triumph:

"Deletam quoque ibi legionem, ita ut nuntius non superesset, quidam auctores sunt, nec ante ad consules, qui iam haud procul a Clusio aberant, famam eius cladis perlatam quam in conspectu fuere Gallorum equites, pectoribus equorum suspensa gestantes capita et lanceis infixam ovantesque moris sui carmine." (3)

(2) References in Irish Literature

Carrying the heads of the dead enemy as trophies also seems to have been common custom among the Irish Celts, for it is attributed frequently to the Old Irish heroes. D'Arbois de Jubainville explains the reason for this habit in the preface to his L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande. The Celtic warrior preserved the heads of the enemies he had killed as treasure, not merely as a sign of victory, but also as a proof that he had fulfilled the task which filial piety and family spirit imposed upon him, namely, that of avenging the death of any of his relatives, or members of the State or city. (4) The State did not

intervene in family quarrels, and if an amicable agreement could not be reached, the two parties concerned resorted to arms, the winner being considered right. Private revenge, requiring a murderer's death as compensation, was therefore a duty among the Celts, as it was among the Germanic peoples. Hence, in medieval times cutting off the heads of the dead enemy and preserving them was closely linked with the duty of revenge.

In the Histoire du cochon de MacDatho - preserved in a 12th century manuscript - Côt refers to the custom, when he says that he has brought back with him the heads of three warriors, in revenge for an injury he suffered:

"Je me suis enfin vengé de l'injure qui m'avait été faite. Il n'y a pas trois heures que j'ai rapporté les têtes de trois de tes guerriers, et parmi elles est la tête de ton fils aîné."(5)

The Festiu de Bricriu - from an 11th or early 12th century manuscript - includes a duel of words between the women of Ulster; Lendabair, daughter of Eogan, mentions the custom of head-carrying in the following words, when boasting of her husband, Conall:

"Il est beau quand il revient vers moi après ses victoires, apportant les têtes des ennemis tués . . ." (6)

Medb's words in this text illustrate the same idea when she, in turn, sings:

"Il triomphe au milieu des chars de guerre;
Il met sans pitié
Tête sur tête,
Exploits sur exploits,
Combat sur combat."(7)

The Meurtre de Cúchulainn, preserved in the 12th century Book of Leinster, relates that Cúchulainn was killed by Lugaid, son of Cúroi, who cut off his head and right hand, and the army carried them to Tara,

where they were buried.⁽⁸⁾ Afterwards, in revenge for Cúchulainn's death, Conall fought and defeated Lugaid, but before dying, Lugaid acknowledged his defeat in the following words:

"Je sais maintenant que tu ne te partiras pas sans emporter ma tête, comme nous avons emporté celle de Cúchulainn. Je te donne donc ma tête en sus de la tienne . . ."⁽⁹⁾

Conall does, indeed, cut off Lugaid's head and carry it with him when he goes to rejoin the army in Leinster.

Lastly, the Naissance et règne de Conchobar refers to a certain place in Conchobar's palace where the heads and arms of vanquished enemies were preserved.⁽¹⁰⁾ Although these examples are all taken from L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande, the custom of preserving the heads of the dead as trophies is also mentioned elsewhere. For instance, The Cherishing of Conall Cernach and The Deaths of Ailill and of Conall Cernach records that the men of Connaught slay Conall and his head is cut off by the three Red Wolves of Martine of the Fir Maige, who were in Ailill's household. They take Conall's head with them in revenge for Cúroi, whose head had been carried northward by the men of Ulster.⁽¹¹⁾

Finally, the Prologue in Fairyland from the Leabhar na H'uidhri gives another example of the custom. Angus Mac O'c (= son of the Dagda, the chief god of the men of ancient Erin) slays Fuamnach, one of the wives of the fairy Mider. He strikes off her head and carries it until he is within his own borders.⁽¹²⁾ These examples illustrate the frequency with which the Irish Celts seem to have practised the custom of cutting off and preserving their enemies' heads, and we may also cite references to a similar custom in medieval

French literature.

(3) References in medieval French literature

In Bérroul's Tristan a head is cut off and carried as a trophy when Govenal kills one of the three barons of Cornwall, who are Tristan's enemies.⁽¹³⁾ Govenal hides behind a tree and ambushes the baron while he is out hunting. He kills him, cuts off his head, and takes it to the cabin where Tristan is sleeping, and hangs it from a forked branch, so that Tristan will see it when he awakes:

"Govenal saut de sen agait.
 Du mal que cil ot fait li membre:
 A s'espee tot le desmenbre;
 Le chief en prent, atot s'en vet.
 Li veneor, qui l'ont parfait,
 Sivoient le cerf esmeil:
 De lor seignor virent le bu,
 Sanz la teste, soz l'arbre jus . . .

Govenal a la loge vient,
 La teste au mort a sa main tient.
 A la forche de la ramee
 L'a cil par les cheveux nouee.
 Tristrans s'esvelle, vit la teste,
 Saut esfreez, sor piez s'areste.
 A haute voiz crie son mestre:
 'Ne vos movez; seürs puez estre:
 A ceste espee l'ai ocis.
 Saciez, cist ert vostre anemis.'
 Liez est Tristran de ce qu'il ot:
 Cil est ocis qu'il plus dotot."⁽¹⁴⁾

A similar thing happens when Denoalen dies at Tristan's hand. Tristan sees Gondoïne approaching in the forest at night and hides behind a tree hoping to kill him. Gondoïne escapes, but as Denoalen approaches, Tristan surprises and kills him. He cuts off his head and tresses of hair, and takes them back to Yseut:

"Que le chief du bu li sevrá.
 Ne li lut dire: 'Tu me bleces.'
 O l'espee trencha les treces,

En sa chauce les a boutees,
 Quant les avra Yseut mostrees,
 Qu'ele l'en croie qu'il l'a mort."(15)

The Charlemagne of Girard d'Amiens⁽ⁱ⁾ relates that during a battle between the armies of Charlemagne and the emir Bruyant, Charlemagne challenges and kills the emir, cuts off his head and sends the trophy to King Galafre.⁽¹⁶⁾ Lastly, we may cite an episode of the romance Claris et Laris⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ in which the knight, Gales, meets a woman weeping over the head of her lover, which was cut off four or six months previously. She has sworn to carry his head until she has avenged herself on the enemy who killed him. Gales offers to avenge her; he kills the murderer in single combat, cuts off his head and presents it to the woman. She ties it to her horse's tail and drags it to her castle, where it is hung from a gibbet:

"Li Chevaliers et fu ocis.
 Gales li Chauz le chief a pris,
 A la pucele en fet present;
 Et ele le prist bonement,
 Par les cheveus le tire et sache;
 Et puis molt fierement l'atache
 A la cos du palefroi; . . .
 Einsi ont entre eus chevauchie,
 Tant qu'un chastel ont aprochie,
 Qu'iert la dame meismement;
 Recoillu furent hautement,
 Quant cil du chastel le chief virent
 De celui, que il tant hairent,
 Qui lor seingnor lor avoit mort;
 S'il ont joie, n'ont mie tort.
 Le chief a un gibet pendirent."(17)

(i) According to L. Gautier, this chanson de geste probably dates from the early 14th century. See Gautier, L.: Les Épopées Françaises, III, Paris, 1868, p. 30.

(ii) According to J. Alton, this manuscript is late 13th century, and F.C. Riedel gives its date as 1268. See F.C. Riedel: Crime and Punishment in the Old French Romances, Columbia University Press, 1938, p. 5.

(4) References in the Poetic Edda and the Völsunga Saga

The Poetic Edda and the Völsunga Saga testify a similar practice among the Germanic peoples. The Völundarkvitha⁽¹⁾ tells how Völund lures the sons of King Nithuth of Sweden to his forge, kills them and cuts off their heads. These he sets in silver and sends to Nithuth:⁽¹⁸⁾

"Seek the smithy that thou didst set
Thou shalt find the bellows sprinkled with blood;
I smote off the heads of both thy sons,
And their feet 'neath the sooty straps I hid.

Their skulls, once hid by their hair, I took,
Set them in silver and sent them to Nithuth."⁽¹⁹⁾

According to the Völsunga Saga, Gudrun slays her two sons and gives their heads filled with wine and blood to their father, King Atli.⁽²⁰⁾

(5) Historical evidence for this practice

In the case of the legends of the "Condesa Traidora" and the "Infantes de Lara", the idea of cutting off and carrying heads as proof of their owner's death may perhaps owe something to the influence of the Moslems in the Peninsula. Apparently, in Almanzor's time it was customary for the Moorish armies to send heads as trophies of victory, and they were then hung up in Córdoba.⁽²¹⁾ This practice is confirmed by the historians. Lévi-Provençal records that according to Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrakushi, after Galib's death in battle, Almanzor had his head taken back to Córdoba and he presented it to Galib's daughter.⁽²²⁾ Al Bayano'l-Mogrib also attributes him with sending the head of his own son ('Abd Allah) to the caliph after having him beheaded in 990 as punishment for deserting from his army and

(1) The Völundarkvitha was composed about 900, but it is preserved in the Codex Regius.

going over to the Castilians.⁽²³⁾ The same history relates, too, that in 952 the leader of the Zenata, El-Kheyr, arrived at Córdoba bringing with him the heads of different leaders and some standards and drums. All these trophies were exposed at the gate of the palace in Córdoba.⁽²⁴⁾ On another occasion, in 955, some of the Moslem frontier governors were attacked by the Christians but managed to rout them, leaving about 10,000 victims. Approximately 5,000 heads were sent to Córdoba and displayed there.⁽²⁵⁾

Frequent references in the romance Antar to carrying heads cut off in battle as trophies suggest that this was a common Arab custom, and not restricted to the Arabs in Spain. For example, during a battle between the Absians - Antar's tribe - and the Zebeedians, Antar kills Khalid, leader of the enemy, cuts off his head and orders his brother, Shiboob, to pick it up. He hoists it on a spear and brandishes it before the enemy.⁽²⁶⁾ On another occasion Antar defeats Keshaab in battle, cuts off his head and carries it in his hand to Keshaab's uncle.⁽²⁷⁾ Lastly, Shiboob defeats Kelboon, puts his head on a tall spear and carries it to the tribe of Arcat - Kelboon's own tribe.⁽²⁸⁾

Conclusions

We may conclude now that cutting off the heads of the dead enemy and carrying, or sending, them as booty or a sign of victory was customary to many peoples in the past. The Gauls, Irish Celts, Germanic peoples, and Arabs all appear to have thought similarly in this respect. The custom may perhaps be explained because personal valour was so highly prized in the Middle Ages that a warrior wished

to take home as many trophies as possible as a sign of his personal victories over the enemy. In some cases, too, it undoubtedly proved that revenge had been accomplished.

Garcí Fernández's action was certainly motivated by the wish to show that he had avenged his wife's insult to his honour, and was again worthy to be the leader of Castile. I think we may assume from the PCG version of the legend that he carried back the heads of Argentina and the French Count to display before his vassals, whom he summoned on his return to Castile.

It seems probable that the motif in this legend is an imitation of the Moorish custom, since the Moslems evidently practised it within the Peninsula itself, and at the time to which the legend refers, i.e. the late 10th century. In so far as this motif is concerned, the legend is therefore in accordance with the historical reality of its period, even though there are no historical grounds for believing that Garcí Fernández slew his wife and her lover.

Notes to Chapter 8

- (1) PCG, II, §§ 742-743, p. 441.
- (2) Diodorus Siculus (in 12 vols.), trans. C.H. Oldfather, III, London, 1939, V, xxix, pp. 172-173.
- (3) Livy (in 13 vols.), with a trans. by B.O. Foster, IV, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1948, X, xxvi, pp. 458-459.
- (4) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H.: L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande, in Cours de Littérature Celtique, V, Paris, 1892, p. xxx.
- (5) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., op. cit., p. 74.
- (6) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., op. cit., p. 97.
- (7) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., op. cit., p. 113.
- (8) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., op. cit., p. 347.
- (9) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., op. cit., pp. 352-353.
- (10) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., op. cit., p. 9.
- (11) Meyer, Kuno: The Cherishing of Conall Cernach and The Deaths of Ailill and of Conall Cernach, ZCP, I, 1897, p. 108.
- (12) Leahy, A.H.: Heroic Romances of Ireland, I, London, 1905, p. 10.
- (13) Bérout; Le Roman de Tristan, ed. E. Muret, Paris, 1903, l. 1685-1746.
- (14) Bérout: Le Roman de Tristan, op. cit., l. 1708-1715, and 1735-1746.
- (15) Bérout: Le Roman de Tristan, op. cit., l. 4390-4395.
- (16) Gautier, L.: Les Épopées Françaises, III, Paris, 1868, pp. 45-46.
- (17) Li Romans de Claris et Laris, ed. Johann Alton, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 169, Tübingen, 1884, l. 23841-23847 and 23853-23861.
- (18) The Poetic Edda, trans. H.A. Bellows, New York, London, 1923, "Völundarkvitha", pp. 255-268.
- (19) The Poetic Edda, op. cit., "Völundarkvitha", v. 36-37.
- (20) Völsunga Saga, The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs, ed. H. Halliday Sparling, London, 1888, p. 147.

- (21) Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, Obras I, Madrid, 1934, p. 16.
- (22) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 228, n. 1.
- (23) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib of Ibn Adâri, trans. E. Fagnan, II, Algiers, 1904, p. 473.

"El-Mançour, qui faisait alors sa quarante-cinquième campagne, envoya au khalife, avec un bulletin de la victoire, la tête de son fils."

Sánchez-Albornoz, C.: La España Musulmana, I, Buenos Aires, 1946, p. 360.

- (24) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib, op. cit., p. 362.
- (25) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib, op. cit., p. 365.
- (26) Antar, trans. T. Hamilton, II, London, 1820, pp. 181-185.
- (27) Antar, op. cit., II, pp. 225 and 227.
- (28) Antar, op. cit., III, pp. 331-332.

9. Names of Garcí Fernández's wives

There does not seem to be any foundation for the "Condesa Traidora's" suggestion that Garcí Fernández had two wives, or that his real wife was called 'Argentina', 'Sancha', or 'Mioña'. As far as we know, he married only once, and there is overwhelming evidence that his wife's name was 'Aba', although none of the Chronicles with which we are primarily concerned mentions her by this name. The Najerense and Toledano call her simply 'the Countess'. Only the PCG attributes two marriages to Garcí Fernández, and identifies his wives as 'Argentina' and 'Sancha', both of whom are supposed to have been French. Although the second wife, mother of Count Sancho, also appears with the title of 'Mioña', this is the legend's explanation of the name of the monastery of Oña, which her son calls after her.

Many official documents mention the Countess of Castile together with Garcí Fernández. They testify that she was called 'Aba', and she actually signed some of these documents. I propose to cite a number of them as proof that 'Aba' was indeed the name of the Count's historical wife.

(1) Proof that Garcí Fernández's wife was Doña Aba

The first document mentioning Doña Aba with her husband is dated 970. In that year they attended the funeral ceremonies of Count Fernán González at the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza,⁽¹⁾ and on the 12th July, 970, they donated Osmilla and the church of San Román de Tirón to Arlanza.⁽²⁾ Luciano Serrano gives the text of this donation.⁽³⁾ Pérez de Urbel calls attention to the fact that the original document gave the date as era 1002, i.e. 964 A.D., but the

editor of the letter has corrected this, since the chronology is wrong. In 964 Garcí Fernández was not yet ruling in Castile, nor was Ramiro III, in whose reign the donation was formulated, ruling in Leon.⁽⁴⁾⁽ⁱ⁾ Berganza, Serrano, and Pérez de Urbel therefore accept 970 as the year for this donation, which means that it was the first official document issued during Garcí Fernández's government of Castile.

Subsequently, Doña Aba is mentioned with Garcí Fernández in the following documents and donations relating to the monastery of Cardena:

- 971, April 26th⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Garcí Fernández and Aba donated to Cardena and abbot Endura a lodging-house on the road from Nájera near Villa Vascones:
 ". . . Ego Garsea Ferrandez comite una cum coniuge mea Ava Comitissa, inferni penas pavendo et Christi gloriam adquirendo, dono et concedo ad SS. Petri et Pauli, et ad tibi patri nostro Endura abbati de monasterio de Cara maximeque digna, et omni collegio fratrum et monachorum ibidem Deo servientium, meam domum propriam, quod est hospitale in camino publico, quae venit de Naxera, cerca de Villa Vascones, cum omnibus terris et hereditatibus, vineis, pratis, ortis, molinis, salicis, aquis, pascuis, santis, quae habeo in villa pernominata Vascones . . . Facta carta firmitatis et donationis notum die VI. Kal. Mai. Era M.IX. Regnante Ranimiro rex in Legione et Comite Garsea Ferrandiz in Castella . . ."⁽⁵⁾
- 972, May 28th⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ Garcí Fernández and Aba donated several mountains to Cardena.⁽⁶⁾
- 972, June 23rd They issued a document demarcating the pasture of the Monte de la Cabaña.⁽⁷⁾
- 972, July 1st They donated several cowsheds to Cardena and its abbot, Recesvinto.⁽⁸⁾

(i) Ramiro III came to the throne of Leon in 966.

(ii) Berganza and Serrano y Sanz give the date of this donation as the 22nd April, 971.

(iii) Berganza and Serrano y Sanz give the date as the 27th May.

- 972, July 3rd They are mentioned in another document prescribing the boundaries of the monastery.(9)
- 972, July 11th They donated a salt-pit in Granatera to Cardena, (10)(1) and on the same date they also donated a mountain "in locum que dicitur Elcineto."(11)
- 980, July 11th They donated to Cardena and abbot Sebastian the monastery of San Miguel de Valbuena "quod est situm subtus Castroxeriz territorio, per nomine Sancti Michaelis, locum super Pisoriga riuulum . . ."(12)
- 982, February 24th They donated two shops in Burgos, and expressed their wish to be buried at Cardena.(13)

Apart from documents drawn up in favour of Cardena, others connected with the abbey of Covarrubias also mention Doña Aba.

- 978, November 24th Garcí Fernández and Aba together granted, and signed, the foundation document of the abbey of San Cosme and San Damián de Covarrubias on behalf of their daughter, Urraca, who devoted her life to the service of God:
 ". . . Hoc est series testamen(ti) que patrari volumus ego Garsea Fredinandez cum coniuge mea Ava comitissa extremitate ultimi iudicii diem enix(ius) decernentes, expedit ducatum mentibus nostris aliqu(i)d preponere, quatenus cum tuba terribilis mundum concusserit omne iubamine a culpe in Christo mereamur accipere. Decrebimus munus offerre Domino Jhesu Christo et Sanctis (e)jus, id est, prolem filiamque nostram Urraca; . . . Ego Garsea Fredinandez et Ava comitissa qui hunc testamentum fieri volumus et relegendo audivimus, propriis manibus sigillis impressimus et aliis roborare premisimus. Garsea Fredinandez confirmans; Ava comitissa coniux eius confirmans . . ."(14)

A second document bearing the same date is a donation to Covarrubias from the Count and Countess of certain properties in Añana, although Doña Aba is not mentioned among those who signed it.(15)

- 972, September 7th Prior to the actual foundation of Covarrubias, Aba's name appears on a document in which Abbot
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(1) Berganza and Serrano y Sanz date this donation the 23rd June.

Belasco and the monks of the monastery of San Pedro de Valeránica, who possessed the site of Covarrubias, granted it to Garcí Fernández, the Countess Aba, and their sons and daughters, in exchange for three towns in the region:
 " . . . Ego Belasco abba una pariter cum fratribus meis, videlicet, Martinus abba, Servandus, Petrus . . . vel omnes fratres a minimo usque ad maximo, itidem nullius coartans imperio neque alicuius subducens articulo, sed spontanea nobis aderit voluntati, et facimus tibi domno Garsea comite sive domna Ava cometissa, et filiis adque filiabus vestris, donationem atque concanationem sive concessionem ipsius loci Cobasruvias . . ." (16)

974, January 6th Doña Aba signed a letter drawn up in favour of the abbey of Covarrubias. (17)

There also exist other miscellaneous documents which refer to Garcí Fernández's wife as 'Aba'. One of these is the Fuero de Castrojeriz, dated the 8th March, 974:

"Ego Garsia Ferdinandi gratia Dei Comes, et imperator Castella, una cum uxore mea Abba comitissa, propter remedium anime mee, et animarum parentum meorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum scilicet facimus scripturam libertatis, sive ingenuitatis, ad vos meos fidelissimos varones de Castro Xeriz . . ." (18)

The following year, on the 6th January, Garcí Fernández and Aba donated the monastery of Santa María de Ormaza to the monastery of Berlangas. (19) On the 5th May, 987, they made a donation to Santillana, (20) and, finally, a donation to Santa María de Arce in 988 from Obeco Ferruz and Muño Ferruz de Salinas was drawn up while Garcí Fernández and the Countess Aba were reigning in Castile:

" . . . novem aeras salinares cum suo puteo; iuxta eas habet Munio Scemenoz, ex alia parte Eita Didaco . . . Facta carta in era millesima vigesima sexta, regnante rex Vermadus in Legione et comite Garsia Fredinandiz et cometissa domina Ava in Castella . . ." (21)

Doña Aba is not mentioned after this until some years later.

Count García refers to Garcí Fernández and the Countess Aba in 1024,

in a letter of the 5th April addressed to the abbess of Covarrubias, Doña Urraca. (22) Pidal refers to a document dated c. 1030, containing several references to Garcí Fernández, Aba, and their son, Sancho García. This document is a declaration of the rights held by the shepherds of Coruña del Conde in Espeja and other neighbouring towns. (23)

Another letter of the 28th April, 1031, refers to Aba as the mother of Doña Toda, who here offers her soul and body to the monastery of Sahagún, together with the monastery of San Pelayo de Nabeda:

" . . . pro remedio anime mee seu de parentum meorum id est Garsea et Domna Ava, et pro anima de frater meus Sanzius et soberinus meus Domnus Garsea quem occiderunt in Legione . . ." (24)

Lastly, Doña Toda again refers to her parents by name in 1061 when donating Naveta to the monastery of Sahagún:

" . . . ego domna Tota comitessa, filie Garsia Fernandiz, et de domna Ava, in Christo perpetuam salutem . . ." (25)

These documents make it quite clear that 'Aba' certainly was the name of Garcí Fernández's historical wife, and that she was remembered by this name even some years after her death. How, then, do we explain why neither of the legendary wives has this name? In order to determine the relationship, if any, between the Count's real wife and those in the legend, we must first consider the name 'Aba' itself, and the origin of the historical Countess of Castile.

(2) Derivation of the name, and the origin of Doña Aba

The name 'Aba' (or 'Ava') seems to have occurred only rarely during the Middle Ages. It is probably a Germanic name, for in Gothic the word 'aba' signified 'husband', and in Old Icelandic it meant 'husband' or 'man'. 'Abo' was used as a masculine personal

name in Lombard, ⁽²⁶⁾ and the form 'Abba', which has also been used for the Countess of Castile, occurs as a man's name in a Portuguese donation dated 907. This is evidently derived from a Syrian word 'abba' meaning 'father'. ⁽²⁷⁾

'Aba' was a name known in France as well as the Peninsula, for an abbess of Cluny is called 'Hava' and 'Ava' in a 9th century donation to her brother, Count William:

"Quod ego Hava, humilis Christi famula, divino intuitu commemorans atque amabilem consanguinitatis propinquitatem considerans, dono tibi Wilhelmo, fratri meo, atque glorioso comiti, quandam villam meam nomine Cluniacum, in page Matisconense, supra fluvium quae vocatur Grona sitam, cum omni sua integritate et sibi pertinentibus atque legitime aspicientibus . . . signum Avae, abbatissae, quae hanc donationem fieri et firmare rogavit . . ." ⁽²⁸⁾

The editor gives the date of this document as 893.

Within the Peninsula itself, there also seems to have been a Countess of Barcelona called 'Aba' in the 10th century. She was the wife of Count Mirón, and her name appears on a donation dated 941:

"Ego Ava Comitissa et filiis meis Seniofredus Comes et Vvifredus Comes et Oliba Comes et Miro Levita, nos simul donamus in unum, ut pius et misericors sit Deus in peccatis nostris et in peccatis Mironi Comiti genitori condam nostro bonae memoriae . . ." ⁽²⁹⁾

In the 12th century a Spanish Countess appears with a similar name - Eva Perez de Trava. She married first García Garcès, Count of Cabrera and Aza (d. 1108), and afterwards Count Pedro de Lara. ⁽³⁰⁾ However, 'Aba' does not appear frequently in medieval Spain, and this fact may account for the substitution of two less unusual names - 'Argentina' and 'Sancha' - for the wives in the "Condesa Traidora" legend.

Opinions conflict concerning the origin of the historical Countess

of Castile. For some time she was believed to be of Germanic origin. Garibay and Yepes were the first to put forward this theory, and they were followed by Argáiz, Fernández de Béthencourt, Salazar, Lafuente and Serrano. Garibay reached this conclusion on the basis of epitaphs at Arlanza and Cardena. The former maintained that Doña Aba was the niece of the Emperor of Germany, and at Cardena, where she and Garcí Fernández were buried, she was said to be a grand-daughter of the Emperor Henry.⁽³¹⁾ Garibay notes that she was also called 'Aba' in all the documents of her time, except one, which named her 'Oña'. He solves the problem this poses by suggesting that she may have had more than one name.⁽³²⁾ Flórez, however, has refuted that she was called 'Oña' at all, and pointed out that the document which mentioned her as 'Oña' was a romance version of an original Latin document which called her by her correct name.⁽³³⁾

Yepes confirms that the name 'Aba' appeared in over two hundred documents, and his conclusion is best summed up in his own words:

" . . . el propio nombre Doña Ava, como lo leemos en los privilegios, y en las lapidas de los sepulcros, fue, segun se colige dellos, de la ilustrissima sangre de los Emperadores de Alemania, y unica muger del conde Garcí Fernandez, y madre del Conde Don Sancho, y de Urraca Abadesa de Couarruias."⁽³⁴⁾

The genealogist Fernández de Béthencourt accepts that Aba was related to the Emperors of the House of Saxony, although he does not attempt to clarify her origin further,⁽³⁵⁾ but before him Salazar identified the Emperor Henry, whose grand-daughter Aba was supposed to be, as Henry I, Duke of Saxony.⁽³⁶⁾ However, Argáiz and Lafuente maintain that Aba was the daughter of the Emperor Henry I.⁽³⁷⁾ More recently Serrano affirms her descent from the German imperial family, but adds

that her father was a king of S. France:

"Estaba casado el conde . . . con doña Ava, princesa de la familia imperial de Alemania é hija de uno de los soberanos del mediodía de Francia, con quienes muy desde los principios de la reconquista estuvieron en constante relación los monarcas españoles . . ." (38)

Berganza accepts that Aba was the Emperor Henry I's granddaughter, but he also believes that she was of French descent. He is uncertain of her father's identity, though, since the Emperor Henry had several daughters. One of them married Louis, king of France, and another Eblo I, Duke of Aquitaine, and Berganza suggests that Doña Aba was the daughter of one of them. (39)

Although all these historians accept 'Aba' as the name of Garcí Fernández's historical wife, none really attempts to solve the problem of her birth. The idea of German descent is based on the unreliable evidence of the epitaphs, and there does not seem to be any other authority for this contention. A more satisfactory conclusion has been reached by Serrano y Sanz, Pidal, and Pérez de Urbel, who identify Doña Aba as a daughter of Count Raymond II of Ribagorza. A certain document cited by Serrano y Sanz, the Códice Rotense,⁽ⁱ⁾ proves this:

"Regenundus accepit uxor Domna (Garsendis), Gilelmo Garsias filia, et genuit Domnus Wifredus, ac Domnus Arnaldus, seu Ysarno, et Domna Aba, Castelle Comitissa." (40)

As further proof, we may cite a donation of precious gifts from

(i) This is so called because it once belonged to the Cathedral of Roda. It gives the chronology of the kings of Pamplona and Counts of Aragon and Ribagorza. There is only one extant copy, belonging to the 18th century. See Serrano y Sanz, M.: Noticias y documentos históricos del Condado de Ribagorza hasta la Muerte de Sancho Garcés III, Madrid, 1912, pp. 47 . . .

the monks of the monastery of Oberra to Count Raymond, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. This document refers to the Count's daughter as Aba:

" . . . Uno freno cum sua alacma in quingentos solidos, quia totus erat purus de argento mundo et desuper de auro, et desuper dederunt uno anappo de auro et erat in precio VC^{os} solidos ad argenteis . . . et duxit eam filia sua Aua in alleua et unas sporas de argento ubi habebat nisi broca de ferro, et alias causas nos non potuimus numerare. Et ille sic dedit uobis supra dictas uillas Sillui et uilla Recones et Rio Petruso per comparacione quod nos donauimus illi isto supra dicto auere."(41)

Serrano y Sanz also believes that Aba was probably of French descent, on the basis of a document taken from the Fragmentum Historicum which claims that her mother was French:

"Regimundo prephato Comiti Rippacurtie fuit uxor Garsendis nomine, de Gallis, et Aua, filia Regimundi fuit uxor Comitis Sancii de Castella . . ." (42)

However, we cannot accept this as positive proof, since the document errs in saying that Aba married Count Sancho of Castile instead of Garcí Fernández, and we must therefore regard it as unreliable.

Pidal believes that Doña Aba was descended from three Counts of Ribagorza, and was of distant French origin, since these Counts were descendants of the Counts of Toulouse. In view of this, Pidal tries to prove that the legendary Countess's negotiations with Almanzor have some historical foundation. As a foreigner - from N.E. Spain - Doña Aba was probably unsympathetic towards the Castilians, and the Countess's attitude in the legend reflects that of the N.E. kingdoms of the Peninsula during the Reconquest. Whereas Castile and Leon were consistently enemies of the Moors, and governed by the idea of reconquering the whole of Spain, the Pyrenean countries were interested only in self-preservation. For this reason, they had closer relations

with Islam, and there were frequent marriage alliances between their princesses and Moorish rulers. Pidal therefore suggests that the historical Aba probably did favour an alliance with Almanzor, and was in league with him and Sancho García, when the latter rebelled against his father. He concludes:

"Aba, por su origen pirenaico, es muy probable que disintiese de su marido, según dice el relato épico; es probable que se inclinase a pactar y transigir con los musulmanes para conjurar el peligro de los ejércitos cordobeses, que entonces mostraban mayor poder y agresividad que nunca jamás tuvieron."(43)

For Pidal, then, the legendary Countess reflects historical reality at the end of the 10th century.

Pérez de Urbel suggests that Fernán González, anxious to make suitable matches for all his children, married García to Count Raymond's daughter to establish friendly relations between Castile and one of the small Pyrenean countries. He also adds that 'Aba' is a name found in other Pyrenean regions, but he does not substantiate this by examples. (44)

(3) Relationship of Doña Aba with her legendary counterparts

Doña Aba does not appear to have borne much resemblance to either of Garcí Fernández's legendary wives, and there are no very valid reasons for believing that she was as treacherous as either of them. The PCG says of Argentina:

"et ella salio mala muger",

and with good reason, since she abandons Garcí Fernández during his illness and flees to France with her lover. Sancha is equally treacherous, in betraying her husband to the Moors, and trying to poison her son. Probably a sufficient explanation for the attitude

of hostility towards the legendary wives is the fact that Doña Aba was a foreigner to Castile, since she came from Ribagorza.

The evidence we have suggests that Doña Aba was of a fairly pious disposition. We know that she took part in the founding of Covarrubias, gave up her daughter, Urraca, to God's service, and participated in many of Garcí Fernández's donations to different religious institutions. She evidently also shared her husband's wish to be buried at Cardena. The PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora" legend may reflect this side of Doña Aba's character, since it portrays Sancha of similar disposition at the beginning of her marriage:

"Et esta condessa donna Sancha començo de primero a seer buena muger et atenerse con Dios et a seer amiga de so marido et fazer muchas buenas obras."

However, the PCG prepares for her treachery by adding that this state of affairs did not last long, and soon Sancha began to do the opposite. (45)

Until 987 Garcí Fernández and Doña Aba generally appear together granting donations and official documents, and we have already seen in this chapter that a document dated 988 still mentions Aba as governing Castile with the Count. This is the last time that her name appears on an official document during her lifetime. Pérez de Urbel finds ten later documents bearing the Count's name, but none mentioning the Countess, and he takes this as an indication that they were not on very good terms, possibly due to Almanzor's intrigues. (46) He stresses, too, that members of Doña Aba's family were related to Moorish leaders by marriage, and she was descended from an Aragonese

Count, Aznar Galíndez, whose daughter, Sancha, married the king of Huesca - Atavel, 889-914.⁽⁴⁷⁾ He uses these arguments to support his belief that Doña Aba probably favoured peace with Almanzor and supported Sancho's rebellion.

However, he also admits that after 987 Garcí Fernández himself did not make any more donations, although official documents still mention him as Count of Castile. This may in itself explain the lack of references to Doña Aba on these documents. Usually she is only mentioned with Garcí Fernández when they actually make a donation, and it is rare to find her quoted as reigning in Castile. Omission of her name from documents bearing the Count's name towards the end of his government does not, therefore, necessarily imply that they were estranged. In fact, it seems quite natural that the Countess was not mentioned, since no more donations were granted. It is possible that Doña Aba supported the rebellion against Garcí Fernández, but even if she did, there is certainly no evidence for believing that her rôle was the treacherous one of the legendary wife.

In conclusion, I would suggest that in so far as Garcí Fernández's two wives are concerned, the legend may reflect reality in the following ways:

(a) Garcí Fernández's historical wife (Aba) and his two legendary wives (Argentina, Sancha) were all foreigners to Castile; Aba came from Ribagorza, and was probably of distant French descent; Argentina and Sancha came from France.

(b) Sancha's desire to marry a Moorish king (= Almanzor in the Najerense) is in accordance with medieval Spanish custom, for there

are historical precedents for marriages between Christian women and Moorish rulers. However, there is no proof that Doña Aba ever indulged in such desires.

(c) Sancha's behaviour at the beginning of her married life may reflect Doña Aba's religious leanings.

(d) Doña Aba may have supported her son's rebellion towards the end of Garcí Fernández's life, and the attitude of the Countess in the Najerense, or Sancha in the PCG, perhaps reflects the hostility which then existed between the Count and his wife. However, the fact that Doña Aba's name does not appear on official documents after 988 is not in itself sufficient proof of this, since Garcí Fernández evidently did not make any more donations after 987. We must remember that the epic always tends to exaggerate, and in this case it magnifies the treachery of the wives, particularly that of Sancha. The legend could have exaggerated knowledge of a slight difference of policy between the Count and Doña Aba into the Countess's betrayal of her husband to the Moors, but the very fact that Doña Aba was a foreigner to Castile may in itself account for the hostility shown towards the legendary Countess.

(4) Date of Garcí Fernández's marriage, and death of Doña Aba

There is some doubt concerning the date of the marriage of Garcí Fernández and Doña Aba, and the year of her death. Salazar and Fernández de Béthencourt both point out that they must have been married in Count Fernán González's lifetime, since they appeared together at his funeral in 970, and they both believe that Doña Aba survived Garcí Fernández. (48) In any case, the donation to Arlanza

in 970 proves that they were married before that, if this is its authentic date.

We know that Covarrubias was founded in 978, largely on behalf of Urraca, daughter of Garcí Fernández and Doña Aba, who became abbess there. Yepes points out that she must have been at least fifteen or twenty at that time.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Also, by 972 the sons of the Count and Countess, Sancho and Gonzalo, were already old enough to sign the donations made to Cardena on the 11th July,⁽⁵⁰⁾ and the donation of the site of Covarrubias on the 7th September, 972, refers to the sons and daughters of Garcí Fernández and Doña Aba. This suggests, therefore, that the marriage took place some years before Garcí Fernández became Count of Castile.

The other document which may help to solve the problem is the donation by the monks of Obarra to Count Raymond II on his daughter's marriage. Although this is undated, Serrano y Sanz puts it at c. 960,⁽⁵¹⁾ and he believes that it was almost contemporaneous with the marriage. Since Urraca must have been about sixteen when Covarrubias was founded, he decides that the marriage was probably celebrated c. 958-961.

Although he mistakes Doña Aba's identity, Argáiz believes that Fernán González married his son to her in 956. As confirmation of this date he cites a certain monk, Walabonso, who writes:

"Anno Domini 956 Burgis Garsias, filius Comitis Ferdinandi, Abbam, filiam Imperatoris Henrici Duxit in uxorem."

He notes, too, that the chronicler of the Catholic Sovereigns, Fray Gonzalo de Arredondo, who wrote a history of Fernán González, agrees in this work with the same date.⁽⁵²⁾

Concerning Doña Aba's death, Berganza maintains that it occurred near the time when Garcí Fernández died, for in 996 Sancho García made a donation to the monastery of Santa Juliana (i.e. Santillana) for the souls of his parents. (53)

We may deduce, therefore, that it is fairly certain that Garcí Fernández married Doña Aba before he began to govern Castile, and in all probability she survived him. This makes it unlikely that Garcí Fernández had two wives, and we must conclude that this is a fiction of the legend.

Having ascertained the identity of the real Countess of Castile, the problem now facing us is how to explain the choice of the names 'Argentina' and 'Sancha' for Garcí Fernández's wives in the PCG version of our legend.

(5) The name Argentina

Introduction of the name 'Argentina' into the legend is probably due to outside influence, since it is a name which does not appear to have been used in medieval Spain. It does occur, however, in French poetry. For example, the French romance Audefrois li Bastars (1) tells us that at the season of Easter Count Gui married the beautiful Argentine:

"Au novel tens pascor ke florist l'aube espine
esposa li cuens Guis la bien faite Argentine." (54)

This romance also calls her Argente. (55)

We may cite other examples of related names occurring in medieval

(1) Audefrois li Bastars is dated shortly before 1250, according to Pidal. See Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, p. 46.

French and Celtic literature. The story of Haveloc the Dane as told by Gaimar⁽ⁱ⁾ contains a female personage called 'Argentille' or 'Argentele', who is the daughter of Adelbriht and Orwain, and the wife of Haveloc:

"Sa sorur ot a nun Orwain,
Mult ert franche e de bone main,
De sun seigneur ot une fille
Que l'um apelad Argentille . . ." (56)

"Deus mist en Haveloc sa cure
Pur sa muillier qui tant ert bele,
Fille le rei, dame Argentele." (57)

She appears, too, in Le Lai d'Haveloc⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ as 'Argentille':

"Mes il n'aveient nul enfant
Fors une sule fille bele,
Argentille ot nun la pucele." (58)

The editor explains Gaimar's variation of the final syllable -ille, -ele, because he seems to have treated it as a diminutive.⁽⁵⁹⁾ This, too, could be the explanation of the form ending in -ina, which we find in the Castilian legend.

H.L.D. Ward suggests that 'Argentille' is a Welsh name,⁽⁶⁰⁾ and points out that a similar female name - 'Arganhell' - occurs in the Liber Landavensis, which is the register of the Cathedral of Llandaff.⁽⁶¹⁾ A manuscript known as the Bodmin Gospels, written in the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century, contains another close name, for a woman called 'Arganteilin' is mentioned in connection with

(i) The Haveloc episode appears in three out of four extant Mss. of Gaimar's Estorie des Engles, which all belong to the 13th century, one to the early part of the century. See Le Lai d'Haveloc, ed. A. Bell, Manchester, London, New York, 1925, pp. 79-85.

(ii) The oldest Ms. of Le Lai d'Haveloc belongs to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, although on linguistic grounds and due to the nature of the local allusions, A. Bell suggests that the Lai originally dated from c. 1190-1220. See Le Lai d'Haveloc, ed. A. Bell, op. cit., pp. 19 and 25.

freed people at the altar of St. Petroc. This has been published by Whitley Stokes:

"Haec sunt nomina hominum quas liberavit Eadmund rex, pro anima sua, super altare Sancti Petroci . . . atque in eadem die mandavit hanc feminam Arganteilin eisdem testibus."(62)

In the glossarial index to the Celtic words, Whitley Stokes interprets 'Arganteilin' as meaning 'silver-elbow', (63) Two other related names also appearing in the manuscript are 'Arganbri', (64) and 'Arganmoet', (65) and Whitley Stokes describes all three names as compounds of 'argent' meaning 'silver' - Gaulish 'argento'.

There is another example of a simpler form of the name in Lazamon's Brut, where we find a reference to 'Argante' or 'Argane' the fair. (66) Later, Argante is described as the queen of the elves, who receives King Arthur in Avalon. (67) In the 13th century 'Argent' and 'Argentine' both appeared as surnames in England. C.W. Bardsley lists them in his Dictionary of English and Welsh surnames, and interprets them as meaning 'of' or 'from Argentan', a town in S. Normandy. (68)

Finally, The Teutonic Name System applied to the family names of France, England and Germany lists as related forms the Old Germanic 'Argent', English 'Argent', and French 'Argand', and the author says that they are compounds of 'Arg', and a sense of acquisitiveness may be found in the root. (69)

It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the name 'Argentina' is of foreign origin, and based on the stem 'Argent' (silver), which produced variations in French, and the Celtic and Germanic languages. It was probably introduced to the "Condesa Traidora" legend through the influence of medieval French literature, notably the chivalresque.

(6) The name Sancha

There are two possible explanations for the fact that although Garcí Fernández's second legendary wife is supposed to be French, she is given a Spanish name - Sancha. This may be simply an example of a common name of the time used for a fictitious character, or alternatively, the Sancha of the legend may have been confused with some other historic or legendary personage with the same name. Indeed, she may have been called after another person deliberately. The name itself occurred frequently in medieval Spain, both in history and in the epic legends.

(a) In history

We may cite the following historical people as proof that 'Sancha' was a commonplace name:

(i) We have already referred to Sancha, daughter of Count Aznar Galíndez II of Aragon, who married the Moorish king of Huesca, and we have said that the historical Doña Aba was distantly related to this Count. (70)

(ii) A document dated 883 mentions a Sancha, wife of Count Diego Rodríguez, and states that they made a donation to the monastery of San Félix de Oca. (71) Although there is some doubt concerning its authenticity, it does provide another example of the appearance of the name 'Sancha'.

(iii) The wife of Ramiro III of Leon was called Sancha, and from 978 her name appeared on donations together with that of her husband. (72)

(iv) Ramiro I of Aragon had a daughter called Sancha, who lived

in the 10th and 11th centuries. (73)

(v) Count Fernán González's first wife was Sancha, daughter of Sancho Garcés of Navarre and queen Toda. (74) Her name appears with that of Fernán González on official documents up to 959. For example, she is mentioned in a donation to Arlanza of Santa María de Cárdena dated the 1st March, 937. (75) On the 23rd December, 941, she witnessed a document in which a certain Juan, his wife Cixilo, and their children handed over to Cardeña various possessions of theirs round San Torcat. (76) The same year Sancha, Fernán González, and their children gave the monastery of San Millán de Xavilla to the monastery of Cardeña. (77) On the 15th March, 942, Sancha and Fernán González made a donation to the monastery of San Pedro de Berlangas, (78) and in 945 they offered three donations to San Miguel de Pedroso and its abbess Trocia. (79) The last documents signed by Doña Sancha are dated 959, and after this the Count's wife is called Doña Urraca. (80)

(vi) Count Sancho García of Castile had a daughter called Sancha, who may have been married to Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona (1018-1035). Documents prove that Ramón Berenguer certainly had a wife of this name, although there is some doubt as to her correct identity. She was believed to be the daughter of a Count Sancho Guillermo of Gascony, but Pérez de Urbel thinks it is more probable that she was Sancha of Castile. (81)

(vii) The daughter of Alfonso V of Leon, and sister of Vermudo III, was also called Sancha. She was betrothed to the Infante García of Castile, (82) and after his death she married Count Ferdinand of Castile, who was son of Sancho el Mayor. The Silense testifies

this. (83) The marriage was celebrated in 1032, and Sancha's signature appeared on a document of the 20th January, 1036, issued by her brother. (84)

(b) In Castilian epic legends

'Sancha' is also a fairly common name in Castilian epic legend, for apart from the "Condesa Traidora", it occurs in the legends of the Infantes de Lara, Fernán González, and the Infante García.

(i) According to the "Infantes de Lara" legend, 'Sancha' is the name of Ruy Velázquez's sister, who is the wife of Gonzalo Gustioz, and the mother of the seven Infantes:

"Et aquel Roy Blasquez era sennor de Biluestre, et auie una hermana muy buena duenna et complida de todos bienes et de todas buenas costumbres, et dizenle donna Sancha, et era casada con don Gonçalo Gustioz el bueno, que fue de Salas, et ouieron siete hijos a los que llamaron los siete infantes de Salas." (85)

Here, as in the "Condesa Traidora", the name 'Sancha' is undoubtedly fictitious, for Gonzalo Gustioz's historical wife was called 'Prollina'. She is mentioned by this name in a document dated the 24th September, 971, in which she and Gonzalo Gustioz made a sale to the monastery of San Adrián de Juarros. (86) We therefore have two instances in Castilian epic legend of a fictitious name - Sancha - being substituted for that of her historical counterpart.

(ii) Sancha plays an important rôle in the legend concerning Fernán González, for we have already seen in Chapter 5 that she twice frees the Count from prison. On the first occasion she frees him in Castroviejo, in return for his promise of marriage, and the wedding is celebrated after their arrival at Burgos. (87) On the second occasion she helps him to escape by pretending to be on a pilgrimage

to Santiago. (88) The legend confuses her identity, for whereas the Hajerense and the F.Gz. both describe her as the sister of García of Navarre, (89) the PCG identifies her as his daughter. (90) We have already indicated that the Count's historical wife was the daughter of Sancho Garcés I of Navarre, according to Lévi-Provençal.

(iii) The legend of the Infante García relates the circumstances of his assassination in Leon by the sons of Count Vela. It tells us that the Infante was betrothed to the Infanta Doña Sancha, sister of Vermudo III of Leon, and after his death she married Ferdinand, the son of King Sancho of Navarre. The Romanz dell infant Garcia adds an episode in which Sancha avenges the Infante's death on Fernán Laínez. (91)

We may conclude, then, that 'Sancha' is confirmed as a common name in medieval Spain by its frequent appearance on official documents, and its use in the epic legends, not only when referring to a particular historical character of that name, but also as a substitute for a more unusual name, e.g. for Prollina, wife of Gonzalo Gustioz.

None of the 'Sanchas' in the epic legends which I have mentioned has much similarity with Garcí Fernández's legendary wife, since none plays the rôle of traitor. The Sancha of the legend of Fernán González provides the Count with the means of escape from prison; and the Infante García's betrothed remains completely loyal to him. In the Toledano she mingles her tears with his blood and wants to be buried in the same tomb:

" . . . Sponsa vero sponsi dulcedine vix gustata, ante vidua, quam trãducta, fletu lugubri semiuiva lachrymas cum occisi sanguine admiscebat, se occisam ingeminans cum occiso. Qui cum in Ecclesia

Sancti Ioannis cum patre sponsae sepeliretur, et ipsa cum sepulto voluit sepeliri."(92)

In the PCG version of the legend she actually warns the Infante of his danger, (93) and according to the Romanz dell Inffant Garcia she offers to sacrifice herself in his place:

"Condes, non matedes all inffante, ca uestro sennor es; et ruegouos que antes matedes a mi que a el."(94)

The Sancha of the "Infantes de Lara" legend plays only a minor rôle until a late version - possibly second half of the 13th century, or early 14th century - where she executes her own revenge on her brother. (95)

It seems unlikely, therefore, that the Sancha of the "Condesa Traidora" was named after any of these other epic Sanchas, but there are two historical characters with whom she could feasibly have been confused. These are Sancha, wife of the Moorish king of Huesca, and Sancha, wife of Fernán González. The reason for a possible confusion is obvious in the first case, but in the second case it might have resulted from the knowledge that Fernán González married twice. More probably, however, the "Condesa Traidora" reflects the arbitrary choice of a name which was well known in medieval Spain, without taking it from any one particular person, either historical or legendary. Since it was so common, the name was as anonymous as calling someone 'Fulana', and it was probably used in a similar way if an author was ignorant of a person's real name. An identical reason may underlie the Poema de Mio Cid's use of 'Sancho' instead of 'Sisebuto' for the abbot of Cardeña. The poet may have adopted this name deliberately because he did not know the abbot's real name, and

since 'Sancho' was as common as 'Sancha', its use would not have been of any great significance in medieval Castilian literature either.

Notes to Chapter 9

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- (2) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, p. 284.
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- (3) Serrano, Luciano: Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza, Madrid, 1925, pp. 52-55.
- (4) Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, III, No. 393, p. 1215.
- (5) Pérez de Urbel: op. cit., III, no. 397, p. 1217.
Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Uría Rúa: Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, III, Madrid, 1949, pp. 13-14.
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Serrano y Sanz, M.: Noticias y Documentos históricos del Condado de Ribagorza hasta la Muerte de Sancho Garcés III (año 1035), Madrid, 1912, p. 322.
- (6) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 407, p. 1221.
Serrano y Sanz, op. cit., p. 322.
Berganza, op. cit., II, pp. 407-408.
Serrano, Luciano: Becerro Gótico de Cardena, Valladolid, 1910, p. 9.
- (7) Berganza, op. cit., II, pp. 408-409.
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- (8) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, nos. 408 and 409, p. 1222.
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- (9) Berganza, op. cit., II, pp. 409-410.
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- (12) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 681, and III, no. 460, p. 1241.
Yepes, Antonio de: Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito, I, Valladolid, 1609, apend., escritura ix, f. 22v.
- (13) Berganza, op. cit., I, § 61, p. 278.
Serrano: Bec. Gót. de Card., op. cit., pp. 72-73.
Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 681, and III, no. 471, p. 1245.

- (14) Serrano, L.: Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias, Valladolid, 1907, pp. 13-32.
 Muñoz y Romero, T.: Colección de Fueros Municipales, I, Madrid, 1847, pp. 47-50. He gives the date as the 25th December, 978.
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- Yepes concludes: "Sirue esta escritura para la Historia de la Abadia de Couarrubias, de la qual se trata el año de noucientos y sesenta y ocho (sic). Y seruirá tambien, para el año de mil y onze, en que se pone la fundacion del Ilustrissimo Monasterio de San Salvador de Oña; para que se entienda que el nombre de la muger del conde Garcí Fernandez era doña Aba, y no doña Oña, como algunos han pensado."
- (15) Serrano, L.: Cart. de Covarrubias, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
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- (16) Serrano, L.: Cart. de Covarrubias, op. cit., pp. 4-6.
 Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 669-670.
- (17) Serrano, L.: Cart. de Covarrubias, op. cit., pp. 7-8.
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- (18) Muñoz y Romero, T.: Colección de Fueros Municipales, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
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- (19) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 431, p. 1231.
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- (21) Serrano, L.: Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, Madrid, 1930, p. 74.
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- (22) Serrano, L.: Cart. de Covarrubias, op. cit., p. 38.
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- (29) Marca, P. de: Marca Hispánica, Paris, 1688, apend. lxxvi, f.853. Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 609, n. 31.
- (30) Salazar y Castro, Luis de: Historia Genealógica de la Casa de Lara, I, Madrid, 1696, Bk. II, iii, pp. 99-100.
- (31) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, p. 295.
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- (32) Garibay, Estevan de: Los Cuarenta Libros del Compendio Historial, I, Barcelona, 1628, Bk. X, xiii, pp. 445-447.
- (33) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXVII, 1772, pp. 252-256.
- (34) Yepes, Antonio de, op. cit., V, f. 322 and f. 162-164.
- (35) Fernández de Béthencourt, F.: Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquía Española, Casa Real y Grandes de España, I, Madrid, 1897, p. 454.
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- (37) Argáiz, Fray Gregorio de: La Soledad Laureada por San Benito, VI, Madrid, 1675, p. 313.
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- (38) Serrano, L.: Cart. de Covarrubias, op. cit., p. xxv.
- (39) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 83, p. 287, and p. 295.
- (40) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 609, n. 31.
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- (42) Serrano y Sanz, M., op. cit., p. 322.
- (43) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, pp. 54-55 and 57.
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- (45) PCG, II, § 732, p. 428.

- (46) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 755.
- (47) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 760.
- (48) Salazar y Castro, L. de; op. cit., pp. 56-57.
Fernández de Béthencourt, F., op. cit., pp. 454 and 456.
- He concludes: "Lo cierto es que la Condesa Doña Aba sobrevivió mucho tiempo á su marido, que murió en edad decrepita y en la tranquilidad de la Corte de su hijo, y que se enterró al lado de su marido en San Pedro de Cardena."
- (49) Yepes, A. de, op. cit., f. 320-322.
- (50) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, nos. 410, 411, 412, pp. 1223-1224.
- (51) Serrano y Sanz, M., op. cit., p. 334.
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- (54) Bartsch, Karl: Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen, Leipzig, 1870, § 59, p. 67, l. 1-2.
- (55) Bartsch, Karl, op. cit., p. 68, l. 32, 43, 50; p. 69, l. 71, 78; and p. 70, l. 120.
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- (57) Le Lai d'Haveloc, op. cit., p. 164, l. 528-530.
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- (62) Stokes, Whitley: The Manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels, Rev. Celt., I, 1871, p. 333.
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(66) Lazamon's Brut or Chronicle of Britain, ed. Sir Frederic Madden, II, London, 1847, p. 546, l. 23,070.

(67) Lazamon's Brut, op. cit., III, p. 144, l. 28,610-28,617.

Arthur declares: "And I will fare to Avalun, to the fairest of all maidens, to Argante the Queen, an elf most fair, and she shall make my wounds all sound; make me all whole with healing draughts ..."

(68) Bardsley, C.W.: A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames, London, 1901, p. 58.

(69) Ferguson, R.: The Teutonic Name System applied to the family names of France, England and Germany, London, 1864, pp. 387-388.

(70) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 760.
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(72) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 626 and 666.
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(74) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de L'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 67.
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(75) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., I, p. 412, and III, no. 418, p. 1115.
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(76) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., I, p. 446, and III, no. 167, p. 1122.
Berganza: Antigüedades de España, II, pp. 382-383.
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(78) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 171, p. 1123.
Serrano, L.: Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

(79) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 202, pp. 1137-1138; no. 203, p. 1138; no. 204, p. 1138.
Serrano, L.: Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla, pp. 43-46.

- (80) On the 29th June, she signed a donation to Cardena from Gonzalo Fernández and his wife, Fronilde.
See Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 583, and III, no. 311, pp. 1181-1182.
Serrano, L.: Bec. Gót. de Card., op. cit., pp. 302-303.
On the 4th September she signed another donation to the same monastery of property in Teudela, which L. Serrano identifies as Villatuelda. The town has now disappeared, but it was situated within the boundaries of the monastery of San Clemente, near Olmos Albos.
See Serrano, L.: Bec. Gót. de Card., op. cit., pp. 104-105.
Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 313, p. 1182.
- (81) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 895, and 905-906.
Arco y Garay, Ricardo del: España Christiana hasta el año 1035, in Historia de España dirigida por R. Menéndez Pidal, VI, Pt. 2, pp. 492, 493, 550.
- (82) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 947, 965.
- (83) Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, p. 64.
"Interim Fredinandus Sanciam filiam Adefonsi Galleciensis regis nobilissimam puellam, Veremudo fratre regales sororis nuptias exhibente, in coniugium accepit."
- (84) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 1021 and 1027.
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- (85) PCG, II, § 766, p. 431.
- (86) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 746, and III, no. 400, p. 1218.
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- (88) PCG, II, § 718, pp. 420-421.
- (89) Cirot, G., op. cit., p. 416.
Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 667, p. 200.
"Veo una grran(d) senna, non se de que color,
O es de mi hermano e del moro Almonçor."
- (90) PCG, II, § 714, p. 416.

"Rogamosuos sennor, et pedimosuos por merced que dedes el rey don Garcia a su fija donna Sancha, yl mandedes sacar de la prision..."

- (91) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, BH, XIII, II, § 92, pp. 427-428.
Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 90.
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- (92) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xxv, p. 93.
- (93) PCG, II, § 788, p. 470.
- (94) PCG, II, § 788, p. 471.
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10. Massacre of the monks of Cardena(1) Evidence for the tradition

The destruction of the monastery of Cardena, the martyrdom of its monks, and the subsequent rebuilding of the monastery seem to have been connected with the legend of Garcí Fernández by the time it appears in the PCG. We have seen in the introduction that, according to the PCG, the tradition is that the Moors over-ran the Burgos region while Garcí Fernández was in France, and destroyed Cardena, killing three hundred monks in a day. They were all buried in the cloister, and God performed miracles on their account. The Count rebuilt the monastery, and chose it as his burial place.⁽¹⁾

This massacre is an old tradition of Cardena, but it is by no means certain whether it is historical fact, as our only evidence for it is unreliable. The other main testimony of the event is a commemorative tablet which existed at Cardena itself, and was probably set up in the cloister about the end of the 12th century.⁽²⁾ It recorded that two hundred monks were killed at Cardena by King Zepha on the day of Sts. Just and Pastor, Wednesday, the 6th August, era 872 - i.e. 834 A.D. by our reckoning.⁽¹⁾ The text of the inscription, as reproduced by E. Hübner, is as follows:

"era DCCCLXXII quarta feria octav idus augusti adlisa est karadigna per regem zapham et interfecti sunt ducenti monachi de grege domini in die sanctorum martyrum iusti et pastoris."⁽³⁾

(1) Spain used as its system of reckoning an era which the Visigoths had taken over from the Christians of Roman Spain. This era was used in Castile until 1382, and it was reckoned from the 1st January, 38 B.C. The equivalent year of the Christian era is 38 years less than the Spanish era. See Handbook of Dates for Students of English History, ed. C.R. Cheney, pub. by The Royal Historical Society, London, 1945, p. 2.

Berganza, Flórez, and Dozy give slightly different versions, with the addition of the word 'ibi' in the phrase "et interfecti sunt ibi per Regem Zapham CC Monachi . . ." ⁽⁴⁾ This is important because this word has been singled out to help explain the difficulties arising from the inscription.

The Chronicon de Cardena also records that in era 872 King Acepha entered Castile and advanced to Cardena, where two hundred monks were killed. This is a translation of the inscription, with the addition of the name of the contemporary abbot, whom the Chronicon says was Don Esteban. It adds the detail that in 899 King Alfonso of Leon populated the monastery:

"Era de DCCCLXXII. Vino el Rey Acepha en Castiella, è andido por toda la tierra, è vino al Monesterio de Sant Peydro de Cardena, è mató y docientos Monges que moraban y. Era el Abad estonces D. Esteban. IV Feria, in die SS. Justi è Pastoris en el mes de Agosto.

899 . . . fue poblado el Monesterio de Cardena por el Rey D. Alfons de Leon." ⁽⁵⁾

The Anales Compostellanos confirms that Cardena was populated in 899 - era 937 - although ^{it} ~~they~~ neither says who was responsible, nor mentions the massacre and the destruction of the monastery:

"899 Era DCCCCXXXVII Fuit Cardena populata." ⁽⁶⁾

A privilege granted by King Henry IV of Castile, and the Crónica del Cid, contain later references to the massacre. In the privilege, which is dated the 10th January, 1473, Henry IV comments with reference to Cardena's history:

" . . . è puso en èl docientos religiosos, que sirviessen à Dios, è un día de San Justo, y Pastor, el Rey Zepha vino poderosamente con sus moros sobre el dicho Monesterio, è entraronlo, è robaron quanto en èl fallaron, è degollaron todos los monges, que en èl estaban: los

quales fueron todos sepultados en el Claustro del dicho Monesterio: è por ellos en cada un año faze nuestro Señor miraglio, que en el dia, que ellos fueron degollados amance el suelo de la Calostra donde fueron sepultados de color de sangre . . ." (7)

This account is interesting, since it informs us of the character of the miracle performed at Cardena, to which the PCG alludes - namely, on the anniversary of the massacre, the ground of the cloister where the monks were buried is said to have been stained with blood.

The Crónica del Cid also recalls that the two hundred monks were buried in the cloister near the church, and a tablet there commemorated the monastery's destruction in 834:

"Los quales dichos dozientos monjes estan todos sepultados en la claustra mas cercana a la yglesia del dicho monesterio; donde esta vna escriptura muy antigua esculpida en vna piedra de letras goticas; en que se declara esta destruccion. E fue fecha esta destruccion en el dicho año de la encarnacion de nro. Señor Jesu Xpo. de ochocientos y treynta y quatro años, miercoles, día de San Juste y Pastor, que es día de la transfiguracion de nuestro Señor; que es a seys días del mes de Agosto." (8)

Berganza refers to the visits of two Spanish sovereigns to the cloister. Queen Isabel the Catholic visited Cardena, and in particular the cloister of the martyrs, in 1496, (9) and Philip II went there in 1592. (10) This indicates that the cloister, where the monks are reputed to have been slain and buried, was held in veneration in the Peninsula.

We may ask, then, what grounds there are for the authenticity of the tradition? It is not mentioned in many of the early Chronicles - the Silense, Tudense, Toledano, the Anales Toledanos, or the Anales Complutenses, and we have seen that the Anales

Compostellanos only records the fact that Cardena was populated in 899.⁽¹⁾ The Becerro Gótico de Cardena does not mention it either. The PCG and the commemorative tablet at the monastery itself are therefore the earliest written testimonies of the incident, but there are important differences in these two versions of the massacre.

(a) They give different dates, with a lapse of nearly 150 years. Whereas the PCG places Cardena's destruction in the 10th century, during the early years of Garcí Fernández's government of Castile, the tablet places it in the 9th century - era 872. If this is to be believed, the PCG is anachronistic in putting the massacre in Garcí Fernández's time.

(b) The PCG does not mention any of the Moors by name, but the tablet makes a King Zepha responsible for the massacre.

(c) The number of monks killed differs between three hundred, according to the PCG, and two hundred, according to the tablet.

(d) The PCG adds details of their burial in the cloister, and the performance of miracles, which the tablet does not mention.

 (i) The Anales Toledanos, Anales Complutenses, and Anales Compostellanos are some of the short anonymous medieval Chronicles belonging to the Peninsula. They were written by Christians during the Reconquest, particularly in Castile; the earliest are in Latin, and most belong to the 12th and 13th centuries. The Anales Toledanos, for instance, goes up to 1219, and the Anales Compostellanos up to 1249. M. Gómez-Moreno calls the Anales Complutenses the Anales Castellanos Segundos, and notes that it was found at the beginning of a Ms. written in Asturias, probably at the monastery of San Juan de Corias. The main part of this Ms. was formed of the history of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, and Gómez-Moreno believes that it went to Compostela soon after it was written, and additions were made to it about the middle of the 12th century. See Gómez-Moreno Martínez, Manuel: Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1917, pp. 7-8; Pérez de Urbel, Fray J.: Historia del Condado de Castilla, I, pp. 14-16; Aguado Bleye, P.: Manual de Historia de España, I, pp. 550-551.

These versions therefore agree only about the essential fact - that the monks of Cardena were all slaughtered at the same time, presumably by the Moors. Luciano Serrano has suggested that the discrepancies may mean that the two versions were derived from different sources. Certainly the PCG does not seem to know either the inscription or the Chronicon de Cardena. The strange thing is that the earlier Chronicles do not mention an event, which, if it occurred, we may reasonably expect to have caused concern, and to have been common knowledge throughout Castile.

The massacre has been accepted as fact by Berganza, Flórez, Morales, Dozy, Juan Menéndez Pidal, Pérez de Urbel, and Serrano, and we must examine their theories to decide whether there is any truth in the PCG tradition. Professor Russell seems to credit it with little historical probability, for he points out that legends were elaborated by the monks with the intention of preserving the memory of the part they played in Castile's early days. He suggests that the purpose of this particular legend was to set back the date of the monastery's foundation by some 150 years.⁽¹¹⁾ It is, of course, possible that the whole thing is a fiction, although such an incident is perfectly credible.

(2) King Zepha

There is no evidence for the existence of a Moorish king of this name, and Berganza, Flórez, Dozy, and J.M. Pidal are all agreed that 'Zepha' does not refer to a person.

Berganza points out that it is an Arabic word, borrowed from Syrian, meaning 'captain':

"Zepha en el idioma Siriaco, de donde le tomó el Arabigo, significa Capitan."

The word underwent a change of meaning from 'captain' to 'army', and some of the old Chronicles of the Peninsula use it in this sense. Sampiro, for example, uses 'azeipha'⁽¹⁾ as 'army'; and so does the Silense, with reference to events during the reigns of Ordoño II and Ramiro II.⁽¹²⁾

Berganza concludes that the person responsible for Cardena's destruction and the massacre of the monks was a Moor called Almundar, who entered Leon in 872. He believes that the inscription refers to him as 'Zepha' since he was both king of Córdoba and General of the army.⁽¹³⁾

Flórez, too, accepts 872 as the date of the massacre, and agrees that at that time, during Alfonso III's reign, Abulmundar was the Moorish leader attacking Castile and Leon.⁽¹⁴⁾

Dozy explains 'zepha' as an Arabic word meaning a 'summer expedition' and by extension 'the army which makes such an expedition'. He concludes, then, that the inscription mistakes a common noun for a proper noun.⁽¹⁵⁾

J.M. Pidal adds that since both Sampiro and the Silense use 'zepha' to refer to Moslem armies, this meaning was known generally among educated Castilians at that time. This was evidently not the case in the early 13th century, however, for Bishop Lucas de Túy makes the same mistake as the Cardena inscription and speaks of a Moorish captain called 'Aceipha' during Ramiro II's reign.⁽¹⁶⁾ On the basis of this evidence, J.M. Pidal concludes that the inscription

(i) 'azeipha' is formed with the addition of the article 'al-'.

itself was worked between the middle of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century, and possibly even later if we are to judge by its characters. He believes that the text itself was taken from old documents, which have been lost. (17)

The inscription's reference to the author of the supposed destruction at Cardena does not, therefore, help us to place it correctly in time. All we may conclude is that if such a massacre took place, it was the work of an unspecified army, and probably occurred during one of the summer campaigns of the Moors against the Christian states of the northern part of the Peninsula.

(3) Date of the massacre

We have already noted the discrepancy between the dates given by the PCG and the inscription, but a mistake in the latter date gives rise to further doubt concerning its authenticity. It is cited as Wednesday, the 6th August, era 872, and the fiesta of St. Just and St. Pastor, but Esteban de Garibay noticed that in that year the 6th August fell on a Thursday, not a Wednesday. He therefore regarded the inscription as suspect, at least with regard to the day of the week. (18)

Berganza, Flórez, Tailhan, Morales, and Serrano all hold that the massacre occurred in the 9th century, although they do not all agree about the year. Berganza and Flórez explain away the discrepancy on the inscription by taking the word 'era' to mean the 'year of our Lord'. Berganza found that in 872 A.D. the day of the week, the month, and the fiesta all agreed with the inscription, for he claims that the fiesta of St. Just and St. Pastor was counted

from mid-day on the Wednesday, reckoning the days in the Arabic manner. In this case, the massacre could have occurred on the Wednesday, which would also have been the fiesta of those Saints. He also asserts that through constant use the word 'era' lost its particular significance in the Peninsula, and acquired the meaning of 'year of our Lord'. Hence its use on the inscription.⁽¹⁹⁾ He supports his theory by stating that there is no proof that the Moors entered Castile or Leon between a battle fought in Galicia in 821, in which Alfonso the Chaste defeated the Moors, and the reign of Ramiro I, who came to the throne in 842. Since Almundar invaded Leon in 872, it was probably his army which attacked Cardena.⁽²⁰⁾

Flórez's acceptance of 872 as the Christian year instead of the Spanish era is based on the belief that the Moors were not actively hostile after 821 until Alfonso III's reign, during which the year 872 fell.⁽²¹⁾

P. Jules Tailhan, however, rejects this solution on the grounds that it is based on an arbitrary changing of the year. Instead, he proposes amending the inscription to 'Era DCCCLXXIII.VI, F.VIII Idus Ag.' - i.e. era 873, or 835 A.D. He explains this as an error in the inscription on the part of the author or person deciphering it, because in Spanish Gothic writing the figures VI and III resemble one another, and could have been mistaken. He suggests, therefore, that the last unit of the era may have been added to the figure of the 'feria' in error.⁽²²⁾

Dozy, Pérez de Urbel, and J.M. Pidal all place the martyrdom of the monks during the 10th century, although again there is lack of

agreement as to the year.

Dozy and Pérez de Urbel both find the mistake on the inscription not in the day of the week, but in the year. They believe that the massacre occurred in 934, and Dozy bases this theory on the following points:

(a) in 834 the Moslem army restricted itself to ravaging the territory of Toledo, which had revolted against the Sultan. Ibn Adâri mentions this. (23)

(b) He rejects the suggestion of Berganza and Flórez, because it is risky when dealing with an old document such as the inscription to give the word 'era' another meaning than it has elsewhere. Also, he claims that there was no expedition in 872 against Castile or any Christian state.

In fact, he fails to take into account that Ibn Adâri mentions an expedition conducted by the emir Mohammed against Pamplona in 872. He stopped at Toledo on the way, travelled through the frontier province to reduce those showing rebellious tendencies, i.e. the Benoû Moûsa, and marched on Pamplona. (24)

(c) The tradition preserved in the monastery placed the massacre in the 10th century, instead of the 9th century.

Dozy therefore concludes that the date on the inscription is an engraver's error, and a C was omitted from the figure DCCCLXXII. This should have read era 972 (i.e. 934 A.D.) because in that year the 6th August fell on a Wednesday, and the Moslems were in the region of Cardena. According to Ibn Khaldoun, in 322 H. Abderrahman III destroyed Burgos and a number of fortresses after besieging

Ramiro II of Leon at Osma. Burgos was only a short distance from Cardena and, furthermore, Cardena actually lay on Abderrahman's route from Osma, so Dozy believes that this was the army responsible for massacring the monks.

Pérez de Urbel agrees with Dozy that the inscription omits a C from the date, and that Abderrahman III invaded Castile in 934, although his main objective was Navarre. According to Al-Makkari, in 322 H. An-Násir⁽ⁱ⁾ invaded Navarre, marched on Pamplona and subdued the fortresses of Álava. Some time after this he invaded Galicia, and the Christian king, Ordoño III, shut himself up in Osma.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ An-Násir besieged him there, and then took and destroyed Burgos. Although Al-Makkari does not give the exact date of this latter event, he implies that it was between 322 and 325 H. - i.e. 933 and 936 A.D.⁽²⁵⁾

In addition, the Anales Castellanos Primeros⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ records that the Moors reached Burgos in 934, and Pérez de Urbel believes that this was the occasion of the destruction of Cardena.⁽²⁶⁾

One of the real objections to this theory, which Dozy acknowledges, is the reference in the Anales Compostellanos to the populating

(i) An-Násir is the title assumed by Abderrahman III in 929. See Aguado Bleye, Pedro: Manual de Historia de España, I, p. 428.

(ii) The editor notes that if this expedition did take place between 322 and 325 H., Ramiro II was then king of Leon, not Ordoño III. He therefore suggests that Al-Makkari is referring to some campaign made after 950, when Ordoño came to the throne. See Gayangos, P. de: The History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain, London, 1843, p. 462, n.9.

(iii) The Anales Castellanos Primeros was found at the beginning of a Ms. of the Fuero Juzgo dated 1058. The Ms. does not say where it was written, but M. Gómez-Moreno believes that it is Castilian, and although there are no earlier extant Mss., its content was known between the 10th and the 12th centuries. See Gómez-Moreno Martínez, Manuel: Anales Castellanos Primeros, Madrid, 1917, p. 7.

of Cardena in 899. This might indicate that the destruction and massacre occurred before this, but Dozy interprets it as meaning that Cardena was founded and the monks established themselves there in 899. (27)

J.M. Pidal, however, only accepts as certain that there was a massacre on the 6th August, since this is the time of year when the Moslems customarily invaded the Christian kingdoms. He suggests 953 as the possible date of Cardena's destruction, for the following reasons:

(a) the discrepancies on the inscription are the result of faulty copying, or reading, and the word 'ibi' in the phrase 'interfecti sunt ibi', in place of 'hic', suggests that the inscription reproduces a text which was drawn up away from Cardena. It may have been made from a corrupt copy of a chronicle, and the person copying interpreted the word 'aceipha' in his own way, and deciphered the date incorrectly.

(b) We may not credit any date prior to the 10th century if there is any truth in the PCG's assertion that Garcí Fernández rebuilt Cardena after its destruction.

(c) In ancient times, monasteries had their cemeteries outside their precincts, and the custom of burying monks in the cloister was only introduced at the end of the 10th century.

(d) The massacre was probably between the 1st August, 953, and the 14th January, 957, for during that period there are no donations or documents referring to Cardena. This silence may perhaps be explained because Cardena was in ruins, and the monastery uninhabited

during those years. J.M. Pidal is relying on Berganza for this information. (28)

(e) In 951 there was discord in the Christian kingdoms, for Ordoño III had to fight against the claims to the throne of his brother, Sancho; the trouble spread to Galicia, where some of the people also rebelled against Ordoño. (29) The Moors took advantage of the strife to cross the Christian frontiers constantly, and in the summer of 953 Galib (governor of Medinaceli) and Ahmed ben Ya'la (governor of Badajoz) invaded the Christian kingdoms.

Al Bayano'l-Mogrib confirms that Ordoño's brother, whom it calls García, rose against him, thus enabling the Moslems to win victories. In June 951 there were several successful Moslem expeditions against the Christians, in one of which the military governor of Badajoz defeated the Galicians, (30) and in the summer of 342 (= 953) Ahmed ben Ya'la made a successful expedition against Galicia, and Galib had some great successes over the Christians. (31)

According to the Tudense and Toledano, the Moors besieged San Esteban de Gormaz, and laid waste the land of Burgos. J.M. Pidal points out that Cardena lay on their route, and he thinks it likely that this was the occasion of the massacre. (32)

Morales and Serrano, however, both accept the date on the inscription as correct. Morales does not attempt to resolve the difficulties it presents, (33) but Serrano believes that its discrepancy results from an engraver's error in the day of the week rather than the year, for he put 'IIII Feria' instead of 'V Feria'. He therefore rejects the theories of Berganza, Flórez, Dozy, and

J.M. Pidal, and upholds 834 on these grounds:

(a) The monastery of Cardena was probably founded in the middle of the 8th century, and the reference in the Anales Compostellanos may mean that the territory of Cardena in the Burgos region was populated in 899, not necessarily the monastery.

(b) We know that in 834 the emir of Córdoba attacked Toledo, and after subduing it he may have invaded and sacked Leon and Castile as a form of revenge for the help they gave Toledo in its rebellion.

(c) If Cardena had been destroyed in 934, surely the writings of the 10th century would have referred to it. Also, a donation by Fernán González's mother, Countess Muñadona, dated the 5th August, 935, gives no sign of such a misfortune the previous year, and indicates that the monastery was in a normal and prosperous state:

"Placuit nobis atque convenit ut daremus . . . tibi patri nostro Adefonso abbati cum omni congerie qui sunt sub ditione tua et militant Deo in Sancto Cenobio . . ." (34)(i)

(d) Berganza and Flórez's solution cannot be correct, for documents did not use 'era' in the sense of 'the Christian year' before the 14th century.

(e) Serrano rejects J.M. Pidal's theory because he fails to prove first the falsity of the inscription, and his belief in 953 rests partly on the Toledano's claim that the Moors entered the territory of Burgos in that year. Serrano points out that the Toledano does not mention the month when the Moors reached Burgos, and it could have been spring or autumn rather than summer. Also, he does not believe for certain that nothing was known about Cardena

(i) P. Tailhan also uses this argument in refuting Dozy's proposition.

between 953-957, for in a document dated the 23rd August, 955, an abbot Recesvinto and two monks appear, authorising a sale in favour of a dependent monastery. In addition, on the 1st January, 954, another monastery - Villagonzalo Pedernales - evidently existed in the region of Cardena. If the Moors had destroyed all this region only five months before, Serrano concludes that this monastery would probably have suffered as well as Cardena.

He claims, therefore, that the interruption of donations to Cardena between 953-957 does not prove J.M. Pidal's hypothesis, and there were other similar gaps in Cardena's history - for example, between 917-921, 932-935, 994-999, and 1033-1039 - and at all these periods the Moors were invading Castile.

(f) The inscription was not necessarily written away from Cardena, because the engraver could easily omit any reference to the place where it was worked. Serrano suggests, however, that the word 'ibi' may mean that the inscription came from an old Castilian text, probably compiled at the end of the 12th or early in the 13th century, since before then Christian writers knew the correct meaning of 'zepha'.

(g) The PCG's chronology is wrong, for the Moors did not penetrate beyond the Duero in the early years of Garcí Fernández's government of Castile. (35)

Finally, we must mention another ingenious theory advanced by Berganza and Argáiz supporting the validity of both traditions - the PCG and the inscription. They both maintain that Cardena was destroyed and its monks killed on two occasions. Berganza holds that Alfonso

the Great rebuilt the monastery, as the Chronicon de Cardena records, but he also finds support for the PCG's assertion that Garcí Fernández rebuilt it in two documents - one in the archives of Oña, and the other in the old Martyrology of Cardena. (36) As further proof of the two massacres, Berganza records: (a) that in 1660, when part of the cloister at Cardena was pulled down, bones, lances, and heads bearing signs of severe wounds were found in a different place from where the massacred monks were reputed to have been buried. (b) This was not in a place where a field battle could have been fought. (c) Historical evidence also favours a second massacre, for in Ordoño III's time the Moors, under Almanzor, invaded Castile and ravaged the land as far as Burgos. Berganza therefore concludes that time confused two destructions and massacres. (37)

Argáiz, on the other hand, reaches this conclusion mainly because of confusion over the correct name of the Abbot at the time the massacre is supposed to have taken place. He solves the problem by suggesting that there were two massacres, one in 833, when Sancho was abbot, and one c. 968, when the Abbot was called Esteban. Documentary evidence proves that the latter was Abbot between 945 and 963, at least, and on these grounds Argáiz concludes:

"Yo, pues, tengo sospechas grandes, que este Abad Esteuan, fue muerto por los Moros, con todos los Monges que tenia; y que este martirio es muy distinto de el que padecieron los docientos Monges, por el año de ochocientos treinta y tres, con su Abad Sancio; sino que el tiempo los ha confundido, y reducido los Escritores de España, para que no lo tengan por mas de uno." (38)

He tries to solve the difficulty of the identity of 'Zepha' by maintaining that there was a captain of this name in the 10th century,

on the basis of Sapiro's mention of the word. He takes this to refer to the actions of a particular Moor in 935 and 938 onwards. He does not find any trace, though, of any such Moorish captain waging war in 833. Finally, he treats the reference in the Oña archives to Garcí Fernández's rebuilding of the monastery as further proof of a second massacre, while Esteban was Abbot.

Argáiz fails to make clear exactly why he believes 833 was the date of the first massacre, and his argument concerning the identity of 'Zepha' is, of course, invalid, since he mistakes the real meaning of the word. Having accepted that there was a second massacre between 963-968, he has to explain away the chronology of the PCG, since according to his theory the massacre would have fallen within Fernán González's period of government. He therefore asserts that Garcí Fernández made his own donations and conducted warfare against the Moors from the time of his marriage, because his father was too old; hence the reference in the PCG.⁽³⁹⁾

We may object to the whole theory of two massacres on the grounds of its improbability. It is highly unlikely that such a large number of monks was killed twice in almost identical circumstances, and none of the texts mentioning the massacre records that it happened on two different occasions.

We have seen that Argáiz's theory is suspect, and Berganza's assertion that the Moors under Almanzor invaded Castile in Ordoño III's time is false, since Ordoño III died in 956,⁽⁴⁰⁾ and Almanzor's campaigns against the Christian states did not begin until 977. The double event, therefore, is merely a hypothesis on the part of

Berganza and Argáiz to explain the conflicting traditions.

(4) Garcí Fernández's connection with the monastery

We have shown that there are two different traditions - one that Alfonso III populated the monastery of Cardena in 899, and one attributing its rebuilding to Garcí Fernández. Argáiz cites the document preserved in the archives of Oña as proof of the PCG's assertion. This document says that Sancho García sent certain people to Medinaceli to redeem his father's body from Almanzor, and then had it buried at Cardena. It continues:

" . . . el qual monasterio su padre avia reedificado de la destruycion que en el avian hecho los Moros, quando martirizaron los docientos Monges, que en una claustra estan enterrados."(41)

The document which Berganza cites from the old Martyrology of Cardena, in confirmation of this tradition, reads:

"El Conde Garcí Fernández yaze en el coro en medio de los Reyes. Este Conde Garcí Fernández refizo el Monesterio destructo de los Moros."

According to J.M. Pidal, archaeological evidence confirms the PCG tradition, too, for one tower of the monastery was probably built at the end of the 10th century, or beginning of the 11th century.

With regard to the reference in the Anales Compostellanos, there are two important points to note. We are not told who was responsible for populating Cardena, and there is no actual mention of the monastery. Only the Chronicon de Cardena attributes the populating of the monastery itself to Alfonso of Leon.

Since the date of the monastery's foundation seems very uncertain, we may perhaps be justified in suggesting that it could either have been built originally, or at least extended considerably, in Alfonso

III's time, and later enlarged or rebuilt by Garcí Fernández. The alternative solutions seem to be either that Alfonso III did not build the monastery at all, but simply populated the Cardena region, or that Garcí Fernández was only attributed with building the monastery some years after his death. This could be explained because he was known to have been a consistent benefactor of Cardena, and this fact might well have resulted in crediting him as well with the monastery's restoration.

(5) Name of the abbot of Cardena

Neither the PCG nor the Cardena inscription mentions the abbot's name in connection with the massacre. The Chronicon de Cardena tells us that he was called 'Esteban', but elsewhere he is referred to as 'Sancho'. According to Bergenza, some writers gave him the latter name on the basis of old martyrologies and breviaries, but he was always called 'Esteban' at Cardena. (42)

Flórez tries to resolve this difficulty by maintaining that he was called 'Esteban Sánchez', which would explain why he is called by both names, but he also notes that Cardena consistently called him 'Esteban'. (43) J.M. Pidal agrees that the abbot's name at the time of the massacre was 'Esteban', and he explains that he might have been called 'Sancho' erroneously, due to confusion between Latin abbreviations of the names 'Sancho' and 'Esteban'. (44)

Serrano merely concludes that we do not know the abbot's real name, and he doubts whether the tradition is sufficiently certain to maintain Pidal's hypothesis, particularly since neither the PCG nor the inscription mentions the abbot's name. He points out that the

fact that the abbot has been called by different names indicates that the monastery had no fixed tradition for his name. This was possibly introduced in the Chronicon de Cardena by a chronicler who read in a Cardena manuscript that an abbot Esteban ruled up to two hundred monks there in 949, and inserted this name in his own Chronicle without due regard for the dates, believing that this abbot and his monks were the martyrs.

The idea of calling the abbot 'Sancho' is particularly interesting in view of the similar discrepancy in the Poema de Mio Cid, to which I drew attention in Chapter 9. The author calls the abbot of Cardena 'Sancho' at the time of the Cid's exile, and after his capture of Valencia:

"Dues fijas dexo niñas e prendetlas en los braços;
aquí vos las acomiendo a vos, abbat don Sancho;"(45)

and

"e mandó mill marcos de plata a San Pero levar
e que los quinientos diesse a don Sancho el abbat."(46)

At the time of the Cid's first exile, the abbot of Cardena was called 'Sisebuto'. He was abbot from c. 1060 - c. 1086, and there is no historical record of an abbot Sancho at that time. Nevertheless, Professor Russell has pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that there was no such person, since the documentary evidence for Sisebuto's immediate successors is poor. A possible explanation for the poem's use of 'Sancho' is that 'sanctu' (Saint) produced O. Sp. 'sancho' rather than 'santo', which could easily have been confused with the proper noun. (47) The other possibility, which I have already suggested, is that the poet merely adopted a very common name for the

abbot.

In any case, this other appearance of the name 'Sancho' suggests that it may have been a traditional one for the abbots of Cardena in legend. We can say that the abbot's name was a late addition to the massacre tradition, since neither of the earliest testimonies mentions it. We cannot, then, rely on it as evidence of the monastery's destruction under either Esteban or Sancho, since it need not represent the genuine name of the abbot under whom the disaster may have overtaken Cardena.

(6) The number 300

The other discrepancy in the tradition concerns the number of monks said to have been killed. Apart from the POG, all references to the tradition accept the number of slain as two hundred. The possible explanation is that a fictitious number - three hundred - was substituted for the traditional two hundred when the episode was included in the epic legend concerning Garcí Fernández. In any case, the number two hundred is probably a fiction, even if there was a massacre, for it is unlikely that anything like that number of monks existed at Cardena in the 9th, or even in the 10th century.

Three hundred is a common number in epic legend, not only in the Peninsula, but in other countries as well.

(a) 300 in Spanish epic legends

The number is mentioned twice in connection with Garcí Fernández, the second occasion being when we are told that during his government the number of cavalry rose from three hundred to five or six hundred:

" . . . et en el so tienpo llego la caualleria de Castiella a seer de quinientos fasta seyçientos caualleros fijosdalgo, ca ante non solien seer mas de trezientos."(48)

Other legends also mentioning the number are those centring round Bernardo del Carpio, Sancho II of Castile, Fernán González, the Cid, the Infantes de Lara, and Abbot John of Montemayor.

The PCG version of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio records that Bernardo has the support of three hundred knights in his struggle against Alfonso the Great for his father's release from captivity.⁽⁴⁹⁾ We have already referred to the incident in the Najerense version of the legend of Sancho II, where the king pretends to be going on a pilgrimage to Santiago, accompanied by three hundred Castilian knights, as a pretext for entering his brothers' kingdoms.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The legend of Fernán González relates that while the Count is a prisoner of King García of Navarre at Castroviejo, three hundred Castilian knights wish to free him. Since they cannot agree how to do this, for lack of a leader, they decide to form an image of the Count and take it on their search for him. They meet him returning to Castile with the Infanta Doña Sancha, who has freed him.⁽⁵¹⁾

According to the PCG's legendary account of the Cid's death, King Búcar arrives at Valencia, after the Cid has died, bringing with him thirty-six Moorish kings and a Moorish woman who is accompanied by three hundred Moorish females.⁽⁵²⁾ The C.1344's version of the legend of the Infantes de Lara records that Almanzor gives Mudarra three hundred horsemen to accompany him to Castile in search of his father.⁽⁵³⁾ Finally, the number appears twice in the legend of Abbot John of Montemayor. The abbot gives his adopted son, García, three hundred knights to accompany him into Moorish territory, ostensibly for the purpose of harming the Moors.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Also, before he

engages Almanzor in battle, three hundred Moslems appear to the abbot in the guise of Christians, claiming to have brought help from King Ramiro of Leon. (55)

(b) 300 in foreign medieval literature and legend

Outside the Peninsula, the number three hundred appears in the chanson de geste Gui de Bourgogne, where three hundred men guard the Saracen city, which Charlemagne tries to enter disguised as a pilgrim. (56)

There are also several references to three hundred warriors in Irish epic legend. Cúchulainn boasts to Liban, wife of Labraid, that he fought three hundred men single-handed and killed them all. (57) The tale of the murder of the sons of Usnech refers to the slaying of three hundred warriors. Illan, son of Fergus, kills three hundred Ulates outside a palace; (58) the Ulates surround the palace and Ardan opposes them, killing three hundred of the attackers; (59) finally, Usnech's three sons kill three hundred of the enemy army - the Ulates. (60)

Three hundred, then, seems a favourite figure in Irish epic legend for deeds of prowess, since one man is represented as able to kill three hundred of the enemy. It is also a figure which occurs frequently in the Arabic romance Antar. For example, the father of a damsel, whom Antar and the Absians attacked in the desert, seeks out Antar, accompanied by three hundred horsemen. (61) When King Zoheir and four thousand of the Abs go to fight the tribe of Tey, they leave three hundred horsemen behind to protect their tents. (62) Three hundred warriors are sent by King Kais, father of Bostam, to

destroy Antar, who is fighting his son; ⁽⁶³⁾ Antar and his companions slay three hundred of the tribe of Khitaan; ⁽⁶⁴⁾ and, finally, three hundred horsemen accompany King Zoheir to meet his brother, Asyed, who is paying his annual visit to the tribe of Abs. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

These examples prove the universal popularity of the number in epic legend, and I think we may conclude that its appearance in the tradition of the massacre at Cardena is an epic trait, bearing no relation to the actual number which the Moors may have slain.

(7) Conclusions

To sum up, there possibly was a massacre of the Cardena monks, but it is most unlikely that this happened on more than one occasion in the same circumstances, and the number of slaughtered was probably not as many as two hundred. Such a massacre is quite in accordance with historical reality, for we know that the Moslems destroyed numerous monasteries during their campaigns against the Christians of the North.

As the traditions conflict, and it is by no means certain whether this occurred in the 9th or 10th century, the following are the different dates which have been suggested for it:

- 834 (= the date on the inscription at Cardena) - Morales and Serrano
- 835 (taking the date on the inscription as an engraver's error, through adding the last unit of the era to the 'feria' figure) - Tailhan
- 872 (taking the word 'era' on the inscription to mean 'year of our Lord') - Berganza, Flórez
- 934 (taking the date on the inscription as a different engraver's error, i.e. era 872 for era 972) - Dozy, Pérez de Urbel
- 953 J.M. Pidal.

The arguments advanced by Berganza and Flórez in favour of 872 do not hold much weight, since they assert somewhat arbitrarily that the word 'era' must be taken to mean the 'year of our Lord'. Serrano has pointed out that there are no examples in Christian Spain of the way of reckoning suggested by Berganza for reconciling the day of the week and the fiesta of St. Just and St. Pastor on the inscription. Also, it seems that there was no major Moorish expedition against Castile that year.

In 834, as far as we know, the Moors were only in the region of Toledo, although it is conceivable that they could then have invaded and attacked Castile. However, it is not even certain whether Cardena was founded at that date. Although we know that there were Moorish expeditions to Castile in 934 under Abderrahman III, this is an unlikely year for Cardena's destruction if we are to credit the reference to the monastery in Countess Muñadona's donation of the following year. We have seen that this proves that Cardena had a considerable monastic population in 935.

J.M. Pidal's theory is also open to criticism, since he rejects the date on the inscription as completely false and suggests 953 as the correct date of the massacre without trying to explain why the inscription gives the date it does. Moreover, we cannot take a temporary apparent silence about Cardena in documents as proof that the monastery had ceased to exist, for Serrano has shown that there were other similar gaps in the monastery's history.

None of the dates suggested agrees with the PCG's chronology, and so if any of them is correct, we must accept that there is a

chronological error in the PCG, as Garcí Fernández only began to govern Castile in 970. In any case, it is unlikely that such a massacre occurred in the early years of his government, since there is no evidence that the Moors then penetrated so far north.

It seems most reasonable to suppose that if the massacre happened it was before Garcí Fernández's period of government, but he may indeed have rebuilt, or perhaps enlarged, the monastery. At any rate, the PCG's account is suspect for two reasons: (a) it is alone in its contention that three hundred monks were killed, and this is most probably a fictitious number, as it is a favourite one in epic legend in general. (b) The massacre occurs in fictitious circumstances. It takes place during Garcí Fernández's absence in France in pursuit of his unfaithful wife, and this seems to be pure fiction.

The tradition was added late to the legend of Garcí Fernández, and the commemorative tablet at Cardena is probably a more reliable source of information than the PCG, which was not interested in pure historical fact. Also, it may be significant that the PCG's account of the massacre is followed immediately by the reference to Garcí Fernández's choice of Cardena for his burial place. The epic legends are often at pains to mention in which monastery their hero is buried, and this suggests some special connection between the hero and the monastery. As Garcí Fernández is known to have been a constant benefactor of Cardena, and is reputed to have been buried there, this makes it possible that details of the massacre, Garcí Fernández's rebuilding of the monastery, and his burial, were added to the legend of the "Condesa Traidora" by the monks of Cardena itself, who were anxious

to publicise the Count's special connection with it. Such details could then have been added with a disregard for the date of the massacre - either according to the Cardena tradition, or the historical date - and events telescoped to fit in with the early years of Garcí Fernández's rule in Castile.

Notes to Chapter 10

- (1) PCG, II, § 732, p. 429.
- (2) Russell, P.E.: San Pedro de Cardena and the Heroic History of the Cid, MAe, XXVII, 1958, No. 2, p. 68.
- (3) Hübner, E.: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae, Berlin, 1871, no. 101, p. 105.
- (4) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, p. 134.
Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXVII, Madrid, 1772, p. 221 ...
Dozy, R.: Recherches I, p. 153.
- (5) Chronicon de Cardena, in Flórez: España Sagrada, XXIII, Madrid, 1767, p. 370.
- (6) Anales Compostellanos, in Flórez: España Sagrada, XXIII, p. 318.
- (7) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, II, § 186, pp. 235-236.
- (8) Cronica del famoso cauallero Cid Ruy Díaz Campeador, Burgos, 1512, f. 114a.
- (9) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, II, § 219, p. 269.

"En el año de 1496 vino la devota Reyna à nuestro Monasterio, y passò à visitar el Santo Claustro, en donde haziendo oracion dieron sus ojos muestras de averse fervorizado su corazon, al considerar aquel sitio se viò bañado con sangre de docientos Monges Martyres..."

- (10) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, II, § 83, p. 323.

" . . . y en el año de 1592 vino por Abad de Cardena, que governò, y defendió de algunos pleytos, que le pusieron. En el día de San Geronimo de este mismo año, el señor Felipe Segundo, passando à Zaragoza, se vino à aposentar à nuestro Monasterio, para visitar el Claustro de los Santos Martyres, que le veneraba por el mayor santuario, que tenia en sus Reynos . . ."

- (11) Russell, P.E.: San Pedro de Cardena and the Heroic History of the Cid, op. cit., p. 68.
- (12) Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, pp. 46-47.

"Deinde alia azeyfa venit ad locum quem vocitant Mitonia . . .
Exhinc in anno tertio tertia venit azeyfa ad locum quem dicunt Moïs."

pp. 50-51.

"Legione vero consedenti, nuntius venit a Fredenando Gundissalvi ex azeyfa grandi que properabat ad Castellam".

Sampiri Astoricensis Episcopi Chronicon, in Ferreras, Juan de: Historia de Espana, Part 16, Madrid, 1727, Apend., § 24, p. 41.

- (13) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 98, pp. 138-139, and §§ 130-132, pp. 231-233.
- (14) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXVII, op. cit., pp. 221 . . .
- (15) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, pp. 153-154.
- (16) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 83.
- "era DCCCCLXVIII . . . Legione vero eo sedente cum Sancia Regina nuncius venit quod Aceyfa cum grandi exercitu Maurorum properabat ad Castellam."
- (17) Menéndez Pidal, Juan: San Pedro de Cardena, Restos y Memorias del antiguo monasterio, RHI, XIX, Paris, 1908, pp. 82 . . .
- (18) Garibay y Zamalloa, Estevan de: Los Cuarenta Libros del Compendio Historial de las Chronicas y Universal Historia de todos los Reynos de Espana, I, Barcelona, 1628, Bk. IX, xix, p. 366.
- (19) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, ss 93-95, pp. 136-137.
- (20) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 97, p. 138.
- (21) Flórez: España Sagrada, XXVII, op.cit., pp. 221 . . .
- (22) Tailhan, P. Jules: Appendice tout spécial sur l'Espagne, in P. Ch. Cahier: Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie d'Histoire et de Littérature sur le Moyen Âge, Paris, 1877, pp. 277-278, n. 6, and p. 346, additions n. 1.
- (23) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib, trans. E. Fagnan, II, Algiers, 1904, p. 137.
- (24) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib, trans. E. Fagnan, II, op. cit., pp. 165-166.
- (25) Gayangos, P. de: The History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain, trans. from Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkari, London, 1843, VI, v, p. 135.
- (26) Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, I, p. 425.
Anales Castellanos Primeros ed. Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martínez, in Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1917, p. 24.

"Item secunda vice supervenerunt iterum in Burgos ipsos mauros. in era DCCCCLXXII. unde oviabit illis rex noster Ranemirus in Ocsuma. et multa milia occiserunt de illis."

- (27) Dozy, R.: Recherches ..., I, pp. 152-156.
and Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, p. 148.
- (28) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 126, pp. 229-230.
- (29) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 84.
De Rebus Hispaniae, V, ix, pp. 85-86.
- (30) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib, II, op. cit., pp. 360-361.
- (31) Al Bayano'l-Mogrib, II, op. cit., p. 363.
- (32) Chronicon Mundi, op. cit., p. 85.
De Rebus Hispaniae, op. cit., p. 86.
Menéndez Pidal, Juan: San Pedro de Cardena, Restos y Memorias del antiguo monasterio, op. cit., pp. 103-104.
- (33) Morales, Ambrosio de: Coronica General de España, V, Madrid, 1791, § 44, pp. 79-80.
- (34) Tailhan, P. Jules: Appendice tout spécial sur l'Espagne, op. cit., p. 278, n. 6.
- (35) Serrano, P. Luciano: Becerro Gótico de Cardena, Valladolid, 1910, pp. xl-xlvii.
- Serrano concludes: "En conclusión; la fecha más probable y admisible del martirio es la que da la lápida; año 834, 6 de Agosto; el grabador cayó en error al poner IIII feria en vez de V feria, error disculpable y fácil de comprender; no se sabe ni la lápida consigna como se llamaba el abad que con los doscientos monjes padeció martirio, ni acaso tampoco si dichos monjes fueron doscientos ó bien trescientos en número, como quiere la Crónica. Hubo, pues, martirio, pero cuándo acaeció y cuantas fueron las víctimas, no se puede determinar con certidumbre."
- (36) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 123, p. 228.
- (37) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, §§ 122-126, pp. 227-230.
- (38) Argáiz, Fray Gregorio de: La Soledad Laureada por San Benito, VI, Madrid, 1675, p. 316.
- (39) Argáiz: La Soledad Laureada . . . , op. cit., pp. 316-318.
- (40) Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, p. 529.
- (41) Argáiz: La Soledad Laureada . . . , op. cit., p. 317.
- (42) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, p. 136.

- (43) Flórez: España Sagrada, XXVII, op.cit., § 22, p. 226.
- (44) Menéndez Pidal, Juan: San Pedro de Cardena . . ., op. cit., p. 101, n. 1.
- (45) Poema de Mio Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, § 15, p. 120, l.255-256.
- (46) Poema de Mio Cid, op. cit., § 77, p. 178, l. 1285-1286.
- (47) Russell, P.E.: San Pedro de Cardena and the Heroic History of the Cid, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
- (48) PCG, II, § 732, p. 429.
- (49) PCG, II, § 654, p. 373.

"Et ell estando en ellas, fueronse muchos omnes de tierra de Benauent et de Toro et de Çamora et de otros logares pora Bernaldo, pues que non uieron al rey en la tierra. Et dixieron a Bernaldo que nunca se partirien del fasta que el rey le non diesse a so padre. Bernaldo, quando se uio apoderado de yentes que se le llegauan assaz, fuesse contra Salamanca pora saber que fazie el rey. Et atrauessó essas tierras, et salio como en desuiado a Alua de Tormes. Et desi mouio dalli et fue la ribera ayuso desse rio. Et pues que passaron el uado que dizen Bimbre, ouieron alli su acuerdo de como farien. Et ellos eran por cuenta CCC caualleros de linnage."

- (50) Cirot, G.: Une Chronique Léonaise Inédite, BH, XI, 1909, § 3, p. 267.
- (51) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, v. 660, p. 198.

"Que veamos que preçio damos a v(n) caveró,
somos mas de trezientos e el solo sennero,
e syn el non fazemos valia d'un dynero,
pyerde omne buen preçio en poco de mijero."

PCG, II, § 712, pp. 414-415.

"Et que ueades agora que prez damos a un cauallero solo, que pero que somos nos bien CCC caualleros, non nos atreemos a fazer ninguna cosa sin el. Et assi pierde omne en poca de ora por mala couardia buen prez sil en si a."

- (52) PCG, II, § 955, p. 636.

". . . arribo el rey Bucar de Tunez al puerto de Valencia, et sallio a terrenno; et traye consigo tan grant poder que era marauilla, et vinien con el treynta et seys reyes de moros, et traye consigo vna mora negra que traye trezientas moras negras consigo . . ."

(53) Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, Obras I, Madrid, 1934, pp. 293-294.

(54) Leyenda de Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, GRL, Band II, Dresden, 1903, p. 6.

(55) Leyenda de Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 15.

" . . . E queriendo salir para dar en los moros, vieron venir trezientos cavalleros que parecían cristianos; e traían un pendón blanco con un león en medio dorado, diziendo que hera del rey don Ramiro de León."

(56) Gui de Bourgogne, ed. F. Guessard and H. Michelant, Les Anciens Poètes de la France, Paris, 1859, p. 41, l. 1334-1335.

"Es III^c chevaliers ferveustus et armez,
Qui gardoient la porte de la riche cité."

(57) D'Arbois de Jubainville, H.: L'épopée celtique en Irlande, in Cours de littérature celtique, V, Paris, 1892, p. 207.

"Je dirigeai mon char autour d'eux comme je pus,
Et quand j'eus trouvé le point favorable,
Seul contre trois cents,
Je leur donnai la mort à tous . . ."

(58) D'Arbois de Jubainville, op. cit., p. 274.

(59) D'Arbois de Jubainville, op. cit., p. 276.

(60) D'Arbois de Jubainville, op. cit., p. 277.

(61) Antar, trans. T. Hamilton, I, London, 1819, pp. 112-113.

(62) Antar, op. cit., I, p. 176.

(63) Antar, op. cit., II, p. 207.

(64) Antar, op. cit., II, p. 312.

(65) Antar, op. cit., III, p. 266.

11. The Death of Almanzor, and the battle of Calatañazor

(1) Calatañazor and Almanzor's death in the Chronicles

The battle of Calatañazor is a most controversial subject, since the earliest Christian Chronicles in the Peninsula do not mention it, and historians cannot agree whether it is an historical fact or not. I have already pointed out in the introduction that the Chronicles which do record it are guilty of serious anachronisms. The Najerense alone seems to connect Almanzor's death with the "Condesa Traidora" legend, and places it during Sancho García's government of Castile. It does not mention Calatañazor, and merely states that Almanzor burst in two while fleeing after an encounter with Count Sancho. The Tudense, Toledano, and PCG, however, all connect Almanzor's final expedition to Castile, and his death, with a defeat suffered in a battle at Calatañazor against the Castilians, Leonese, and Navarrese. They record that his death followed his defeat closely.

We must first recapitulate briefly the content of the Calatañazor episode in these Chronicles. The Tudense is the first to state that a combined Christian alliance formed by the armies of Vermudo of Leon, García of Navarre, and Garcí Fernández attacked Almanzor at Calatañazor, when he was returning from an expedition to Santiago. Many Moors were killed, and they only avoided complete defeat by flight during the night. Almanzor refused to eat or drink, and died when he arrived at Medinaceli.⁽¹⁾ Since the Tudense places the Santiago expedition in the thirteenth year of Vermudo II's reign, and claims that he succeeded to the throne in era 1020, the year of the Galician campaign and Calatañazor would be 995 A.D.

The Toledano and the PCG both agree with the Tudense that this Christian alliance attacked the Moors at Calatañazor, but their chronology differs from the Tudense. In the Toledano, the battle also seems to occur as Almanzor is invading Castile on his return from Santiago. This is in the thirteenth year of Vermudo II's reign, but since the Archbishop maintains that Vermudo succeeded to the kingdom in era 1000, the expedition to Santiago is placed in 975 A.D. (2) The Toledano does not make the circumstances of the battle as clear as the Tudense. It tells us first that Almanzor's army was attacked by dysentery during the Galician campaign, and Vermudo sent his infantry to attack the diseased army in the mountains:

" . . . Quod audiens Rex Veremundus misit multitudinem peditum expeditam, qui imbelles et infirmitate consumptos in montanis facile trucidarunt. Et sic Almanzor coactus peste ad propria est reuersus." (3)

It was after this that Vermudo formed the Christian alliance which met the Moors coming to invade Castile, so presumably some died of dysentery, and some at Calatañazor. Neither side won a total victory, but the enemy took advantage of the night to flee. Instead of dying at Medinaceli, Almanzor expired on reaching the valley of Borgecorex, and was afterwards taken to Medinaceli. The Toledano adds the detail of Almanzor's refusal to eat or drink after the battle, because of chagrin at his defeat, having always been victorious hitherto. (4)

The PCG also places the battle in 975, but it took place when Almanzor was overrunning Castile, and not as he returned from Galicia. According to the PCG, the latter expedition was in 972, i.e. three years before the battle at Calatañazor. (5) The Chronicle confirms that Almanzor fled during the night and reached Borg Alcoraz, where

he refused food or drink, and died. Afterwards he was buried at Medinaceli.⁽⁶⁾

Another Chronicle giving a detailed account of this battle is the Crónica de Veinte Reyes (= the CVR).⁽ⁱ⁾ This puts Calatañazor a year later than the Toledano and the PCG - era 1014, or 976 A.D. - and it does not follow immediately after the Santiago campaign. According to the CVR, this occurred in era 1009, i.e. five years before Calatañazor, and Almanzor returned to Córdoba, having lost many of his army from the diarrhoea, with which God inflicted them as punishment. Their return was impeded by Vermudo's army, which harassed them as they withdrew from Santiago.⁽⁷⁾

The account of Calatañazor again records that Vermudo took the

(i) The Ms. calls this the Crónica de Once Reyes. It is a history of the Peninsular kingdoms from the reign of Fruela II to that of Ferdinand III, the St. There are nine extant Mss., none of which is earlier than the first part of the 15th century. R. Menéndez Pidal believes that the Chronicle is a late rearrangement of an abbreviated version of the PCG, into which new elements and extracts from the C.1344 were introduced, but this has now been lost. He suggests that the date of the CVR was c. 1360. For a description of the CVR see Menéndez Pidal, R.: Crónicas Generales de España, Madrid, 1918, pp. 107-110, and also Menéndez Pidal, R.: Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares, Buenos Aires, 1949, p. 242. T. Babbitt disagrees with Pidal, and suggests that part, at least, of the CVR is older than the PCG. He believes that the first of its sections was the original primitive Crónica de Once Reyes, the latter part being almost certainly later than the PCG. Babbitt reaches this conclusion after comparing some of the legendary material in the two Chronicles - including the legend of Garcí Fernández. He finds that the CVR versions are less developed than those of the PCG, which makes him suggest that the CVR was composed earlier. See Babbitt, T.: Observations on the "Crónica de Once Reyes", HR, II, 1934, pp. 202-206. Certainly the CVR omits the legendary episodes of the miracle at Cascajares, Garcí Fernández's marriage to Argentina, her elopement, Garcí Fernández's revenge, and the fictitious circumstances of his death, but this does not necessarily prove that the CVR is the older Chronicle. These episodes could have been omitted because they were known to be fictitious; the Tudense, too, omits the substance of the "Condesa Traidora" legend, although it is later than the Najerense.

initiative by inviting Garcí Fernández and García of Navarre to unite with him against the Moors. Their combined forces met Almanzor's army at Calatañazor in similar circumstances to the PCG, that is, when Almanzor was overrunning Castile. As in the Toledano and PCG, Almanzor fled during the night after the first day of battle, and fell ill when he reached the valley of Borg Alcorax. His death was also the result of his refusal to eat or drink, and he was buried at Medinaceli. (8)

The Tudense, PCG, and CVR all mention the incident of the mysterious fisherman, who appeared on the bank of the Guadalquivir on the day of the battle and lamented Almanzor's defeat in Arabic and Spanish. This is explained either as the devil, or as an incubus.

The idea of Almanzor's refusal to eat or drink, which appears in all these Chronicles, may perhaps have been imitated from a similar incident in the Poema de Mio Cid. In the Cantar del Destierro the Count of Barcelona also proposes to let himself die in this way, following his defeat and capture by the Cid:

"adúzenle los comeres, delant gelos paravan,
 él non lo quiere comer, a todos los sosoñava;
 'Non combré un bocado por quanto ha en toda España,
 antes perderé el cuerpo e dexaré el alma,
 pues que tales malcalçados me vençieron de batalla.'
 Mio Çid Roy Díaz odredes lo que dixo:
 'comed, comde, deste pan e beved deste vino.
 Si lo que digo fiziéredes, saldredes de cativo;
 si non, en todos vuestros días non veredes cristianismo.'
 'Comede, don Rodrigo, e penssedes de folgar,
 que yo dexar mêm morir, que non quiero comer al.'
 Fasta terçer día nol pueden acordar;
 ellos partiendo estas ganancias grandes,
 nol pueden fazer comer un muesso de pan."(9)

Refusal to eat therefore seems to be a recognised acknowledgement of shame, through defeat in battle.

There is one more brief reference to the battle of Calatañazor in the Chronicon de Cardena. This merely states that King Vermudo and Garcí Fernández fought Almanzor at Calatañazor, without giving any date:

"Regno D. Bermudo XVII años. De este salieron los Infantes de Carrión: è ovo siempre guerra con Almanzoro: è este, è el conde Garcí Fernandez lidiaron con el en Cannantanzoz."(10)

The problem now, therefore, is to discover the exact circumstances and date of Almanzor's death, and whether there are any historical grounds for connecting this with a battle at Calatañazor.

(2) Calatañazor among the historians

Most historians are agreed that Almanzor died in 1002, and both the Chronicon Burgense⁽¹¹⁾ and the Anales Compostellanos⁽¹²⁾ confirm this date. The Chronicon Burgense adds that he was buried in hell, but neither chronicle mentions Calatañazor.

Among the earlier historians Mariana, Berganza, Conde, and Lafuente all accept the battle as fact. Mariana and Berganza agree with the Tudense that the Christian alliance formed of the armies of Vermudo of Leon, Navarre, and Count Garcí Fernández of Castile, joined battle with the Moors, who were returning from a Galician campaign, near Calatañazor on the frontier of Castile and Leon. Neither side won a victory, but the Moors fled in the night, and their general was so grieved that he died in the valley of Begal corax (= Bordecorreja, according to Berganza), and his body was taken to Medinaceli.⁽¹³⁾

The fact that Mariana records this episode is no real guarantee of its truth, since he frequently treats fictitious matter as history. His chronology is false, too, for he asserts that Almanzor died in

998, and Garcí Fernández died after him in 1006, following civil strife with his son. We must therefore treat his account as very unreliable, since he relates these events concerning Garcí Fernández, together with details of his two marriages and the attempt to poison Sancho, without trying to ascertain whether they are true or not. When Berganza is considering the chronology, he merely points out that the date given in the Anales Compostellanos does not agree with the years in which Garcí Fernández and King Vermudo died.

De Marlès gives a slightly different version of the battle in his work based on the history of Joseph Conde. He suggests that Almanzor made preparations for his final campaign in 1001. Alfonso had just succeeded Vermudo of Leon, the regency appealed to Sancho of Navarre for help, and the Count of Castile joined them. Their combined army met the Moors at Calatañazor, where Almanzor encountered greater resistance than ever before. His death is explained in a different way from the Chronicles, for unable to win the battle, he ordered the retreat, and in despair at his defeat, he refused to have his wounds bound. He met his son at Walcoraxi, where he eventually died. (14)

Lafuente gives the date of the battle as 1002, and relates that it was Sancho of Castile who invited Leon and Navarre to form a league against the Moslems. Almanzor himself was wounded in the battle, and although no one won a decisive victory, he ordered the retreat when he discovered the number of dead and wounded. He met his son near Medinaceli, and died on the 9th August, 1002; he was buried at Medinaceli. (15)

In his geographical dictionary, P. Madoz accepts Calatañazor as the site of a battle between Christians and Moors in 1002, but he credits King Alfonso V of Leon with taking the initiative in forming a Christian alliance with Sancho el Mayor of Navarre - although Sancho was not present in person at the battle - and Sancho García of Castile. Madoz therefore corrects the faulty chronology of the Tudense and later Chronicles, with regard to the possible members of the alliance, but he agrees with the Tudense that the battle took place as Almanzor was returning from Galicia, and he does not appear to realise the chronological difficulties this presents. He asserts that the Christians were victorious, but only owing to the flight of the Moors, and he agrees with the Toledano, PCG, and CVR that Almanzor died of grief at his defeat at Walcorari - which he situates near Medinaceli - and his remains were taken to Medinaceli. (16)

It is clear that although these historians all agree that there was a battle at Calatañazor, in which the Christians had some measure of success, opinions conflict concerning its date and the identity of the Christian forces who took part. We must bear in mind, however, that these accounts are not very reliable, and more recent historical research has produced two opposing views concerning Calatañazor's historicity. On the one hand, Dozy denies that the battle ever took place, maintaining that Almanzor's last campaign was as successful as all his previous campaigns. On the other hand, Saavedra and Codera disagree completely, and believe that there was such a battle, although it may have been relatively indecisive.

According to Dozy, in 1002 Almanzor set out to attack the kingdoms

of Leon and Castile. He penetrated as far as Canales in La Rioja, and destroyed a sanctuary, which Dozy believes was San Millán. He fell ill on the way home, refused medical aid, and died in Medinaceli on the 10th August, 1002, and was buried there. Dozy bases his denial of the battle at Calatañazor on the following points:

(a) No Arabic author mentions it, except Gayangos's English translation of Al-Makkari¹⁷ and there Dozy believes that the translator inserted a summary of a passage from Conde, who disfigured the Tudense's account and passed it off as an Arabic account. He therefore believes that Al-Makkari's original account did not mention Calatañazor.

(b) Calatañazor is not mentioned, either, in the Latin Chronicles before the 13th century - i.e. in the small Chronicles, such as the Silense, Pelayo of Oviedo, the Historia Compostellana. Dozy thinks this is strange, because if Almanzor had been defeated, it would have been a fact worthy of mention.

(c) The Tudense account lacks verisimilitude. According to it, Almanzor did not go beyond Calatañazor, where the Christians attacked and stopped him, although we know he went beyond this, as far as Canales.

(d) The Tudense is anachronistic, since Vermudo of Leon died three years before Almanzor; Garcí Fernández died seven years before, and Almanzor survived the expedition to Santiago by five years.

Dozy therefore holds that the battle is fictitious, and he explains it as a pious legend invented as punishment for Almanzor's attack on Santiago. It is, in fact, one of a number of legends owing

their origin to this expedition, for he also sees as ecclesiastical traditions the idea that the apostle punished the Moors by inflicting them with dysentery, and that Almanzor died of remorse when he reached Medinaceli. These developed gradually among ecclesiastics, so that the Moors should not be allowed to get away with profaning Santiago. He suggests that a similar tradition grew up attributing the extermination of the Moors to Vermudo's soldiers. The Tudense elaborated this, for by that time it referred to an event which occurred over two centuries before, and there was no fear that it would be contradicted. Dozy concludes, then, that the battle of Calatañazor was added as a corollary to the different legends which had been formed with the aim of saving the honour of St. James and the national honour. (18)

We have said that Saavedra and Codera take the opposite point of view to Dozy. Codera agrees with Saavedra, who suggests that an unimportant battle may have taken place, for although the Count of Castile would not have dared to meet Almanzor in the field, he would not have missed the opportunity to attack as the Moslem army was withdrawing slowly, laden with booty. He maintains, therefore, that the Count led his army to Calatañazor, through which the Moors would have had to pass to reach Medinaceli, and there attacked them. Probably, the Arab historians and Christian chroniclers nearest to it in time fail to mention it because it was not a very decisive battle, and therefore not considered of great importance by the Christians. Also, the fact that Almanzor died a few days later in Medinaceli of an illness, from which he had suffered even at the beginning of the

campaign, would explain why he was believed to have died as a result of the clash with the Christians, or from a feeling of defeat. (19)

Saavedra admits that there are some strange features in the Tudense and Toledano accounts of Calatañazor, but he does not find them sufficient grounds for denying the battle completely. For instance, he explains away the anachronisms on the basis that both Chronicles, when relating a traditional account, brought together in the battle people who lived at the time of Almanzor's campaigns. He notes, too, that the Archbishop of Toledo had some knowledge of the geography of the region which Almanzor devastated in his last campaign, and suggests that he may have acquired the topographical details from oral tradition. (20)

Aguado Bleye, Pérez de Urbel, Lévi-Provençal, and Pidal all see some truth in the suggestion of a Castilian victory over the Moors near the end of Almanzor's life, although they solve the problem of Calatañazor in different ways. They all agree that Almanzor died on the 10th August, 1002, although Lévi-Provençal is more cautious, and says that it was during the night of the 10th or 11th August - 27 ramadan, 392.

Aguado Bleye holds that Almanzor's last expedition in 1002 to Navarre and the monastery of San Millán was a success, but he fell ill on the return journey, and died at Medinaceli. His explanation of the battle is that while withdrawing Almanzor was probably attacked by the Castilians, who gained some advantage, and this has survived as the battle of Calatañazor. (21)

Pérez de Urbel discusses Almanzor's last campaign at some length.

During 1001 he maintains that business kept Almanzor in Córdoba, but after the winter of 1001-1002, Almanzor set out for Medinaceli on a campaign inspired by religious hatred, deliberately intending to destroy the sanctuary of San Millán de la Cogolla. He believes that he passed through Canales and sacked the monastery, but prevented by illness from penetrating further, he withdrew slowly, entering the province of Soria. Sancho García, learning that the Moslem army was demoralised by Almanzor's illness, wished to take advantage of the situation. Now although Pérez de Urbel regards the Tudense account of the battle at Calatañazor as false, he compromises by accepting that there was a partial Castilian success perpetuated in the popular memory with the phrase "En Calatañazor perdió Almanzor su atambor", and localized by tradition in Calatañazor. He agrees that Almanzor died a few days after reaching Medinaceli. (22)

Lévi-Provençal takes the Tudense's anachronisms as evidence of its apocryphal character. He agrees with Dozy that Almanzor's last campaign was directed against La Rioja in the summer of 1002, and points out that all we know about this campaign is that the Moslems advanced as far as Canales (1) and the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, which they sacked. (23) Almanzor died returning from the expedition, not because of defeat in battle, but from an illness, which his biographers do not diagnose. As he moved towards Medinaceli his health deteriorated, so that he had to be carried on a litter, and he died a few days after reaching the town. (24)

(1) Lévi-Provençal situates Canales about fifty kilometres S.W. of Nájera. See Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 254.

Lévi-Provençal therefore agrees with Dozy that Almanzor's last expedition was a successful one, and his death was not the result of an ignominious defeat, which would have been the first recorded in his whole career. He believes that Calatañazor is a legend, which may have originated from the memory of Almanzor's near-defeat by a coalition under Sancho García at Cervera two years earlier, in July, 1000. This event could have given rise to the legend of the defeat at Calatañazor, since it was the first battle for a long time which showed the will to resist the Spanish-Moslem offensive and the solidarity of the Christians of Castile, Leon, and Navarre. Later, this resistance at Cervera may have been glorified, and the real facts deformed. The geographical proximity of Calatañazor and Peña Cervera supports Lévi-Provençal's theory, since they are only about sixty kilometres apart as the crow flies, and he suggests that Calatañazor may even have been on Almanzor's route when returning to Medinaceli. (25)

Pidal accepts that Almanzor's death occurred during his last campaign, directed against San Millán, from which illness forced him to retire. He sees some historical reality in the Najerense idea that Almanzor died fleeing from Count Sancho, for the Castilians would probably have put up some resistance against the Moslems' withdrawal with their sick leader, even though the resistance might have been weak. Although the battle at Calatañazor is a complete anachronism, in reality Sancho García may have had some slight success against the Moslems, which was later idealised and preserved in an exaggerated form by the Castilian epic. (26)

Finally, Soldevila agrees that Almanzor died in 1002, when

returning from an expedition to La Rioja,⁽²⁷⁾ and Sánchez-Albornoz accepts his defeat that year by a coalition of Spaniards at Calatañazor, declaring that recently discovered Arabic texts confirm the authenticity of the battle.⁽²⁸⁾ Unfortunately, he fails to support this statement with quotations.

At this point a summary of the theories of the Chronicles and historians concerning Calatañazor and Almanzor's death will both clarify the conflicting opinions, and facilitate comparison.

<u>Chronicle</u>	<u>Year of battle</u>	<u>Occasion of battle</u>	<u>Circumstances of Almanzor's death</u>
<u>Najerense</u>	No date.		Fleeing after an encounter with Count Sancho.
<u>Tudense</u>	995.	When Almanzor was returning from Santiago.	Flight of Almanzor and Moors after a battle at Calatañazor. Almanzor died and was buried at Medinaceli; refused to eat or drink after his defeat - no reference to an illness.
<u>Toledano</u>	975(?).	When Almanzor was on his way to invade Castile, after an expedition to Santiago.	Flight of Almanzor and Moors after a battle at Calatañazor. Almanzor expired at the valley of Borgecorex, and was taken to Medinaceli; refused to eat or drink after his defeat - no reference to an illness.
<u>PCG</u>	975.	When Almanzor was overrunning Castile	Flight of Almanzor and Moors after a

<u>PCG</u> (continued)	975.	no reference to Santiago.	battle at Calatañazor. Almanzor died at Borg Alcorax, and was taken to Medinaceli; refused to eat or drink after his defeat - no reference to an illness.
<u>CVR</u>	976.	When Almanzor was overrunning Castile - five years after his Santiago campaign.	Flight of Almanzor during the night after a battle at Calatañazor. Died at Borg Alcorax, and was taken to Medinaceli for burial; refused to eat or drink after his defeat - no reference to an illness.
<u>Historian</u>	<u>Date of Almanzor's death</u>	<u>Theory about the battle</u>	<u>Circumstances of Almanzor's death</u>
Dozy	1002 - 10th August.	No battle; it is an ecclesiastical legend invented as heaven's punishment for profaning Santiago.	Became ill when returning from a campaign against Leon and Castile, in which he reached Canales. Died at Medinaceli.
Codera and Saavedra		There was an unimportant battle in which the Count of Castile attacked the Moorish army withdrawing to Medinaceli through Calatañazor.	Died at Medinaceli of an illness suffered at the beginning of the campaign.
Aguado Bleye	1002 - 10th August.	Almanzor's army was probably attacked by Castilians as it withdrew from a campaign to Navarre and San Millán.	Died at Medinaceli of an illness.

Pérez de Urbel	1002 - 10th August.	There may have been a Castilian attack, with some success, as Almanzor was withdrawing through the province of Soria, from a campaign to San Millán de la Cogolla; localized by tradition at Calatañazor.	Died at Medinaceli, having suffered an illness.
Lévi-Provençal	1002 - 10th or 11th August.	No battle in 1002 at Calatañazor. May refer to a battle at Cervera in 1000 between Almanzor and a Christian alliance, under Sancho García.	Died at Medinaceli of some unspecified illness, when returning from a campaign against La Rioja.
Pidal	1002 - 10th August.	May be an exaggerated epic version of some resistance put up by Sancho García and the Castilians as the Moslems withdrew from a campaign against San Millán.	Died at Medinaceli, when forced by illness to return from the campaign against San Millán.

We may add to this that although some Moslem authors mention Almanzor's death, they only record that as he returned from an expedition to Canales, the illness from which he was suffering grew worse, and he had to be carried on a litter to Medinaceli. He died there, after giving instructions on his deathbed to his son, Abdalmelic. (29)

Having exposed the theories of various historians concerning Almanzor's death, we must now consider the evidence for the truth of the Chronicles' account of Calatañazor, beginning with the place itself.

(3) Calatañazor itself

The Tudense mentions Calatañazor very briefly as: ". . . in loco,

qui dicitur Cannatanazor . . .", but the Toledano is more specific in describing it thus: ". . . in loco quodam qui Arabice Calacanazor, Latine autem dicitur vulturum altitudo . . .". The PCG and CVR agree with the Toledano that the site of the battle was a place called 'Cannatannaçor' in Arabic, and 'height of vultures' in Castilian - or Latin, according to the CVR. (30)

There is, in fact, a place called Calatañazor, and according to Madoz, it is a small town in the present province of Soria, in the diocese of Osma. Madoz's topographical details indicate that it is, indeed, situated on a hill, and suggest that it is the sort of place which would have been suitable for an ambush or surprise attack, since he describes it as difficult of access owing to the sloping and uneven nature of the ground, and surrounded with huge, craggy peaks. (31) He declares that its name is Arabic, and derives from 'Kalaat en Nosur', meaning 'peak of the vulture, or eagle'. (32) M. Asín Palacios partially corroborates this, for he says that Calatañazor signifies 'castle of the eagles'. (33) There is some confirmation, then, for the Archbishop of Toledo's assertion, and this may indicate that he had some accurate information regarding Calatañazor's situation.

The place-name itself gives rise to yet another suggestion concerning the origin of the Calatañazor incident. In putting forward his theory, Lévi-Provençal wonders whether assonance explains the place-name in this case, since it might have provided a rhyme with 'Almanzor'. (34)

Anyhow, Calatañazor certainly seems to have existed in Sancho García's time, for in his "Geography of the County of Castile", López

Mata places it just within the boundary of the Caliphate of Córdoba at the time of Fernán González's death.⁽³⁵⁾ From a geographical point of view, therefore, a battle could have taken place there, as it is not unreasonable to suppose that Almanzor passed that way when going towards Medinaceli.

(4) Chronology of the Tudense

From a historical point of view the Tudense's chronology is definitely wrong. The major historians are agreed that Almanzor died in 1002, and some Chronicles confirm this. He therefore outlived Garcí Fernández by seven years, Vermudo II by three years (d. 999), and García Sánchez by two years (d. 1000). This means that the Chronicles are at fault in bringing together all these people in connection with Almanzor's final expedition, even though they were contemporaries, who lived through many of Almanzor's other campaigns.

In 1002 the Count of Castile was Sancho García, and we have already seen that the Najerense is the only Chronicle, of those with which we are particularly concerned, to place Almanzor's death correctly in time, i.e. contemporaneous with Sancho García. However, it does not mention the scene of Almanzor's flight from the Count, and the suggestion that he burst while fleeing is undoubtedly a fiction.

Whether there was a battle at Calatañazor or not, the Tudense is wrong in placing Almanzor's last expedition in the same year as the Galician campaign, for there is much evidence that the latter was in 997, and that Almanzor returned afterwards to Córdoba, surviving it by several years. The Silense confirms this date:

"In diebus vero regni eius propter peccata populi christiani crevit ingens multitudo Sarracenorum; et rex eorum qui nomen falsum

sibi imposuit Almazor, qualis non antea fuit nec futuris erit, consilio inito cum Sarracenis transmarinis et cum omni gente Ysmaelitarum intravit fines christianorum, et cepit devastare multa regnorum eorum, atque gladio trucidare; nec sunt regna Francorum, regnum Pampilonense, regnum etiam Legionense. Devastavit quidem civitates, castella, omniumque terram depopulavit, usquequo pervenit ad partes maritimas occidentalis Yspanie et Gallecie civitatem, in qua corpus beati Iacobi apostoli tumulatum est, destruxit. Ad sepulchrum vero Apostoli, ut illud frangeret, ire disposuerat; sed territus rediit. Ecclesias, monasteria, palatia fregit, atque igne cremavit. Era M^a. tricesima quinta."(36)

Only De Marlès puts the expedition to Galicia three years earlier, in 994, (37) and most other historians agree with 997. Lafuente notes that Almanzor left Córdoba in 997 and marched through Coria and Ciudad Rodrigo to Santiago, which he destroyed, except for the tomb itself. He returned from this expedition to Córdoba, taking many prisoners and much booty. (38)

Pérez de Urbel cites the 3rd July, 997, as the date for Almanzor's departure from Córdoba on a campaign against Vermudo of Leon, and Santiago, which he reached in August. After destroying the city, some of the Moors penetrated further North to near La Coruña, and Almanzor withdrew in mid August, without encountering the king of Leon. (39) Dozy and Lévi-Provençal give the same date for the start of Almanzor's campaign to Santiago. According to Dozy, he had the support of some Leonese Counts, and they reached Santiago on the 11th August. Having destroyed the town, apart from the apostle's tomb, they withdrew to Lamego, and then returned directly to Córdoba. (40)

Both Lévi-Provençal and Sánchez-Albornoz cite the historian, Ibn Adâri, in Al Bayano'l-Mogrib in confirmation. (41) According to him, on the 3rd July, 997, (23 chumada II, 387), Almanzor left Córdoba, and passing through Coria and Viseu, he reached Santiago on

the 10th August. After sacking the town and sparing only the tomb, some of the Moors advanced still further North, and then they returned to Córdoba via Lamego.⁽⁴²⁾ This account is of particular interest, since a Moslem author confirms the Christian Chronicles, and it seems quite clear that Santiago was not connected with Almanzor's final campaign, or with his death.

(5) Punishment by dysentery

The Tudense is the first Chronicle to relate that dysentery depleted the numbers of the Moorish army after the destruction of Santiago, and to interpret this as God's punishment for their attack. Subsequently, the Toledano, PCG, and CVR also relate that the Moorish army was depleted in this way. Vermudo of Leon took advantage of their plight to send his infantry to attack the Moors in the mountains as they withdrew from Galicia; and in the PCG and CVR Almanzor had to return to Córdoba because of the disease. In these two Chronicles, the dysentery has no connection with the defeat at Calatañazor, since it still afflicts the Moors immediately after the destruction of Santiago - i.e. several years before Calatañazor, according to their chronology.

This form of depleting the army is probably fictitious. We have said that Dozy interprets it as an ecclesiastical tradition, and the idea of people being punished by Heaven for misdeeds is fairly common in medieval works. The Silense already suggests this with reference to God's punishment for the Santiago campaign. Although dysentery is not mentioned, the Moors are punished by sudden death and the sword:

"Rex celestis memorans misericordie sue, ultionem fecit de inimicis suis: morte quidem subitanea et gladio ipsa gens Agarenorum cepit interire, et ad nichilum quotidie pervenire."(43)

9th Century historians cite a similar reason for the destruction of the Visigothic Empire in the Peninsula. They interpret this as the punishment of Heaven, which the nation deserved, because of the corruption and social vices of the last two kings, Witiza and Rodrick, in particular. The 9th century Chronicon Moissiacense suggests that Witiza's vices brought God's anger on the Gothic people, and the Moors entered Spain:

"His temporibus in Spania super Gothos regnabat Witicha, qui regnavit annis VII et menses III. Iste deditus in feminis, exemplo suo sacerdotes ac populum luxuriose vivere docuit, irritans furorem Domini. Sarraceni tunc in Spania ingrediuntur."(44)

According to the Chronicon Sebastiani, the Gothic army was destroyed in Rodrick's time because kings and prelates had forsaken the law of God:

"Istud quidem scelus Hispaniae causa pereundi fuit; et quia Reges, et sacerdotes legem Domini dereliquerunt; omnia agmina Gothorum Sarracenorum gladio perierunt.

. . . Vvitizane defuncto Rudericus à Gothis eligitur in Regno. Iste nempe in peccatis Vvitizani ambulavit, et non solum zelo justitiae armatus huic sceleri finem non imposuit, sed magis ampliavit . . . sed dicente Scriptura, In vanum currit, quem iniquitas praecedit; sacerdotum, vel suorum peccatorum mole oppressi, vel filiorum Vvitizani fraude detecti, cum omni agmine Gothorum in fugam sunt versi, et gladio deleti."(45)

The dysentery afflicting the army in the Tudense may therefore represent the same kind of idea. The author of the Tudense could have invented it to explain away Almanzor's defeat at Calatañazor. However, it seems more likely to be an expression of poetic justice, invented as Heaven's punishment for profaning Santiago, in the same

way as the Moslem invasion of the Peninsula was later regarded as punishment for the wickedness of the last Gothic kings of Spain.

Another example in medieval literature of an army being destroyed by dysentery occurs in the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus. In the ninth book, he relates how dysentery slew many of the invading Danes. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ This is an historical fact according to a note added by F. York Powell, but it seems unlikely that this was known to Bishop Lucas de Túy. We may add, in conclusion, that the whole idea of punishment or revenge as retribution for a crime is a singularly epic trait.

(6) Appearance of the mysterious fisherman by the Guadalquivir

We must now consider briefly the appearance of the mysterious fisherman beside the Guadalquivir on the day of Almanzor's defeat. The Chronicles interpret this either as the devil or an incubus, and Dozy is of the opinion that this story shows that the episode is a popular tale or a monkish legend. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

The incident is obviously fictitious, and possibly has its roots in folklore, where the devil, and spirits known as incubi, play an important part. Stith-Thompson mentions as folklore motifs:

(a) the magic power to see the death circumstances of an absent person, which he finds occurring in England, Scotland, Wales, the U.S.A. and Canada, and (b) the magic sight of an incident before it actually happens. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ Haggerty Krappe also refers to a certain superstition connected with death, namely, the belief that dying people were seen at the time of their death at a considerable distance by people with no knowledge of their death or illness. He

notes that this occurs in numerous local legends all over Europe, (49) and we may wonder whether these types of superstition have any connection with the reference to Almanzor's defeat, which was evidently foreseen by the fisherman on the Guadalquivir. The idea of foretelling a person's death in different ways is a common one in folklore.

Evidently, too, it was customary for some peoples to practise the death-howl. At a much later date it is recorded that the Moors practised this among a dead person's relatives. (50) In Irish fairy lore, the banshee (an attendant fairy or spirit) mourned the death of any member of a family to which it attached itself. (51) The lament of the fisherman, therefore, may be related to folk custom, and perhaps Oriental custom, at a person's death.

J.A. MacCulloch records that demons possessed great power in popular stories and theological writings of the Middle Ages, and Christian demonology believed that demons could transform themselves into any form which suited their purpose. They could also even act as incubi. (52) In medieval European folk belief incubi were a form of demon lover. According to one definition they were: "an evil spirit in the shape of a man . . . who came in the night as a lover to women, and often sired a child . . . the incubi were handsome and virile with such drawbacks as cloven feet and evil smell . . ." (53) They have their place, too, in theological writings. St. Augustine, for example, mentions in The City of God that sylvans and fauns commonly called incubi often assaulted women:

"Et quoniam creberrima fama est multique se expertos uel ab eis, qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non esset, audisse confirmant, Siluanos et Panes, quos uulgo incubos uocant, inpropos saepe

extitisse mulieribus et earum adpetisse ac peregissee concubitus..."⁽⁵⁴⁾

Although in the Spanish Chronicles the spirit does not play a sexual rôle, both interpretations of the strange fisherman - the devil or the incubus - are in accordance with medieval belief, and possibly rooted in medieval folklore. The idea of lamenting a person's death may be related to the lament for the disaster in the Chronicles, and the death-lament is rooted in popular belief, and in this particular legend it may be connected with Oriental custom.

(7) General remarks

What conclusions may we draw now concerning Calatañazor? Dozy's denial of the battle rests mainly on the facts that there are several anachronisms, no references to it by the Arab historians, who consider Almanzor's death to be the result of an illness, and no references in the oldest Latin Chronicles. Now anachronisms were liable to occur in any case in the medieval Chronicles, and the failure of the Arab historians to mention the battle does not necessarily mean that it did not take place. We could hardly expect them to record the shame of Almanzor's defeat, since he had the reputation, among Christians and Moslems alike, of having fought over fifty battles without losing one. If, in fact, he was defeated, this could be a deliberate omission on their part.

The failure of the oldest Latin Chronicles to mention the battle is not sufficient evidence for denying it altogether either, since these Chronicles are not very detailed or complete in the information they record. However, it does seem likely that if Almanzor's army had suffered an important defeat on the eve of his death, this would have

been a fact worthy of mention by some Christian chronicler before the Tudense, since it would have been the first noteworthy battle he lost.

We have already seen that Saavedra and Codera do not regard Dozy's arguments as sufficient reason for denying the battle entirely. They see some historical truth in it, as a rather indecisive battle fought as the Moorish army was withdrawing from Almanzor's last campaign. Also, other historians - Lévi-Provençal, Pérez de Urbel, and Pidal - believe that Calatañazor may reflect some historical battle between the Castilians and Almanzor's army, if not one at Calatañazor itself.

There seems ample evidence that Almanzor led a final expedition against the Christians in 1002, in all probability to the district of La Rioja, that he passed through the present province of Soria, where Calatañazor lies, and died at Medinaceli itself. The Silense confirms Medinaceli as the place of his death.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This expedition would have been quite in accordance with Moslem practice, since they customarily made annual incursions into Christian territory, both with the purpose of devastating the land, and of gaining booty. These raids took place during the summer months, on account of climatic conditions, and also probably because they afforded opportunities for carrying off or spoiling the harvest. With the approach of winter, the Moors would retire to Córdoba.

It also seems fairly certain that Almanzor was suffering from some form of illness during his last campaign. This evidently caused him considerable distress, and his actual death was probably

due to this rather than to wounds received in battle. He would probably have died then in any case, whether he was defeated at Calatañazor or not. His refusal to eat or drink, because of shame at his alleged defeat, is probably fictitious, and may have been modelled on the Count of Barcelona's behaviour in the Poema de Mio Cid.

We know, too, that Count Sancho García was responsible for forming an anti-Moslem coalition in 1000, consisting of Castilians, Leonese, and Navarrese, who all bound themselves to resist Almanzor's advance on Christian territory. Their combined forces under Sancho García encountered Almanzor's army in 1000 in the region of Peña Cervera, where the Christians appear to have had some initial success, although Moorish strategy ultimately defeated them. They fled, and their camp was plundered by the Moors, who continued to overrun Castile and entered Burgos, Sancho García's capital.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Anales Toledanos I and the Anales Complutenses confirm this battle at Cervera against Sancho García and his ally, García Gómez.⁽⁵⁷⁾

It is possible, therefore, that the Chronicles confused this event with other contemporaries of Almanzor - Garcí Fernández, Vermudo of Leon, and García of Navarre - who fight a battle at Calatañazor, in which the rôles of the Christians and Moslems are inverted. The Christians' final defeat and flight at Cervera could possibly have been transposed to the Moors in the Tudense, and subsequent Christian Chronicles.

The battle fought at Calatañazor, then, probably reflects some historical event. The Silense's words already suggest that the Moors died by the sword some time after the destruction of Santiago,

although this may perhaps refer to the ambush to which the Moors were subject as they withdrew from Galicia, according to the Toledano, PCG, and CVR. The Najerense goes further, in suggesting that Almanzor died after a battle with Count Sancho, and I have pointed out that this is chronologically accurate.

Conclusion

We may conclude now that the battle of Calatañazor in the Christian Chronicles most probably reflects the memory of some encounter between the Christians and Moors, in which the Christians, under Sancho García, gave a good account of themselves. Such a battle is an historical possibility, since Sancho García seems to have been respected as a warrior, receiving praise even from the Moslem historians. (58) However, the battle need not necessarily have occurred in Almanzor's last year. We have seen that it is already suggested by the Najerense, and possibly by the Silense, and the Tudense may have magnified these episodes with the addition of details taken either from tradition, or from memory of the battle at Peña Cervera in 1000.

Although its geographical situation makes it possible that Almanzor was in the vicinity of Calatañazor in 1002, this need not have been the historical situation of the battle recalled in the Chronicles. The name might have become attached to the incident by tradition, for the reason Lévi-Provençal suggests, i.e. because it rhymes with 'Almanzor', and also with 'atamor'. The fisherman's lament for Almanzor's defeat - "En Cannatannaçor Almençor perdio ell atamor" - suggests that there may have been such a rhyme, perhaps of

popular origin.

The purpose of the Tudense's author in giving such a detailed account of Almanzor's defeat may have been either to show that he was not invincible or victorious in every campaign against the Christians, or to account for his death, since this evidently did occur during an expedition against the Christian kingdoms.

Calatañazor may therefore be partly fictitious, and partly the reflection of a real battle. If the Tudense consciously elaborated the Silense, this could explain why the battle follows the campaign to Santiago, since the reference to the Moors' death by the sword in the latter Chronicle comes immediately after that expedition. We may support this view by saying that the Tudense seems to know, and imitate, the Silense's account of the diminution of the Moorish army following the Santiago campaign. (59)

Notes to Chapter 11

- (1) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 88.
- (2) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xiii, p. 87.
- (3) De Rebus Hispaniae, xvi, p. 89.
- (4) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xvi, p. 89.
- (5) PCG, § 754, pp. 448-449.
- (6) PCG, § 755, p. 449.
- (7) Biblioteca Escorialense, Ms. X-i-6, f. 27c and 27d.
(For a description of this Ms. see Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, Madrid, 1934, p. 407.)

"En el dozeno año del reinado del rey don Vermudo que fue en la era de mill e nueue años sacó almāçor su hueste e fue correr t̄rra de leō e entro luego por portugal e llegó fasta gallizia corriendo e robando(?) e astragando quanto fallauā. E despues que llegó a la marisma corrió e astrago la çibdat e la t̄rra toda a derredor de s̄tiago e al cabo entro mucho atreuidamente en la igl̄ia del buē apostol s̄tiago por q̄brantar el monumento donde el yazia. E fue y muy mal espantado por vn rayo que firio y çerca del . . . E despues desto mando almançor poner fuego a la igl̄ia de s̄tiago e q̄mola toda. Mas ante que se el fuese de t̄rra de s̄tiago tomó dios del ḡnt yengança e de toda su hueste ca por el pecado del grand atreuími e de los liyos(?) quel fizó en la igl̄ia de s̄tiago cayó en todos ellos vna de las mas suzias enfermedades que en el ome pudo ser. E era aquella enfermedat la que llaman los físicos diarria e tan mal trechos fuerō ende que todos los mas murierō e los que ende escaparō murieron despues muerte sopitana. El rey don Vermudo quando esto sope envió muchos oms de pie a las montañas donde se alçaran aquellos moros enfermos e los flacos de la hueste de almāçor e mataronlos todos. E almançor tornose para cordoua por esta pestilēçia que les dios diera . . ."

- (8) Biblioteca Escorialense, Ms. X-i-6, f. 28-29.

"En el quinzeno año del reinado del rey dō Vermudo que fue en la era de mill e catorze años quādo andaua el año de la encarnacion en nueveçientos e setenta e seis e el del yperio de oto(?) en nueue. El rey dō Vermudo veyendose tan mal trecho de los moros e por tantas vezes e tan amenudo su tierra corrida e q̄brantada e astragada ouo ende muy gran pesar. E enbio dezir al conde garçi ferrādez de Castilla e al rey don ḡia el tenblosó de nauarra que non catasen a los tuertos q̄ les el fiziera e que se acordasen en cómo anparasē la x̄iandat q̄ asi era q̄brantada e q̄ fiziesen sus posturas todos tres en vno como se ayudasen e sacasen hueste sobre los moros e se ayudasen todos en vno.

El rey don gl̄ā envíele entōnces su ayuda. El conde garçi ferr̄adez fue y por su persona cō su hueste muy grande. El rey dō Vermudo era mal doliente de la gota fizose leuar en andas e fue con todo el poder de su reyno e ayūtose cō todos en vn lugar q̄ ha nōbre en arauigo canatanaçor e en ladino altura de bueytres. Almançor sacara su hueste muy grande e entrara por Castilla corriendo e astragando q̄nto fallaua. E quando lleço alli a ellos donde estauā ouo con ellos su batalla muy grande e duroles vn dia todo fasta la noche que se nō vençieron los vnos nin los otros. E murierō y muchos moros ademas e finco así la cosa por la noche que les vino ca sinon preso o muerto fuera almaçor. Almançor quando vio el astragami^o de su gente q̄ perdiera nō oso atēder la batalla que avia de ser otro dia e fuyo de noche. E quādo lleço a vn valle que dizen bolgalcorax adolesçio y con el grant pesar q̄ leuaua e de aq̄l dia adelante nō comio ni beuio fasta q̄ murio. E pues q̄ murio leuarōle a enterrar a medinaçeli . . ."

(9) Poema de Mío Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, pp. 163-164, l. 1019-1032.

(10) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, Madrid, 1767, p. 377.

(11) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, op. cit., p. 307.

"1002 Era MXL: Mortuus est Almanzor, et sepultus est in inferno."

(12) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, op. cit., p. 317.

"1002 Mortuus est Almozor."

(13) Mariana, Padre Juan de : Historia General de España, III, 1718, Bk. VIII, ix, pp. 288-291.

Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 93, p. 291.

(14) De Marlès: Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, based on M. Joseph Conde, II, Paris, 1825, pp. 53-57.

(15) Lafuente, Modesto: Historia General de España, II, Madrid, 1861, p. 3 . . .

(16) Madoz, P.: Diccionario geográfico de España, V, Madrid, 1846, p. 254.

"Los campos de Calacanzor fueron en el año de 1002 testigos de la gloriosa batalla que las fuerzas reunidas de los cristianos dieron á los moros mandados por el intrépido y famoso general Almanzor que se creía invencible. Tan señalado hecho de armas se debió a D. Alfonso V de León. Convencido este de las ventajas que podrian reportar los cristianos, si dejando a un lado las discordias intestinas, reunian sus ejércitos contra el enemigo comun, hizo alianza con D. Sancho el Mayor, rey de Navarra, que no concurrió personalmente por detenerle en su reino otros asuntos, y con D. Sancho Garcés conde

de Castilla. Almanzor habia sacado sus huestes de Córdoba, y despues de talar los campos de Galicia y saquear las casas, revolvió hácia Castilla. Avistáronse los ejércitos en el mes de setiembre del espresado año, trabando reñida y sangrienta batalla, hasta que cerró la noche: mas indecisa la victoria, solo se declaró por los cristianos á causa de haber abandonado los moros su campo durante la oscuridad de la noche, dejando los reales llenos de despojos y cubierto el camino de prendas que arrojaban para huir mas fácilmente. El pesar que semejante reves causó en el ánimo de Almanzor, le quitó la vida en Walcorari, lugar inmediato á Medina Selim, á donde trasladaron sus restos."

- (17) Gayangos, P. de: The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, trans. from Al-Makkari, II, London, 1840, p. 197.
- (18) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, pp. 193-202.
Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 263-264.
- (19) Codera, Francisco: La batalla de Calatañazor, BRAH, LVI, 1910, pp. 197-200.
- (20) For a summary of the arguments of Dozy, Codera, Saavedra, see Ballesteros, A.: Historia de España, II, Barcelona, 1920, pp. 61 . . .
González-Palencia, A.: Historia de la España Musulmana, Barcelona, 1945, pp. 57 . . .
Saavedra, E.: La batalla de Calatañazor, Mélanges Hartwig, Paris, 1909. I have been unable to obtain a copy of this article.
- (21) Aguado Bleye, Pedro: Manual de Historia de España, I, pp. 439...
- (22) Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, pp. 797 . . .
- (23) See Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, p. 193, where he identifies the monastery with San Millán. The Arab authors refer to it simply as "the monastery", without naming it.
- (24) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 254-255.
- (25) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 256-259.
Lévi-Provençal, E.: España Musulmana hasta la Caída del Califato de Córdoba, in Historia de España dirigida por R. Menéndez Pidal, IV, Madrid, 1950, p. 429.
- (26) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, pp. 63-64.
Menéndez Pidal, R.: Historia y Epopeya, Obras II, Madrid, 1934, p. 22.

Pidal concludes: "En fin, la gran batalla de Calatañazor es un completo anacronismo, mientras la sencilla victoria del conde Sancho puede pasar por uno de tantos recuerdos de la realidad conservados con ligera exageración por la epopeya castellana."

- (27) Soldevila, F.: Historia de España, I, Barcelona, 1952, p. 160.
- (28) Sánchez-Albornoz, C.: La España Musulmana, I, Buenos Aires, 1946, p. 370.
- (29) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, pp. 193-195.
González-Palencia, A.: Historia de la España Musulmana, op. cit., p. 57.
Gayangos, P. de: The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, II, op. cit., p. 198.
- (30) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 88.
De Rebus Hispaniæ, V, xvi, p. 89.
PCG, § 755, p. 449.
Biblioteca Escorialense, Ms. X-i-6, f. 28c.
- (31) Madoz, P.: Diccionario geográfico de España, op. cit., p. 253.
- "Calatañazor: Villa con ayuntamiento en la provincia de Soria, (6 leg.) partido judicial de Almazan, audiencia territorial y capitanía general de Burgos, diócesis de Osma: sit. en un elevado cerro de difícil acceso por lo pendiente y escabroso del piso . . . la población circuida de un muro algo deteriorado, y de enormes peñascos que la dan un aspecto horroroso . . ."
- (32) Madoz, P., op. cit., p. 254.
- (33) Asín Palacios, Miguel: Contribución a la toponimia árabe de España, Madrid, 1944, p. 99.
- (34) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 258, n. 2.
- (35) See López Mata, Teófilo: Geografía del Condado de Castilla a la Muerte de Fernán González, Madrid, 1957.
- (36) Historia Silense, ed. F. Santos Coco, Madrid, 1921, p. 58.
- (37) De Marlès, op. cit., p. 44.
- (38) Lafuente, M., op. cit., p. 316.
- (39) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 782-783.
- (40) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 258-261.

- (41) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 246-250.
Sánchez-Albornoz, C.: La España Musulmana, I, op. cit., pp. 370-374.
- (42) Al-Bayano'l-Mogrib, ed. E. Fagnan, II, Algiers, 1904, pp. 491-495.
See also Gayangos, P. de, op. cit., II, p. 195, where Al-Makkari also agrees with 997 (10th August) as the date when the Moors destroyed Santiago.
- (43) Historia Silense, op. cit., p. 58.
- (44) Chronicon Moissiacense, in M. Bouquet: Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, II, Paris, 1739, p. 654.
- (45) Chronicon Sebastiani, in E. Flórez: España Sagrada, XIII, Apend. 7, Madrid, 1756, §§ 6-7, pp. 477-478.
- (46) Saxo Grammaticus: Danish History, Books I-IX, English version by O. Elton, London, 1894, IX, § 308, p. 373.
- (47) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, pp. 198-199.
- (48) Stith-Thompson: Motif-Index of Folk Literature, II, D.1825.5, and D.1825.7, p. 337.
- (49) Krappe, A. Haggerty: The Science of Folklore, London, 1930, p. 217.
- (50) Brand, John: Observations on Popular Antiquities, II, London, 1841, p. 168.
Hazlitt, W. Carew: Faiths and Folklore, I, London, 1905, "Death-Howl", p. 170.
- (51) Hazlitt, W. Carew: Faiths and Folklore, II, op. cit., p. 337.
- (52) MacCulloch, J.A.: Medieval Faith and Fable, London, 1932, p. 62.
- (53) Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. Maria Leach, I, New York, 1949, pp. 515-516.
- (54) De Civitate Dei contra Paganos, Libri XXII, ed. J.E.C. Welldon, II, London, 1924, Bk. XV, xxiii, p. 173.
St. Augustine: The City of God, trans. John Healey, II, Edinburgh, 1909, Bk. XV, xxiii, p. 81.
- (55) Historia Silense, op. cit., p. 61.

"Siquidem XIII^{mo} regni sui anno, post multas christianorum horriferas strages, Almoroz a demonio quod eum viventem possederat,

intercepto apud Metinaçelim maximam civitatem, in inferno sepultus est."

(56) Lévi-Provençal, E.: España Musulmana, in Historia de España, IV, op. cit., pp. 425-427.

Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 252-254.

(57) Anales Toledanos I, in E. Flórez: España Sagrada, XXIII, Madrid, 1767, p. 381.

"Fue la arranda de Cervera sobre el conde D. Sancho Garcia è Garcia Gomez."

Anales Complutenses, in España Sagrada, XXIII, op. cit., p. 310.

"1000 Fuit arrancada de Cervera super Conde Sancium Garsia et Garsia Gomez."

See also Gómez-Moreno, M.: Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1917, p. 26.

(58) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, p. 205.

(59) Compare Historia Silense, op. cit., p. 58.

"morte quidem subitanea et gladio ipsa gens Agarenorum cepit interire, et ad nichilum quotidie pervenire."

and Chronicon Mundi, op. cit., p. 88.

". . . et partim infirmitate, partim subitanea morte quotidie gens ipsa nimebatur, et ad nihilum veniebat."

12. The Death of Garcí Fernández

Accounts of Garcí Fernández's death conflict, both concerning the circumstances and the date of his death. However, all seem to agree that he died following a battle against the Moors, although there is less agreement as to where this happened, and the subsequent fate of his body.

(1) His death in the Chronicles

We must first summarise the circumstances of the Count's death according to the Najerense, Tudense, Toledano and PCG. We have seen that all the Najerense tells us is that Garcí Fernández died after a battle fought against Almanzor's army, which invaded his territory on Christmas Day. He was compelled to meet the enemy with a depleted army, having sent most of his men on leave on the Countess's advice. During the battle his horse fainted, having been fed incorrectly by the Countess. The Najerense gives the date of the Count's death as 995, and Cirot supplements it with a version of the Anales Compostelanos for details of his actual capture and death. (1)

The Tudense differs from the Najerense in linking the Count's death with his son's rebellion, and the date given is some time about era 1037 - 999 A.D. The Moors profited from the discord between father and son to capture certain cities - Ávila, San Esteban, and Clunia. Garcí Fernández confronted the Moors with only a small force; he was captured, and died a few days later of natural causes. (2)

The Toledano and PCG record Garcí Fernández's death in similar circumstances to the Tudense, for it again follows Sancho García's rebellion and the Moorish invasion of Castile. The Toledano relates

that Garcí Fernández, wishing to die for his country, went to meet the Moors, was captured, and died a few days later of wounds received in battle. It adds the detail that the Count's body was redeemed from the Moors and taken to Cardena. (3) However, there is some contradiction in this Chronicle, for a previous chapter affirms that he died of natural causes, and disregards the suggestion of a violent death due to wounds:

"Obiit autem morte propria, et in monasterio sancti Petri de Cardonia tumulatur." (4)

It seems possible that the idea of a natural death is a false one, and that it was a late addition to the true account of Garcí Fernández's death. In this case, a different author would have added it.

The PCG places Sancho's rebellion in 990 - era 1028 - and notes that Garcí Fernández went to meet the invading Moors supported by only a few knights, since his people were divided between him and his son. Many were killed in battle, Garcí Fernández was taken prisoner at Piedra Salada, and died a few days later at Medinaceli of his wounds. The Christians redeemed his body, and took it for burial to San Pedro de Cardena. The PCG follows the Najerense in partially blaming the Countess for the Count's capture. (5)

All these Chronicles, therefore, agree that Garcí Fernández died subsequent to an encounter with the Moors, and all but the Najerense connect his death with his son's rebellion. They intimate that this encouraged the Moors to enter Christian territory, and led ultimately to the Count's capture and death, since his forces were greatly outnumbered by the enemy. His death has a different cause in the Najerense - namely, the evil machinations of his wife, motivated by

her desire to marry Almanzor.

We have already seen that the chronology of the Tudense, Toledano, and PCG is incorrect, for although they place Garcí Fernández's death after Almanzor's, in reality Almanzor outlived the Count by about seven years.

Garcí Fernández's death is also recorded by the Anales Compostellanos, Chronicon Burgense, Anales Toledanos I, and the Anales Complutenses. According to the Anales Compostellanos, the Moors captured and wounded Garcí Fernández eight days before the Kalends of January, era 1037 - i.e. 999 - between Alcocer and Langa on the Duero. He died on the fifth day afterwards; he was taken to Córdoba and buried in the church of the three Saints, and was later removed to Cardena.⁽⁶⁾ Although we have said that Cirot's edition of the Najerense gives a version similar to this, the date of the Count's death is cited as four days before the Kalends of January, era 1033.

The Chronicon Burgense fails to specify the exact site of the battle, simply declaring that on the eighth day before the Kalends of January, 995, Garcí Fernández was captured and wounded on the bank of the Duero; he died on the fifth day afterwards, and was taken to Córdoba, and thence to Cardena.⁽⁷⁾

The Anales Toledanos I records Sancho García's rebellion against his father, but places it in 991 (era 1032?) - four years before

Garcí Fernández's death on the second day of the week,⁽ⁱ⁾ four days

(i) The actual wording of the Anales Toledanos I is "II, Feria", which in common medieval reckoning meant the second day of the week, i.e. Monday. See Du Boulay, F.R.H.: A Handlist of Medieval Ecclesiastical Terms, pub. by The National Council of Social Service, London, 1952, p. 15. In 995, the fourth day before the Kalends of August was the 29th July, and this was, in fact, a Monday, as the Chronicle states. See Handbook of Dates, ed. C.R. Cheney, London, 1945, p. 145.

before the Kalends of August, 995 (era 10387). It merely refers to the Count's capture by the Moors with no further details of his death, and it is clear that there is a discrepancy between the Christian year and the era cited.⁽⁸⁾ Although it gives the years for the rebellion and the Count's death as 991 and 995 respectively, the eras are given as 1032 and 1038, which would be 994 A.D. and 1000 A.D., according to the Spanish way of reckoning.

The Anales Complutenses also places Sancho García's rebellion several years before Garcí Fernández's death, but on the second day of the week, seven days before the Ides of June, in 990 - era 1028.⁽¹⁾ The Moors captured Garcí Fernández in 995 - era 1033 - and he died on the second week-day, four days before the Kalends of August, but the Chronicle does not mention the place or circumstances of his capture.⁽⁹⁾

(2) His death among the historians

Before trying to decide which details are probably correct, we must take into account the opinions of the historians who have discussed the available information concerning Garcí Fernández's death.

Most historians seem to agree that Garcí Fernández's final defeat was due in some measure to his son's revolt, for which there is considerable historical evidence. We have noted in the previous chapter that Mariana gives the date of Garcí Fernández's final battle as 1006, but he also relates that a clash of arms between Sancho García and his

(1) Gómez-Moreno's edition of the Anales Complutenses cites the date of the rebellion as "Era MXXVIII", i.e. 991, but the Moors take San Esteban and Clunia in era MXXII - 994 A.D. Also, seven days before the Ides of June is the 7th June; in 990 this was a Saturday, and in 991 it was a Sunday. See Gómez-Moreno: Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1917, p. 26, and Handbook of Dates, ed. C.R. Cheney, op. cit., pp. 113 and 143.

father weakened the state, since their vassals found themselves divided between the two opponents. He believes that the Moors, aware of the situation, took the chance to destroy Ávila, Clunia, and San Esteban de Gormaz, and when Garcí Fernández met them with as many men as he could muster, he was defeated and captured, and so badly wounded that he soon died. (10)

Berganza, too, mentions Sancho's rebellion, asserting that it broke out on the 8th June, 991, and when the Moors realised the situation in Castile, they advanced on Ávila. He also draws attention to the Arab historians' version of Garcí Fernández's death. This differs somewhat from that found in the Christian Chronicles, since they maintain that the Count went to help Ávila, was defeated by the Moors, captured, and taken to Córdoba, where he died of wounds. (11) In addition, Berganza suggests that Garcí Fernández died a martyr's death, attacking the enemy in defence of the Catholic faith. He bases this theory on the phraseology of the Chronicles - "captus et lanceatus fuit" - which suggests that the Moors wounded him deliberately after capture. He believes, therefore, that there was a different motive in capturing and wounding him from the usual one. He also takes the references to the Count's burial in the church of the Three Saints as a sign that the Christians considered his death a glorious one, since at that time even Princes and Kings were only buried in church if they were regarded as martyrs. (12)

De Marlès agrees that Garcí Fernández was captured in a battle against Almanzor, and died a few days later of his wounds, and he makes an important observation regarding the date of the Count's

death.⁽ⁱ⁾ The Spanish Chronicles which give the date of his capture as era 1033, and say that he died in the Kalends of August, correspond exactly with the dates given by Arab historians. For this reason De Marlès rejects the suggestion that the Count died in 990. He also adds an anecdote which seems to occur only among the Arab historians. This relates that during the Count's last battle the poet Sa'id Hasan Abulola⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ presented Almanzor with a bound stag and some verses, foretelling Garcí Fernández's capture and a victory for Almanzor.⁽¹³⁾

Lafuente advances a different theory concerning Garcí Fernández's last battle, for he suggests that the Count requested the help of King Sancho of Navarre against the Moslems, and in 995 the combined troops of Castile and Navarre confronted Almanzor between Alcocer and Langa. Finally, the Christians were defeated by a trick; the Count was among the prisoners, and was so badly wounded that he died within five days, on the 30th May, 995, and his body was deposited in the church of the Three Saints in Córdoba. Lafuente also refers to the prophecy of Garcí Fernández's capture, adding that the stag was called García, and

(i) De Marlès notes that the Count is incorrectly called Garcia ben Sancho, king of the Christians of the Mountains, by the Arabs, but that the Spanish Chronicles confirm him as Garcí Fernández.

(ii) Sa'id de Bagdad was an historical person, a 10th century poet who went to Córdoba in 990, where he received Almanzor's protection, and became a member of his entourage. He was among those who accompanied Almanzor on his expeditions against the Christians, and he would compose poems in his praise after a victory. According to the Annales du Maghrib, Sa'id is said to have written such a poem in honour of Almanzor during his expedition against Castile in 995, and sent it to him together with a bound stag, which he called García. See Blachère, R.: Un pionnier de la culture arabe orientale en Espagne au dixième siècle, Sa'id de Bagdad, Hespéris, X, 1930, pp. 28-29, and Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 248-249.

the verses prophesied that García, king of the Christians, would be taken to the Moslem camp tied like the stag bearing his name. (14)

Aguado Eleye, Pérez de Urbel, Dozy, and Pidal all affirm that Garcí Fernández's death was subsequent to a rebellion by his son, and they connect this rebellion with a revolt by Almanzor's son, Abdallah, against his father, in which Garcí Fernández is alleged to have given him protection. This was in 989, when Abdallah went over to the Castilians while his father was besieging San Esteban de Gormaz. Almanzor forced Garcí Fernández to sue for peace, and subsequently avenged himself by urging Sancho to rebel. Aguado Eleye, Pérez de Urbel, Pidal, and Lévi-Provençal also suggest that the rebellion was further stimulated by Sancho's mother, the Countess of Castile. It broke out in June, 994 - on the 7th June, according to Pérez de Urbel, Lévi-Provençal and Pidal - and within a few days Clunia, San Esteban, and Ávila fell to the Moors.

The opinions of these historians differ concerning the date of Garcí Fernández's capture and death. Aguado Eleye, Pérez de Urbel, and Pidal all agree that he was captured on the 25th May, 995, between Alcozar and Langa, when trying to check the enemy on the Duero frontier, but they believe that he was subsequently taken to Córdoba. He died there a prisoner, but not until the 29th July. Pidal states his reason for upholding the latter date, namely, the Anales Complutenses and the Anales Toledanos I give the day of the week as a Monday, and this coincided then with the date of the month. (15)

Dozy and Lévi-Provençal, on the other hand, favour different dates. Although Dozy accepts that Garcí Fernández was captured on

the 25th May, 995, he believes that he died five days later of his wounds. (16) He therefore supports the eighth day before the Kalends of June as the correct date for the Count's capture, instead of the eighth day before the Kalends of January. Lévi-Provençal draws attention to the fact that several Arab authors have recorded Garcí Fernández's death; in particular he cites Ibn Hayyan, and notes that Ibn al-Jatib gives the exact date. (17) He believes that Garcí Fernández retaliated in face of Almanzor's attacks on San Esteban, Clunia, and Ávila by attacking the Moslem territory round Medinaceli. He was wounded during one of these attacks on the 19th May, 995, between Langa and Alcozar, and was taken as a prisoner to Medinaceli, where he died within a few days. (18) Apart from the variation in the date and the place where Garcí Fernández died, Lévi-Provençal also differs from other historians in maintaining that only the Count's head was sent to Córdoba, while the rest of his body remained at Medinaceli. Shortly afterwards, all his remains were handed over to Sancho García, who had them buried at Cardena. For the latter piece of information Lévi-Provençal cites the Chronicon Burgense. (19)

Having shown that the historians themselves are at variance regarding Garcí Fernández's death, we may now gather together the available information in an attempt to determine: (a) the most probable date of the capture and death; (b) the scene of the Count's capture; (c) the date and circumstances of Sancho García's rebellion; and (d) the fate of Garcí Fernández's body after death.

(3) The date of Garcí Fernández's capture and death

Clearly, there is fairly unanimous agreement as to the year of

Garcí Fernández's death. Four Chronicles - the Najerense, Anales Complutenses, Anales Toledanos I, and Chronicon Burgense - all place it in 995. Although the Anales Complutenses maintains that Sancho García succeeded to the County of Castile in 1005, it contradicts itself, for five years earlier it refers to Sancho García as Count, in connection with the battle at Cervera in 1000.⁽²⁰⁾ It has also asserted previously that Garcí Fernández died in 995.

Berganza quotes some documents dated 996, 997, and 998 proving that in those years Sancho García was Count of Castile, and he uses these to refute dates other than 995 for Garcí Fernández's death.⁽²¹⁾ Pérez de Urbel cites Sancho García's donation to Santillana in 996,⁽¹⁾ which indicates that he was already Count. The relevant words of this document are:

"Ego Sancio comite pro bona mea voluntate et propter remedium anime mee . . . Era MXXXIII sub rege Adefonsus. Ego comite Sancius et Garcea Martínez . . ."⁽²²⁾

Pérez de Urbel admits, however, that there is some doubt concerning this document's authenticity, due to the discrepancy between the date and the name of the king, Alfonso V, who only began to reign in 1000. Nevertheless, this document apart, from 997 onwards Sancho García appears as Count of Castile on documents connected with Cardena.

The Anales Toledanos I also refers to Sancho García's accession to the County, but it neglects to give the date, although it cites this event and the battle at Cervera immediately after Garcí Fernández's death, without any mention of a change of date. With

(1) Pérez de Urbel cites the year as 996, although the document gives it as "Era MXXXIII". See Pérez de Urbel, Fray J.: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, p. 755, n. 4.

regard to this same Chronicle's discrepancy between the year and the era of Garcí Fernández's death - 995 and era 1038 - we may reject era 1038 in view of the references which prove that Sancho García was ruling Castile prior to the year 1000.

Since we have seen, too, that most of the historians cited - Lafuente, Aguado Eleye, Pérez de Urbel, Pidal, Lévi-Provençal and Dozy - accept the year as 995, and De Marlès and Lévi-Provençal point out that Arab historians confirm this, there does not seem to be any valid objection to accepting this as the year of Garcí Fernández's final defeat and death. The reference to 1005 for Sancho García's accession in the Anales Complutenses is, in all probability, a chronological error, of which there are many examples in the medieval Chronicles.

The problem of the day of Garcí Fernández's capture, and the actual day of his death is a more complicated one. Opinion is divided between a final encounter with the Moors in winter or summer. On the one hand, the Chronicon Burgense and the Anales Compostellanos favour the former season, since they agree that the date of the capture was the eighth day before the Kalends of January, i.e. the 25th December, and the Count died on the fifth day afterwards. Cirot's edition of the Najerense, following the slightly different version of the Anales Compostellanos, mentions the fourth day before the Kalends of January for Garcí Fernández's death, so these Chronicles tally. These also coincide to some extent with the Najerense's indication that Almanzor invaded Castile at Christmas time, although at that time the festival of the Nativity was probably celebrated at Epiphany -

i.e. on the 6th January.

On the other hand, the Anales Complutenses and the Anales Toledanos I both favour the summer, and give the date of death as the fourth day before the Kalends of August, i.e. the 29th July. We have seen, too, that whereas Lévi-Provençal believes that Garcí Fernández died a few days after his capture on the 19th May, Dozy, Pérez de Urbel, Aguado Eleye, and Pidal all maintain that the capture took place on the 25th May, since they interpret the eighth day before the Kalends of January as the eighth day before the Kalends of June. Dozy alone takes the view that Garcí Fernández died five days later, on the 29th May, the other historians reconciling the conflicting dates by maintaining that he did not die until the 29th July, since they all believe that he was taken alive to Córdoba. They have to allow this lapse of two months for the return journey from Castile to Córdoba, for if the Count had been captured on the 25th July and had then died on the 29th, he could hardly have been taken to Córdoba in the intervening four days.

Flórez advances yet another argument, for he believes that Garcí Fernández was captured on the eighth day before the Kalends of August - the 25th July - instead of the eighth day before the Kalends of January. He points out that as the Chronicon Burgense and the Anales Compostellanos agree that the Count died on the fifth day of his capture, this would then be Monday, the 29th July, which would agree with the date given by the Anales Complutenses and the Anales Toledanos I.⁽²⁵⁾ He does not, of course, mention that the version of the Anales Compostellanos cited by Cirot in conjunction with the Najerense also

states that Garcí Fernández died on the fifth day after his capture, although it gives the day as the fourth day before the Kalends of January.

If we accept that Garcí Fernández died following an encounter with Almanzor's army, an important point in favour of the summer dates is the Moorish practice of conducting campaigns in the Peninsula at that season. It is therefore more feasible that the Count met his death some time during the summer months, rather than in December. The Najerense's choice of Christmas for Almanzor's invasion is most probably fictitious, but it fits in well with the Countess's disarming of her husband, since it would be the natural season for Garcí Fernández to give leave to the majority of his army. We may cite another example in epic legend of the arbitrary choice of Christmas for a noteworthy event. The legend of Abbot John of Montemayor relates that one Christmas night on his way to matins, the Abbot picked up a foundling child, whom he brought up himself. (24)

In conclusion, it seems clear that Garcí Fernández died in 995 following defeat and capture by the Moors, probably in summer rather than winter. Most evidence suggests that he died fairly soon after capture, instead of lingering on for two months, and the dates which appear to correspond with most of the evidence are the 25th and 29th July.

(4) The site of Garcí Fernández's capture

We have seen that out of the Najerense, Tudense, Toledano, and PCG only the latter Chronicle mentions the site of Garcí Fernández's capture and death. He was taken prisoner at Piedra Salada, and he

died at Medinaceli.

No other Chronicle mentions Piedra Salada, but the Chronicon Burgense and the Anales Compostellanos agree that he was captured in the region of the Duero, and the latter states more specifically that this happened between Alcocer and Langa. Many of the historians accept this situation, without trying to pinpoint it more accurately.

Pidal admits that Piedra Salada is unknown to him,⁽²⁵⁾ but Pérez de Urbel has identified it as a barren summit between Langa and Alcozar.⁽²⁶⁾ In his geographical dictionary, Madoz mentions a hill, with the remains of an old castle on it, lying to the South and West of Alcozar,⁽²⁷⁾ and Pérez de Urbel suggests that this is Piedra Salada.

López Mata's "Geography of the County of Castile at the death of Fernán González" does not record the existence of Piedra Salada, but he situates Langa and Alcozar upstream from Aranda and near the right bank of the Duero, saying that here Garcí Fernández died in 995, opposing Almanzor's warriors.⁽²⁸⁾ However, he does mention a Piedralada, or Petralada, in the province of Old Castile, situated near the frontier with La Bureba and not very far from Oña - itself situated in La Bureba. He asserts that in the first half of the 11th century this became very famous, and in 1040 it was one of Navarre's main fortresses in Castilian territory.⁽²⁹⁾ In 1183 the monastery of Oña acquired all the property of certain Counts - Fernando, Álvaro, Nuño, and Gonzalo - in Old Castile, as far as Piedralada. We should mention, too, that the F.Gz. also refers to Pyedra Lada:

"Corrio toda Burueua e toda Pyedra Lada."⁽³⁰⁾

It is unlikely that this was the site of Garcí Fernández's capture,

for in the late 10th century the warfare between Castile and the Moors was centred on the Duero region, and in particular round San Esteban de Gormaz, Gormaz, and Osma. However, since Piedra Salada seems to be a late addition to the account of Garcí Fernández's death, we may wonder whether it could have been confused with Piedralada?

Oña plays an important part in the section of the legend concerning Sancho García and the death of the Countess of Castile, and this suggests that at least part of the legend may have been taken up by Oña, with which Sancho García had a strong connection. The monastery might then have added local interest by situating Garcí Fernández's capture at a nearby famous place, with which visitors to the monastery would probably be familiar. Some confirmation for this hypothesis lies in the account of Sancho's naming of Oña, which seems to be legendary, and the description of the origin of the Monteros of Espinosa. The town of this name was also situated in Old Castile, and the monastery of Oña could feasibly have added these episodes to the legend as well.

The name Piedra Salada, or its variants, is testified in other parts of the Peninsula in the Middle Ages. For example, the Becerro de Leire mentions a Pietra Alta of 1042,⁽³¹⁾ and the name also occurs near salt deposits.

Another possible explanation of its occurrence in connection with Garcí Fernández's capture is that it may simply be a legendary name of the 'glen of weeping' type, used by the Christians to indicate the scene of an unhappy event.

To sum up, Garcí Fernández seems to have been captured somewhere

in the Duero region, probably between Langa and Alcozar. Piedra Salada may represent an attempt on the part of the compilers of the PCG to situate the battle more precisely than the other Chronicles, by citing the name of a region lying between the two towns mentioned in connection with the Count's capture. However, it need not necessarily refer to a specific place near the Duero, but it may simply be a late addition to the legend, introduced either in an effort to interest those for whom the legend was destined by situating Garcí Fernández's capture locally, or to express sorrow at his misfortune.

(5) Date and circumstances of Sancho García's rebellion

We have seen that not only the Tudense, Toledano, and PCG record Sancho García's rebellion, but also the Anales Toledanos I, and the Anales Complutenses, although neither the Chronicon Burgense nor the Anales Compostellanos refers to it. Again, there is confusion over dates, since 990, 991, and 994 have all been cited as the year in which it occurred. Neither the Anales Toledanos I nor the Anales Complutenses links the rebellion directly with Garcí Fernández's death. The former places it in 991, but I have already pointed out that although this year does not correspond with the year accepted by most historians - 994 - the era does, since it is given as 1032. The Anales Complutenses, however, records the rebellion in 990,⁽¹⁾ five years before the Count's death, but despite this, it places the Moors' capture of San Esteban and Clunia fifteen days before the Kalends of July, 994,⁽³²⁾ and the Toledanos I cites the same year for

(1) 991, according to Gómez-Moreno's edition.

the latter event. Pérez de Urbel confirms that the Moors entered these places on the 17th and 20th June, and although he believes that the rebellion was in 994, he points out that in none of the years 990, 991, or 994, was Monday the seventh day before the Ides of June, which is the day the Anales Complutenses gives for it. He suggests that this may be explained as an error by the copyist, who read 'Feria II' for 'Feria V'. (33)(i) Most historians who link the Moors' attacks on these places with Sancho García's rebellion also agree with 994.

The Tudense, Toledano, and PCG all infer that Garcí Fernández's death followed the discord between him and his son, although the Tudense dates the rebellion era 1037 - 999 - and the PCG dates it 990. If there was some connection between the two events, the chronology of these Chronicles, and the Anales Complutenses, is erroneous, since we have already established that the Count died in 995. We must therefore conclude either that the rebellion occurred in the same year as his death or perhaps the year before, or that it had nothing to do with it, and did not provide the Moors with an opportunity for invading Castile.

It is reasonable to suppose that Almanzor encouraged the rebellion, possibly in revenge for the protection Garcí Fernández offered to his son in 989-990, and the Moorish attacks on San Esteban, Clunia, and perhaps Ávila, which probably occurred simultaneously, certainly suggest that Sancho García and Almanzor were working in

(i) In 994, the 7th June, which was the seventh day before the Ides, fell on a Thursday. See Handbook of Dates, ed. C.R. Cheney, p. 105.

co-operation. If 994 was the year of the rebellion, the Najerense, Tudense and PCG may reflect historical reality in suggesting that Garcí Fernández faced the Moors with only a small number of men, since his army was probably depleted when Castilian loyalties were divided by the revolt. Although we do not know its duration, there is a possible lapse of about a year between the rebellion and Garcí Fernández's death, with the winter intervening. The rebellion, then, may not have been connected directly with the Count's capture, although it may have weakened his authority, as well as his forces, and meant that defeat was more or less inevitable when he met the Moors the following year. Serrano actually suggests that Sancho García and his supporters refused to accompany Garcí Fernández into battle in the spring of 995. Hence the reduced army with which he was forced to fight.⁽³⁴⁾ In the legend the small army only magnifies the Count's heroism, for it is suggested that patriotism led him to attack the Moors in defence of his land, preferring to die fighting rather than submit to their onslaught.

We may explain the facts that the "Condesa Traidora" legend does not paint Sancho García very blackly, and the Najerense fails to mention his rebellion at all, because of the tendency to idealise epic heroes by concentrating on their more noble actions and omitting the unpleasant incidents in their life. The Poema de Mío Cid exemplifies this, since the poet omits the more disloyal periods of the Cid's life, when he fought with the Moors against the Christians, and presents him as a great warrior, who remained consistently loyal to his king - even in the face of injustice. Similarly, the "Condesa

"Traidora" shows Sancho García opposing the Moors, and there is no suggestion that he was openly on friendly terms with Almanzor, since the Countess fills the rôle of traitor.

The theme of combat between father and son is fairly common in epic legend, although instead of being an isolated occurrence, as it is in the case of Sancho García's rebellion, the combat is often linked with set motifs, which tend to follow a fixed order. This is as follows: a hero engenders an illegitimate son, and before leaving the mother he gives her some token of recognition, telling her to send his son to find him when he is old enough. When the son eventually meets his father, they fail to recognise one another and fight. The father, suspecting his opponent's identity, asks his name, but he refuses to give it. The father ultimately kills the unidentified person by resorting to some strategy, and only afterwards does he find the token he left with the boy's mother, and recognise his son. Sometimes the tragic ending is averted, and there is a reconciliation after the combat.

This theme occurs, for example, in a Greek tradition in connection with Odysseus and his son Telegonus, in the Germanic Hildebrand fragment, in an Irish tale, the death of the son of Aife, and in the Persian tale of Sohrab and Rustem. (35) The chanson de geste Gormont et Isembart also illustrates the motif of conflict between father and son, although here it is not connected with the fixed motifs I have just described, but is episodic. The traitor Isembart meets his father, Bernard, whom he fights and knocks off his horse without recognising him. (36)

However, none of these legends contains the motif of deliberate rebellion on the son's part in the sense of Sancho García's rebellion, although the son may adopt a rebellious attitude towards his father. In the Irish legend, for instance, the son, Conlae, deliberately defies the warriors whom his father, Conchobar, sends to speak to him, refusing to say who he is. In the Hildebrandlied, Hadubrand's attitude makes conflict inevitable, since he rejects his father's friendly overtures. These examples, though, are concerned mainly with individual combat, and the sons do not necessarily bring an army against their father. Sancho García's rebellion, therefore, does not follow this fictitious pattern, since there is no suggestion of individual combat, neither father nor son is slain by the other's hand, and there is no misunderstanding based on failure to recognise one another. The only similarity lies in the general idea of conflict between a father and his son, which is a common epic motif, but the lack of fictitious elements in connection with Sancho García's rebellion supports the belief that it was historical fact.

Finally, we may mention another Spanish epic legend which presents a parallel with Sancho's rebellion. The Tudense version of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio also relates that the Moors take advantage of a rebellious subject to invade Christian territory. This happens when Bernardo occupies the castle of El Carpio in the Salamanca region, and rebels against King Alfonso III, who is holding his father prisoner in the castle of Luna. The Moors take advantage of Bernardo's rebellion to destroy the cities of Leon and Astorga. After receiving Alfonso's promise to release his father, Bernardo

ceases his rebellious conduct and helps Alfonso against the Moors.⁽³⁷⁾ This legend therefore provides an analogy with the suggestion that the Moors took advantage of Sancho García's rebellion to attack certain Castilian cities.

(6) Fate of Garcí Fernández's body after death

(a) In Córdoba

It is the Najerense, Anales Compostellanos, and Chronicon Burgense which tell us that Garcí Fernández's body was taken to Córdoba and later transferred to Cardena. The Toledano and PCG agree that the Count's body was redeemed from the Moors and taken to Cardena, although neither mentions that he was taken to Córdoba, either alive or dead.

Neither the Chronicon Burgense nor the Anales Compostellanos provides any details concerning the date of the transference, or the manner in which it was effected, but in the Najerense it is subsequent to Almanzor's death. Sancho García follows up his encounter with Almanzor by advancing on Córdoba and destroying the city, and this is when he takes back his father's body for burial at Cardena.

Lafuente and De Marlès find some confirmation for the Christian Chronicles in the Arab authors, who affirm that Garcí Fernández's body was taken to Córdoba, and later restored to the Christians. Obviously wishing to reveal Almanzor in a favourable light, they add that he did not accept the gifts the Christians offered him in exchange for the body.⁽³⁸⁾

There is some historical evidence that Sancho García reached Córdoba, although this does not seem to have happened until seven years after Almanzor's death, i.e. in 1009. I have pointed out in

the introduction that both the Tudense and the Toledano mention that after Garcí Fernández's death Sancho García penetrated as far as Córdoba. The words of the Toledano also suggest that Córdoba suffered in some way at this time:

"Nec ab his stragibus fuit regnum Cordubae alienum . . ." (39)

The Chronicon Burgense and the Anales Compostellanos agree that Sancho García destroyed Córdoba in 1009, and therefore that there was a lapse of seven years between Almanzor's death and this event. (40) According to the Anales Toledanos I, in November, 1011, García (1) penetrated Moorish territory as far as Toledo, and then went on to establish King Zulema in the kingdom of Córdoba. (41) This is confirmed by the Anales Complutenses, which names the Castilian Count correctly. (42) All the Chronicles therefore agree that Sancho García reached Córdoba at some stage of his career, although they suggest two conflicting dates for this - 1009 and 1011.

Among the historians, Berganza alone upholds 1011 as the date of this event, (43) for Dozy, Lévi-Provençal, and Ballesteros all believe that the Count reached Córdoba in 1009. They attribute his entry there to an alliance he made after Almanzor's death with the Berbers, promising help in overthrowing the Caliph, Muhammad II al-Mahdí, in return for certain Moorish fortresses. In 1009 he marched on Córdoba with Berber support, won a victory over Muhammad II's forces at Cantich, and subsequently returned to Castile. (44)

The Najerense, then, is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that

(i) Presumably the name of García is an error for Sancho García, since the Chronicle has already stated that Count Garcí Fernández died in 995, and has named Sancho García Count of Castile.

Sancho García advanced on Córdoba, but we have no proof that he rescued his father's body there. None of the historians mentions this, and it seems possible that the whole idea of Garcí Fernández being taken to Córdoba is legendary. We have referred in Chapter 10 to the document in the archives of Oña, which Argáiz cites, asserting that Sancho García redeemed his father's body from Almanzor at Medinaceli, and had it buried at Cardena.

The legend of the Infantes of Lara offers some parallel situations with Garcí Fernández's fate. The suggestion that he was taken to Córdoba before his death, and held prisoner for a time by Almanzor, is similar to the suggestion that Almanzor also imprisoned Gonzalo Gustioz at Córdoba.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Moreover, the idea that Sancho García took his father's remains back to Castile with him has a parallel in the action of Gonzalo Gustioz, who took his dead sons' heads back to their native land for burial.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The coincidence of the transportation of a relative's remains from Córdoba back to his own region suggests that this may be a legendary episode in connection with Garcí Fernández. Lévi-Provençal's suggestion that only the Count's head was sent to Córdoba has a yet closer analogy with the fate of the seven Infantes, whose heads were sent to Almanzor and then handed over to their father. I have already pointed out that this custom was practised among the Moors in the Peninsula, and it is certainly possible that Garcí Fernández's head was sent to Córdoba as a military trophy.

(b) At Cardena

There is more evidence for asserting that Garcí Fernández's remains were finally buried at San Pedro de Cardena, but although

the Chronicon Burgense and the Anales Compostellanos both confirm this, they neither clarify the circumstances, nor say who was responsible for it. The Najerense alone, of the four Chronicles concerning us particularly, credits Sancho García with reburying his father at Cardena, for although the Toledano and PCG record that the body was redeemed from the Saracens, neither Chronicle says who did this. Pérez de Urbel maintains that even though Sancho García opposed his father during his lifetime, he fulfilled his duty towards him after his death by having his remains removed to Cardena, and Lévi-Provençal also believes that he did this. Berganza testifies that Garcí Fernández and his wife were both buried in the monastery, and he adds that in 1699 the Count's tomb was opened and his head was found to have received two wounds.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Having accepted that the Count was first taken to Córdoba, Berganza suggests that some monks from Cardena redeemed the body there and took it back to their monastery, because of its great obligations to him.⁽⁴⁸⁾ I have referred in Chapter 9 to the donation of the 24th February, 982, in which Garcí Fernández and his wife both expressed a wish to be buried at Cardena, and Juan Menéndez Pidal also confirms that the Count chose the monastery for his burial-place.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Apart from Garcí Fernández, several other Spanish epic heroes are connected with certain monasteries, and in relating their death we are often told in which monastery they were buried. For example, the PCG versions of the epic legends inform us that: (a) Fernán González died at Burgos and was taken for burial to the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, which he had built and enriched with gifts;⁽⁵⁰⁾

(b) after his assassination, the Infante García was buried at the monastery of Oña; ⁽⁵¹⁾ (c) King Sancho II of Castile was also buried at Oña following his murder by Bellido Dolfó. ⁽⁵²⁾ Although the Poema de Mio Cid does not mention the Cid's burial at Cardena, the PCG refers to this in a legendary account of the removal of his body from Valencia to Castile and its disposal in the church at Cardena. ⁽⁵³⁾ It seems to be an historical fact that the Cid was first buried at Valencia in 1099, and later exhumed and transported to Cardena for reburial.

García Fernández may have suffered the same fate after death, for it was evidently not unusual in the Middle Ages for reburial to take place. His final fate in the legend may therefore be founded on fact, and he certainly seems to have been buried at Cardena, whether Sancho García was responsible for this or not. Proof is lacking that he was taken to Córdoba, although his head may well have been sent there in accordance with contemporary Moslem practice. Finally, it is evident that García Fernández's burial is similar to that of other epic heroes, some of whom in epic legend have more than just this casual connection with a particular monastery.

Notes to Chapter 12

- (1) Cirot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, BH, XIII, 1911, II, § 85, pp. 423-424.
- (2) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 89.
- (3) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xviii, p. 90.
- (4) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, ii, p. 83.
- (5) PCG, § 763, p. 453.
- (6) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, Madrid, 1767, p. 317.

"MXXXVII. VIII. Kalendas Januarii captus, et lanceatus fuit comes Garsias Ferdinandi à Sarracenis inter Alcocer, et Langa, in Riba de Dorio; et quinta die mortuus fuit, et ductus ad Cordobam, et sepultus in Sanctos tres, et inde ductus fuit ad Caradignam."

- (7) Flórez, E., op. cit., p. 307.

"995 era MXXXVIII. Noto die VIII. Kalend. Januarii captus et lanceatus Comes Garsea Ferdinandi in ripa de Dorio, et V. die mortuus fuit, et ductus fuit ad Cordobam, et inde adductus ad Caradignam."

- (8) Flórez, E., op. cit., p. 381.

"991 Reveló Sancho Garcia con la tierra à su padre el conde Garci Fernandez era MXXXII

995 Prisieron Moros al Conde Garci Fernandez è murió en II. Feria. IV. Kal. Aug. Era MXXXVIII."

- (9) Flórez, E., op. cit., p. 310.

"990 MXXVIII Rebollavit Sancius Garsia ad patrem suum Comitem Garsie Fernandez die II feria, VII Idus Junii

995 MXXXIII Preserunt Mauri Conde Garci Fernandez, et fuit obitus eius die II feria IV. Kal. Augusti."

Gómez-Moreno, M.: Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1917, p. 26.

- (10) Mariana, Padre Juan de: Historia General de España, III, 1718, Bk. VIII, x, pp. 296-298.
- (11) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, §§ 95-96, p. 292.
- (12) Berganza, op. cit., § 103, p. 295.

- (13) De Marlès, M.: Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, II, Paris, 1825, pp. 44, n.1, 45-46.
- (14) Lafuente, M.: Historia General de España, II, Madrid, 1861, pp. 314-315.
- (15) See Aguado Bleye, P.: Manual de Historia de España, I, pp. 493-494.
 Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, pp. 754-755, 761-764, and 766-769.
 Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, pp. 56-58, and p. 58, n. 1.
 Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 244.
- (16) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, p. 249.
- (17) Lévi-Provençal, E., op. cit., p. 245, n.1.
- (18) Lévi-Provençal, E., op. cit., p. 244.
- (19) Lévi-Provençal, E., op. cit., pp. 244-245, and 245, n.1.
- (20) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, p. 310.
- "1000 Fuit arrancada de Cervera super Conde Sancium Garsia et Garsia Gomez
 1005 Presit Sancius Garsia condado en Castella".
- Gómez-Moreno, M.: Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, op. cit., p. 26.
- (21) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 97, p. 293.
- (22) Pérez de Urbel: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, p. 775, n. 4.
- (23) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, pp. 296-297.
- (24) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda del Abad don Juan de Montemayor, GRL, Band II, Dresden, 1903, pp. x, 5-6, and 24.
- (25) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, op. cit., p. 44.
- (26) Pérez de Urbel: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, p. 767.

"Piedra Salada . . . que parece corresponder a una cima calva, que se alza entre estos dos pueblos (Alcozar and Langa) de la tierra de Osma."

- (27) Madoz, P.: Diccionario Geográfico de España, I, Madrid, 1846, p. 476.

"Alcozar: villa con ayuntamiento en la provincia de Soria . . . la domina por la parte del S. y O. una cuesta muy escarpada coronada de enormes peñascos, sobre los cuales existen todavía vestigios de un antiguo castillo, y por la del N.O. la semicircunvala un profundo barranco que imposibilita su entrada por allí, de modo que únicamente es accesible con comodidad por el E. y S.E. . . ."

- (28) López Mata, T.: Geografía del Condado de Castilla . . ., Madrid, 1957, p. 38.

- (29) López Mata, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

- (30) Poema de Fernán González, ed. C. Carroll Marden, Baltimore, 1904, v. 739.

C. Carroll Marden situates Pyedra Lada in the valley of Bureba.

- (31) Corona Baratech, Carlos E.: Toponimia Navarra ^{en} de la Edad Media, Huesca, 1947, p. 106.

- (32) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, p. 310.

"994 Prendiderunt Mauri S. Stephanum, et Cluniam die Sabbati XV Kal. Julii."

Gómez-Moreno, M.: Discursos Leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia, op. cit., p. 26.

- (33) Pérez de Urbel: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, pp. 762-764.

- (34) Serrano, Luciano: El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla Primitiva, I, Madrid, 1935, p. 190.

- (35) See Howald, Ernst: Der Mythos als Dichtung, Zürich, Leipzig, p. 69.

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Thurneysen, R.: Die irische Helden- und Königsage, II, Halle, 1921, p. 404 . . .

Potter, M.A.: Sohrab and Rustem, London, 1902, pp. 8-11, and 40-41.

(36) Gormont et Isembart, ed. A. Bayot, Paris, 1914, pp. 18-19, l. 559 . . .

(37) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 79.

"Praedictus autem Bernaldus in territorio Salmanticensi castrum Carpium populavit. Et quia Rex Adefonsus patrem eius tenebat Comitem Sancium captum in castello quod dicitur Luna, quem olim Rex Castus ceperat Adefonsus, Bernaldus Regi rebellare caepit. Quod videntes Sarraceni ciuitatem Legionensem atque Astoricensem, et circumiacentia ferro et flamma deuastare nitebantur. Rex autem Adefonsus promittens Bernaldo se patrem eius a vinculis soluere, pacem cum eo fecit . . ."

(38) Lafuente, M.: Historia General de España, II, op. cit., p. 315.
De Marlès, M.: Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, II, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

(39) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xix, p. 90.

(40) Flórez, E.: España Sagrada, XXIII, p. 307.

"era MXLVII. 1009 Destruxit Comes Sancius Cordubam . . ."
p. 317.

"1009 Destruxit Comes Sanctius Cordobam."

(41) Flórez, E., op. cit., p. 381.

"1011 en el mes de noviembre entró el conde D. Garcia en tierra de Moros hasta Toledo, è fue hasta Cordova, è puso de su mano Rey Zulema en el Regno de Cordoba, è con gran vengancia tornose à Castiella en su tierra. Era MLI(?)."

(42) Flórez, E., op. cit., p. 310.

"1011 In mense Novembri ingressus est Comes Sancius Garsia in terram Sarracenorum in Toletto, et perrexit in Cordoba, et posuit Rex Zulemam in regno Cordubensi et cum grandi victoria reversus est in Castella in sua provincia . . ."

(43) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, §§ 127-128 and 130, pp. 307-309.

(44) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, Bk. iii, ch. xiv, pp. 295-296.

Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 308-311.

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(45) PCG, § 738, pp. 434-436.

- (46) PCG, II, § 743, p. 442.
- (47) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 99, p. 294.
- (48) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 99, p. 293.
- (49) Menéndez Pidal, Juan: San Pedro de Cardena . . ., RMI, XIX, 1908, p. 82 . . .
- (50) PCG, II, § 728, pp. 425-426.
- (51) PCG, II, § 788, p. 471.
- (52) PCG, II, § 838, pp. 512-513.
- (53) PCG, II, §§ 956, 958-959, pp. 636-638, 639-641.

III. Themes contained in the Sancho García episode.

1. Handing over of sister to Moorish king as a condition of peace

The motif of obtaining peace by handing over a female relative to the enemy appears only in the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora" legend. Sancho García adopts this policy after his father's death, when he is hard pressed by Almanzor. He withdraws to the castle of Lantarón, and offers his sister to the Moor as a condition of peace.

History confirms that Sancho García had three sisters:

(a) Elvira, who married Vermudo II of Leon, and was the mother of Alfonso V, born in 994; (1)

(b) Toda, who lived for a long time in the kingdom of Leon, and may have been married to Diego Fernández, grandson of Diego Muñoz, and later Count of Liébana; (2)

(c) Oneca, who became a nun, and was abbess of the monastery of San Juan de Cillaperlata at the beginning of the 11th century. Later, she seems to have gone to Oña to help her niece, Tigridia, in the administration of that monastery, returning afterwards to Cillaperlata. Argáiz refers to a document mentioning this in the Rule of St. Dominic. It is drawn up in favour of Oneca's vassals of Cobos, and it is dated the 29th June, 1002. He also draws attention to another document contained in the same Rule and dated the 13th May, which relates that Diego Fernández and Diego Fuertes became monks at Cillaperlata under the abbess Oneca. (3) When discussing Oña's foundation, Argáiz claims that it was filled with nuns from San Juan de Cillaperlata, and the first abbess was Sancho García's sister,

Oneca, and not his daughter, Tigridia, who had only just become a nun. He asserts that the foundation document was granted in 1002, but the monastery took nine years to build, and Oneca ruled over it from 1011-1014.⁽⁴⁾ However, historical evidence proves that the foundation document was granted in 1011, and we must therefore treat cautiously the idea that Oneca arrived at Oña in 1002. It is certainly more reasonable to suppose that she did not go there until 1011 at the earliest.

Pérez de Urbel suggests that Oneca may be the sister to whom the legend refers, and that after Almanzor's death she returned to her own land and became a nun.⁽⁵⁾ This seems unlikely, for even though Oneca may not have gone to Oña in June, 1002, she was probably already a nun at Cillaperlata, and we have established that Almanzor did not die until that year.

The Najerense does not provide any clue to the identity of Sancho García's sister, which in itself suggests that this episode may be fictitious. An earlier Chronicle contains an account of a similar incident, which occurs in fictitious circumstances. This is the Chronicle of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, which dates from the beginning of the 12th century, and it gives us another example of a Christian woman being handed over to a Moorish ruler for a political reason. Alfonso V of Leon offers his sister, Teresa, in marriage to the Moorish king of Toledo, to secure peace with him. The Chronicle affirms that Teresa refused to allow the Moor to touch her because he was a pagan, and she told him that if he did, the Angel of the Lord would kill him. The Moor disregarded her threat, and was struck by

the Angel, as she had predicted. On his deathbed he sent Teresa back to Leon with many presents. She became a nun and died at Oviedo:

"Ipsam uero Tarasiam post mortem patris sui dedit frater eius Adefonsus in coniugio, ipsa nolente, cuidam pagano regi toletano pro pace. Ipsa autem, ut erat christiana, dixit pagano regi: Noli me tangere, quia paganus es; si uero me tetigeris Angelus Domini interficiet te. Tunc rex derisit eam, et concubuit cum ea semel, et statim, sicut predixerat, percussus est ab Angelo Domini. Ille autem ut sensit mortem propinquam adesse sibi, uocauit cubicularios et consiliarios suos, et precepit illis onerare camelos auro et argento, gemmis et uestibus preciosis et adducere illam ad Legionem cum totis illis muneribus. Quo loco illa in monachali habitu diu permansit, et postea in Ouetu obiit, et in Monasterio Sancti Pelagii sepulta fuit."(6)

The Najerense, Tudense, and Toledano repeat the same incident.

According to the Tudense, Teresa was surrendered to King Adella of Toledo to obtain help against other Moors:

"Tamen dum esset puerulus et Adella Rex Toletanus Legionense regnum hostiliter infestaret, inuito consilio nobiles regni dederunt Tharasiam sororem Regis Adefonsi barbaro pro coniuge, ipsa nolente eo, quod occulte se simillabat Christianum, et auxilium contra Agarenos caeteros Regi Adefonso se praestaturum iuramento firmavit . . ." (7)

The Toledano states more explicitly that it was done to gain the help of King Abdalla of Toledo against the prince of Córdoba:

"Hic autem Aldephonsus in reprobum sensum datus, cum esset puer, dedit Tarasiam sororem suam in uxorem Abdaliae Regi Toleti sub pacto auxilii contra Principem Cordubensem . . ." (8)

In Chapter 9 I have pointed out that there were matrimonial alliances between Christian women and Moorish rulers in the Peninsula even before Almanzor's time, and I have indicated in Chapter 3 that Almanzor himself also seems to have followed this practice. In fact, it has been suggested that the Moorish king, who married the Teresa of the legend, was Almanzor, and not the king of Toledo.

There is documentary evidence that Vermudo II of Leon and Elvira -

daughter of Garcí Fernández and Doña Aba - had a daughter called Teresa. She signed a donation to the church of Santiago on the 1st March, 1028,⁽⁹⁾ and her epitaph in the monastery of San Pelayo describes her as the daughter of Vermudo and Elvira, and proves that she died at Oviedo.⁽¹⁰⁾ On the basis of evidence from Ibn Khaldoun's history of the Christian kings of Spain, Dozy maintains that this daughter married Almanzor. The history relates that in 383 - i.e. 993 A.D. - Vermudo II sent his daughter to Almanzor, who made her his slave, but later freed and married her.⁽¹¹⁾ Dozy identifies this unnamed daughter with the Teresa mentioned by Pelayo of Oviedo, suggesting that after Almanzor's death, she probably was sent back to her brother, Alfonso V, and then entered the convent of St. Pelayo in Oviedo.⁽¹²⁾ Apart from the mistake in the name of the Moorish husband, therefore, Dozy believes that the rest of Pelayo's account is historically accurate. Ballesteros⁽¹³⁾ and Pidal⁽¹⁴⁾ also support the view that Almanzor married Vermudo's daughter.

However, Pérez de Urbel notes that Elvira's name only appears together with that of Vermudo in 992, when a donation on the 29th August of the castle of Miranda to the see of Oviedo mentions them both.⁽¹⁵⁾ In addition, Emilio Cotarelo has shown that Vermudo did not marry Elvira before 987, at the earliest, since he was only divorced from his first wife, Velasquita, in 987 or shortly afterwards. He concludes therefore that Almanzor's supposed marriage to Teresa in 993 is fictitious, for it could not have taken place when she was only about five years old. Even supposing that Ibn Khaldoun's date is incorrect, Cotarelo affirms that such a marriage is still unlikely,

since Teresa would only have been just over thirteen years old at the time of Almanzor's death. This means that there was insufficient time for him to have held her as his slave for some time, and only later freed and married her.⁽¹⁶⁾ He points out, too, that Vermudo would have handed over his daughter as a condition of peace, but in fact Almanzor's campaigns against the Christians were particularly severe in the last years of Vermudo's life. Apart from his defeat of Garcí Fernández in 995, he destroyed Leon in 996⁽ⁱ⁾ and Santiago in 997, and Vermudo is reputed to have died in 999 overwhelmed by so many misfortunes.⁽¹⁷⁾

If, therefore, Vermudo's daughter was only a few years old in 993, as seems likely, we are forced to conclude either that Ibn Khaldoun's date is unreliable, or that the Moorish king of Pelayo's Chronicle cannot be identified with Almanzor. The very fact that Pelayo and Ibn Khaldoun not only disagree as to the identity of the Moor in question - King of Toledo, or Almanzor - but also place the episode in a different reign, thereby making a different king agent of the action - Alfonso or Vermudo - suggests that the two episodes may be unconnected. However, the accounts are interesting from our point of view, since they provide us with other examples in the Chronicles of a marriage between Christian and Moor for diplomatic reasons.

There is more evidence that some years before this Almanzor married a Christian princess, who was the daughter of King Sancho

(i) In fact, Almanzor's army seems to have destroyed Leon in 988, but in 995 it attacked Vermudo in Astorga. See Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 240, 246, and Dozy, R.: Recherches, I, pp.183-184.

Garcés II, called Abarca, of Pamplona. She took the name of 'Abda', was converted to Islam, and was the mother of Abderrahman, called Sanchuelo or Sanchol, who was born c. 984. (18)

Dozy treats the diminutive by which Abderrahman was known as evidence that his mother was the daughter of a Christian prince called Sancho. Believing Abderrahman was born c. 986, he concludes that his mother married Almanzor in 985, and was probably the daughter of Sancho of Castile or Sancho Abarca of Navarre. (19) Dozy and Codera both cite Ibn al-Jatib, who confirms that one of Almanzor's wives was a Christian by birth, but became a good Moslem, and the mother of Abderrahman Sanchol. Her father, Sancho, gave her to Almanzor to engratiate himself with him in 370 - i.e. the Christian year from the 17th July, 980, to the 7th July, 981. King Sancho visited Córdoba twelve years later - in 382 - and was received there with great display. Codera points out that no other king was reigning both in 980 and 992 but Sancho Abarca, and therefore concludes that it must have been he who gave his daughter to Almanzor. (20) Pidal agrees that Sancho Garcés offered Almanzor his daughter in 980, when the Moor had penetrated well into Castile, (21) and Pérez de Urbel confirms that this happened in that year or a little later. (22)

It seems clear that Almanzor married at least one Christian princess, possibly two, and we have some evidence that Christian rulers probably initiated marriages between a Moorish leader and a Christian woman for reasons similar to that suggested in the Najerense, i.e. to secure peace with the Moors. Again, therefore, we find that the "Condessa Traidora" is in accordance with historical practice, and

the Najerense version may merely be following tradition when it says that Sancho García handed over his sister to Almanzor for a political reason. Evidently the later Chronicles did not regard this incident as fact, since they do not mention it. Presumably such marriages of convenience were common knowledge among the Christians, and the appearance of such a motif in an epic legend may merely reflect medieval custom, rather than referring to any one particular historical incident. The episode concerning Sancho García and his sister could possibly have been imitated from Pelayo's Chronicle.

One final point concerns the assertion that Sancho García took refuge in the castle of Lantarón with his mother, sister, and supporters. This again reflects historical practice in the medieval Peninsula, for in the face of an invading army of overwhelming force, the people sought refuge in the nearest castle with all their possessions. There they would remain until the enemy had left, or would conduct guerrilla warfare against them. There was an historical example of this in 934 when Ramiro II, being unprepared for battle, shut himself inside the fortress of Osma in the face of a Moorish invasion. (23)

Both these incidents in our legend therefore reflect medieval custom in the Peninsula, and either could reasonably have happened, although we have no absolute proof that one or the other is historical in connection with Sancho García.

Notes to Chapter 1.

- (1) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 251 and 251, n. 1.
- (2) Pérez de Urbel, Fray Justo: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II, p. 773.
- (3) Argáiz, Fray Gregorio de: La Soledad Laureada por San Benito, VI, Madrid, 1675, p. 399.
See also Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 773 and 904, and III, no. 534, p. 1272.
- (4) Argáiz, op. cit., pp. 437-439.
- (5) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 773.
- (6) Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo, ed. B. Sánchez Alonso, Madrid, 1924, pp. 63-64.
- (7) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 89.
Círot, G.: La Chronique Léonaise, BH, XIII, 1911, Bk. II, § 90, p. 427.
- (8) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xviii.
- (9) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 973, n. 27, and III, no. 622, pp. 1307-1308.
- (10) Yepes, Antonio de: Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito, III, 1610, f. 338v.
See also Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Tratado de los Romances Viejos, II, in Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos, XII, Madrid, 1916, p. 80.
- (11) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, Paris, 1881, p. 101.
- (12) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., op. cit., pp. 184-187.
See also Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Tratado de los Romances Viejos, II, op. cit., pp. 79-82.
- (13) Ballesteros: Historia de España, II, Barcelona, 1920, p. 62.
- (14) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, pp. 60-61.
- (15) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 731, and III, no. 508, p. 1258.
- (16) Cotarelo, Emilio: El Supuesto Casamiento de Almanzor con una hija de Bermudo II, EMO, 169, January, 1903, pp. 46-48.

- (17) Cotarelo, Emilio, op. cit., pp. 48-49.
- (18) Lévi-Provençal, E., op. cit., II, pp. 241-242.
- (19) Dozy, R.: Recherches . . ., I, op. cit., pp. 189-191.
- (20) Codera, Francisco: Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de la Université Saint Joseph (Beyrouth), BRAH, LII, Madrid, 1908, pp. 534, and 534-535, n. 2.
Dozy, R.: Recherches, I, op. cit., p. 192.
- (21) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, op. cit., p. 60.
- (22) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, pp. 771-773.
- (23) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., I, p. 423.

2. The Poisoning Theme

(1) The Rosamund Legend

The poisoning episode in the "Condessa Traidora" is not the first appearance of such a motif in European literature and legend. Pidal has already drawn attention to the similarities between the Countess of Castile's attempt to poison her son, and the poisoning of Helmechis by Rosamund, queen of the Lombards, who died in Ravenna in 573. ⁽¹⁾

The latter event is related by Paul the Deacon towards the end of the 8th century, and also by the 9th century chronicler, Agnellus of Ravenna. According to Paul the Deacon, ⁽¹⁾ Rosamund first contrives the death of her husband, Alboin, king of the Lombards, because he invited her at a feast to drink out of a cup made from the head of her father, Cunimond, king of the Gepides. She asks the king's armour bearer, Helmechis, to kill Alboin in revenge, and he advises her to consult Peredeo, who is a very strong man. Peredeo is reluctant to commit the crime, so Rosamund tricks him into doing so. She makes him commit adultery with her one night, without his recognising her, and only afterwards reveals her identity. Having compromised him in this way, she induces him to kill Alboin, for otherwise the king will kill him on account of the adultery. One day, therefore, while he is resting, Peredeo and Helmechis slay Alboin. Subsequently,

(1) The text of Paul the Deacon's History of the Lombards has been edited by G. Waitz in the MGH, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum. For details of the extant Mss., of which there are over 100, see MGH, op. cit., Saec. VI-IX, Hanover, 1878, pp. 28-44. Waitz's edition is based in particular on the Mss. described as A1 - Ecclesiae Cathedralis Forojulienis, mid. 9th century; A2 - Vaticanus 4917, 11th century; F1 - Sangallensis 635, 8th-9th century. The latter is the oldest complete extant Ms.

Helmechis tries to invade his kingdom, but the Lombards, upset by Alboin's death, plan to assassinate him. Meanwhile, Rosamund has married Helmechis, and she appeals to Longinus, prefect of Ravenna, to send them a ship, in which they flee to Ravenna. There the prefect tries to persuade Rosamund to kill Helmechis and marry him, and she agrees, wishing to become mistress of the people of Ravenna. She gives Helmechis a poisoned draught as he comes from his bath. After drinking some, he realises that it is poison and forces Rosamund at the point of his sword to finish it; they both die together: (2)

" . . . Tunc Longinus praefectus suadere coepit Rosemundae, ut Helmechis interficeret et eius se nuptiis copularet. Illa ut erat ad omnem nequitiam facilis, dum optat Revennatium domina fieri, ad tantum perpetrandum facinus adsensum dedit; atque dum Helmechis se in balneo ablueret, egredienti ei de lavacro veneni poculum, quod salutis esse adseverabat, propinavit. Ille ubi sensit se mortis poculum bibisse, Rosemunda, evaginato super eam gladio, quod reliquum erat, bibere coegit. Sicque Dei omnipotentis iudicio interfectores iniquissimi uno momento perierunt." (3)

Agnellus of Ravenna (1) relates Alboin's and Helmechis's deaths in similar circumstances. Rosamund's desire to kill Alboin has the same motivation, namely, that on a certain occasion he made her drink from a cup made from her father's head. At the time she hid her feelings, but later she asks Helmechis, a strong man from the palace, to kill Alboin. When he refuses, Rosamund compromises him by taking the place of his mistress, and so tricking him into committing

(1) The text of Agnellus of Ravenna is also included in the MGH, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, edited by O. Holder-Egger. The main extant Ms. is described as Estensis Mutinensis V.F. 19, in a hand which Holder-Egger believes to be mid 15th century, but certainly after 1413. For a description of the extant Mss. see op. cit., pp. 265-270.

Pidal has suggested that Paul the Deacon and Agnellus both go back to the same tradition, although he believes that Agnellus did not copy Paul the Deacon's version of Rosamund's death.

adultery with her. Only afterwards does she tell him that she is the queen. Helmechis is therefore forced to agree to the king's murder, or be killed himself when the king discovers the adultery. Rosamund makes all the initial preparations for the crime, and summons Helmechis one day when Alboin is asleep. She overrules his objections, and makes him kill the king with his sword. After the deed, the Lombards are anxious to kill both accomplices, but they flee to Ravenna, where the prefect Longinus receives Rosamund with honour. He eventually suggests marrying Rosamund, so she plans to poison Helmechis with a drink administered after his bath. After drinking some, realising it is poisoned, he invites the queen to drink the rest. When she refuses, he draws his sword and threatens to strike her unless she drinks. She hastily complies, and they both die within the hour: (4)

" . . . Superatusque, rex interfectus est. Volueruntque Langobardi hunc interimere homicidam et reginam cum ipso; sed notum consilium, venit Veronam, donec furor populi cunquiesceret. Sed iurgantes fortiter Langobardi contra eam, depopulatum palatium, cum multitudine Gebedorum et Langobardorum mense Augusti Ravennam venit et honorifice a Longino praefecto suscepta est cum omni ope regia. Post aliquantos autem dies misit ad eam praefectus, dicens: 'Si caritati mea copulata fuerit et se lateri meo adhaerere voluerit et connubio iunxerit, amplius erit post, quam modo regina est. Nonne ei melius est, ut regnum et principatus totius Italiae teneat, quam hoc perdat et regnum amittat?' Illa autem mandavit ei, dicens: 'Si ille vult, infra paucos dies fieri potest.' Die vero quadam, dum balneum parare iussisset, et vir, qui maritum occiderat, lavacrum ingrederet, postquam egressus de balneo, in ipso fervore corporis, quod calor obsederat, attulit Rosmunda calicem potione plenum, quasi ad regis opus; erat enim venenum mixta. Tunc ille sumens de manu eius vasculum, coepit bibere. At ubi intelligens, potum esset mortis, submovit ori suo poculum, dedit reginae, dicens: 'Bibe et tu mecum.' Illa vero noluit; evaginatoque gladio stetit super eam et dixit: 'Si non biberis de hoc, te percutiam.' Volens nolens bibit, et ea hora mortui sunt." (5)

Agnellus's version is more detailed than that of Paul the Deacon,

and there is an important fundamental difference between them, which suggests that Agnellus may have drawn on another source. He does not mention Peredeo, and Helmechis alone is responsible for the adultery with the queen, and Alboin's subsequent murder. Also, Agnellus does not actually state that after the crime the queen marries Helmechis, although it seems likely that he was her husband, or there would not have been any obstacle in the way of her marriage to Longinus.

Clearly, there are basic similarities between these accounts and the poisoning episode of the "Condesa Traidora". Both Rosamund and the Countess are guilty of two crimes, and there is some resemblance in their motives. Rosamund poisons Helmechis because she wishes to marry Longinus and so satisfy her ambition to rule over the people of Ravenna, or all Italy; the Countess of Castile disposes of Garcí Fernández because she wishes to marry Almanzor - or the unnamed Moorish king - and so become queen, and she then tries to poison her son, believing that he may hinder her from fulfilling her ambition. In addition, both Rosamund and the Countess die when they are forced to drink their own poison.

Here the similarities end. Whereas Rosamund is largely responsible for the deaths of her two husbands - Alboin and Helmechis - the Countess's crimes are directed first against her husband, and then against her son. Moreover, Rosamund is directly responsible for persuading Peredeo and Helmechis to kill Alboin, by compromising them so that they have no choice but to act as she wishes. She actually takes part in the murder by tying her husband's sword to the bedhead, to prevent him from using it in self-defence. We have seen, however,

that the Countess of Castile is only indirectly responsible for her husband's death by weakening his horse, her false advice to him to dismiss his army, and her message to Almanzor. A more important difference is that whereas Helmechis actually drinks the poison and so dies with Rosamund, Sancho is warned not to do so, refrains from drinking, and so survives. The detail of being forced to drink at the point of the sword occurs in both versions of the Rosamund story, but not in the Najerense or Toledano versions of the "Condesa Traidora", although the PCG adds it.

There is another short account of Alboin's death by Gregory of Tours, who wrote contemporaneously with the events, at the end of the 6th century. He declares in his History of the Franks that after the death of his wife, Clothosinda, Alboin married another wife, whose father he had killed. For this reason she hated him, and wished to avenge her father's death. She was in love with one of her servants, so poisoned her husband, and afterwards fled with her lover, but they were overtaken and killed:

"Mortua autem Chlodosindam uxore Alboeni, aliam duxit coniugem; cuius patrem ante paucum tempus interfecerat. Qua de causa mulier (in odio) semper virum habens, locum opperiebat, in quo possit iniurias patris ulcisci; unde factum est, ut unum ex famulis concupiscens, virum venenu maedificaret. Quo defuncto, cum famulo iit; sed adpraehensi, pariter interfecti sunt."(6)

The details are altered considerably in this version. The idea of death by poisoning, which Paul the Deacon and Agnellus applied to Helmechis, has been transferred to Alboin, instead of having him meet his death by the sword. Also, neither the wife nor her lover is mentioned by name. Gregory of Tours therefore confuses the death of Alboin with that of Helmechis, but his account is of some importance

longer remembered by the Italian people.

A Spanish ballad, El Convite, also treats a similar motif, although here the names of the characters are Doña Mariana and Don Alonso. Again, the theme is poisoning at the hands of a woman, for Doña Mariana avenges herself by mixing poison in Don Alonso's wine when he refuses to marry her. As she offers it to him, he tells her to drink first, but she pours it away surreptitiously, and he drinks the rest:

"Tres onzas de solimán
Cuatro de acero molido,
La sangre de tres culebras,
la piel de un lagarto vivo,
y la espinilla del sapo,
todo se lo echó en el vino.
Bebe vino, Don Alonso,
Don Alonso, bebe vino.
Bebe primero, Mariana,
que así está puesto en estilo.
Mariana, como discreta,
por el pecho lo ha vertido;
Don Alonso, como joven,
todo el vino se ha bebido:
con la fuerza del veneno
los dientes se le han caído."(9)

The differences between this ballad and the song of Donna Lombarda are that instead of the guilty woman it is the victim who dies in the Spanish version, and there is no suggestion that the poison was taken at the point of the sword.

In some of the Italian versions, the husband is warned of the poison, either by a child, which is still in its cradle and has a miraculous gift of speech, or by a little girl of varying ages. In other versions he notices the wine has an odd appearance, as in the song of Donna Lombarda. The songs and ballads also give far more

details of the preparation of the poison than any of the chroniclers.

(3) The Cleopatra legend

Pidal has also drawn attention to another similar episode related prior to the legends concerning Rosamund. This is connected with Cleopatra, queen of Syria, who died in 120 B.C. Two 2nd century historians relate her story - Appian of Alexandria and Justin, who abbreviated the works of Pompeius Trogus - and Pidal believes that the poisoning episode of the "Condesa Traidora" is closer to this Oriental legend than to the Lombard one.

Appian⁽¹⁾ attributes three crimes to Cleopatra. She murders her husband, Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, on his return from captivity among the Parthians, because of her jealousy upon learning that he has remarried while being held prisoner. After her husband's death, she tries to dispose of her two sons by Demetrius - Seleucus, whom she slays with an arrow, and Antiochus Grypus, who forces his mother to drink herself the poison she has prepared for him.⁽¹⁰⁾

Justin⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ recounts these crimes at greater length. Demetrius,

 (i) The following version of Appian is taken from Horace White's edition in Greek and English, based mainly on the text of Prof. L. Mendelssohn of the University of Dorpat, Russia, i.e. the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1879-1882. White points out that Appian's historical works were all extant in the 9th century, and the earliest detailed account of his works was given by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who recorded in an encyclopedia of literature - the Myriobiblon - twenty-four of Appian's works. The Syrian Wars, from which our extract is taken, is one of the eleven works of Appian to have come down to us complete, or nearly so. See White, H.: Appian's Roman History, I, London, 1912, pp. vii-ix.
 (ii) This version of Justin is taken from the 1936 edition of E. Chambry and L. Thély-Chambry. It is based on the Teubner edition of Otto Seel, who divides the numerous extant Mss. into four classes, the oldest dating from the 9th century. His edition generally follows the Mss. belonging to the first class, the oldest of which is the 9th century Parisinus 4950. See Iustini, M. Iuniani: Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig, 1935, pp. iv-x.

abandoned by his wife, Cleopatra, and his children, flees to Tyre with only a few servants, and is killed as he disembarks. His son, Seleucus, succeeds him, but his mother slays him because he took possession of the crown without her consent. She has her second son, Grypus, proclaimed king in name, hoping that all the power will be in her hands, but jealous of his victories, she plans his death. She offers him a cup of poison one day when he returns from hunting, but he has been forewarned and so asks her to drink first. As she refuses, he declares that her sole defence is to drink herself the potion she is offering him. This, she dies by the very poison she prepared for her son:

" . . . Grypus porro, recuperato patrio regno externisque periculis liberatus insidiis matris adpetitur. Quae cum cupiditate dominationis prodito marito Demetrio et altero filio interfecto huius quoque victoria inferiorem dignitatem suam factam doleret, venienti ab exercitatione poculum veneni obtulit. Sed Grypus praedictis iam ante insidiis, veluti pietate cum matre certaret, bibere ipsam jubet; abnuenti instat; postremum prolato indice eam arguit, solam defensionem sceleris superesse adfirmans, si bibat, quod filio obtulit. Sic victa regina scelere in se verso veneno, quod alii paraverat, extinguitur."(11)

Cleopatra's treachery is closer in some respects to that of the Countess of Castile, for whereas Rosamund plans the death of her two husbands, Cleopatra kills husband and son, and also tries to slay her second son. Rosamund administers the poison to Helmechis, who is already guilty of one crime because of his part in Alboin's death, but both Cleopatra and the Countess try to poison their own son, who is innocent of any such crime. His life may therefore be spared, in accordance with the principle of poetic justice. Hence Grypus, like Sancho, is warned about the poison, so that neither actually tastes it, although Helmechis only realises that it is poison after

he has drunk. Moreover, Helmechis receives the poisoned drink in different circumstances. It is handed to him when he is hot after his bath, but Grypus and Sancho both receive it when they return thirsty from some form of outdoor exercise.

We have seen that Rosamund plays a more direct part in her first husband's murder, since she is responsible for the preliminary preparations - for tying up his sword, and for ensuring that there is no one in the palace likely to hear him if he shouts. It only remains for her accomplice to strike the king's death-blow. According to Appian of Alexandria, Cleopatra kills her husband herself, although Justin lays the responsibility on someone else. The Countess of Castile, too, only lays traps for Garcí Fernández, and it is the Moors who are immediately responsible for his death.

(4) Irish legends containing the poisoning motif.

The motif of the would-be poisoner being made to drink himself the poison he has prepared for someone else may be a folklore one. It occurs in the Celtic legend concerning the death of Crimthann, son of Fidach, who became king of Ireland in 366.⁽¹⁾ This is included in the cycle of Crimthann, and Myles Dillon has suggested that the text may belong to the 11th century.

The episode is as follows: Mongfind, daughter of Fidach and wife of Eochu Muigmedón, king of Ireland, has four sons and because her favourite, Brian, is not proclaimed king on her husband's death, Mongfind persuades the men of Ireland to make her brother, Crimthann,

(1) The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland simply records that Crimthann died in 378 of a poisonous drink which his own sister gave him, but her death is not mentioned. see Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, ed. J. O'Donovan, I, Dublin, 1848.

their ruler. During Crimthann's absence in Scotland, Mongfind's sons divide the kingdom between them. Crimthann hastily returns and raises an army to expel them, but Mongfind plans to get rid of him. She invites him to a feast as though she is going to make peace between her brother and her sons, and there offers him a poisoned draught. He refuses to drink unless Mongfind does so first. She complies and Crimthann drinks after her. She dies first, and her brother dies on his way home to Munster. (12)

This episode is also related in the Silva Gadelica, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan. (1) According to the former, after King Eochaid's death, there is strife between his five sons for his land. Four of these are Mongfhionn's sons, but when she fails to win the kingdom for Brian, she sends him to Scotland to learn the art of arms, so that one day he may make the kingdom his. Brian returns after seven years, and Crimthann goes to Scotland. While he is away, Mongfhionn's sons seize his kingdom. Crimthann returns with an army to expel them, but Mongfhionn decides to invite him to a banquet, as though wishing to make peace between them, but to offer Crimthann a poisoned draught to obtain the kingdom for Brian. When she offers him the poison, Crimthann declares: "I will not drink, until thou first shalt have drunk." She drinks and Crimthann follows suit. Subsequently, Mongfhionn dies on Samhain's eve (November 1st), and Crimthann on the way to Munster. (13)

The version in the Yellow Book of Lecan is very similar. Again,

 (1) The Yellow Book of Lecan is a 14th century Ms. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and it refers to people living in the 4th and 5th centuries. It has been edited by Whitley Stokes.

Mongfind makes a false peace between Crimthann and her sons, and after a banquet gives her brother a cup of poison. He refuses to drink unless she does so first. They both drink and then die. (14)

Finally, Geoffrey Keating refers more briefly to the incident in his History of Ireland. He merely records that Moingfhionn gave Crimthann a poisoned drink hoping that the sovereignty would pass to her favourite son, Brian. Crimthann died of the poison, and so did Moingfhionn after taking some of it to persuade her brother to drink. (15)

(5) The Tristan Legend

Northup has suggested that the poisoning episode in the Spanish legend is identical with the prose version of Tristram. (16) We can, perhaps, compare it with the administration of the love philtre in the 12th century tale of Tristan and Iseult, for although they are not poisoned, there is some slight similarity between this part of the Tristan legend and the poisoning motif under discussion. When Tristan is carrying Iseult from Ireland to Cornwall to marry King Mark, Iseult's mother, the queen of Ireland, prepares a potion or love philtre for King Mark and his wife. While on board ship, Tristan feels thirsty and asks Iseult's servant, Brengien, for a drink. By mistake she hands him the love potion, which he drinks and then passes to Iseult. Afterwards, they are both condemned to love one another for life. (17)

As in the Spanish legend, the potion is prepared by the mother, although in the Tristan legend her motive is not the death of her daughter or the king, but to make them love one another. The potion is administered when Tristan feels thirsty and asks for a drink - as

Sancho does in the Najerense version - but this particular potion is given to him by mistake, and is not a deliberate attempt to produce any untoward effect. Both drink, but it only proves a fatal potion for both of them in the sense that it causes a passionate love, which, after many adventures, leads ultimately to their death.

Although we know that the tale of Tristan was known in medieval Spain, it may not have been sufficiently early to have influenced the Spanish legend. In any case the coincidences seem to me to be incidental, and by no means enough to justify a belief that the Tristan story had any direct influence on the development of the "Condesa Traidora" legend. It seems most unlikely that an episode of such a divergent nature should have influenced it when the versions of the early chroniclers - who were comparatively well known in the Middle Ages - are so much closer to it. Any coincidences may possibly be explained because they reflect some common folklore motif.

(6) An Oriental parallel

What does seem more significant is another appearance of the motif within the Peninsula itself, this time in connection with the Moslem ruler Abderrahman II (822-852). Sánchez-Albornoz,⁽¹⁸⁾ Dozy,⁽¹⁹⁾ and Lévi-Provençal⁽²⁰⁾ all give details of a court conspiracy near the end of Abderrahman's reign, drawing for their information on the historian Ibn Alkutiya. He relates that Tarub, mother of Abdallah, used her influence over Abderrahman to secure the throne for her son. With this end in view, she conspired with the palace servants, one of whom, the eunuch Nasr, also wished to see Abdallah succeed Abderrahman. Towards the end of his life, Abderrahman showed favour towards his

other son, Mohammed, whom Nasr hated. He therefore planned to kill both Abderrahman and Mohammed, and bribed a doctor - Al-Harrani - to prepare some poison. Although Al-Harrani did so, he warned Fakhr what he had done, asking her to prevent Abderrahman from drinking the poison. When Nasr offered it to him as a remedy for his ill-health, Abderrahman told him to take it himself, and he had to obey. Nasr immediately summoned Al-Harrani, who prescribed an antidote, but it was to no avail and Nasr died poisoned. (21)

This account clearly has analogies with the "Condesa Traidora". Tarub, like the Countess of Castile, schemes against her husband, although for a different purpose - to secure her own son's succession. Abderrahman is forewarned, and so refrains from drinking the poison; Nasr, the would-be poisoner, is made to drink it himself, although it is not recorded that he did so at the point of a sword. Tarub herself seems to have escaped punishment. At any rate she evidently outlived Abderrahman, for as soon as his death was announced, she schemed to have her son proclaimed ruler. (22)

Dozy and Lévi-Provençal both accept this as historical fact, although they attribute a more direct part in the conspiracy to Tarub. According to Dozy, when she failed in her attempt to gain the throne for her own son in preference to Mohammed, she turned to Nasr and actually ^{asked} him to dispose of her husband and Mohammed. The doctor, guessing Nasr's plan, was torn between fear of poisoning Abderrahman and incurring the Chamberlain's anger, so although he prepared the poison, he sent a message via one of the women of the harem advising Abderrahman not to drink any potion Nasr offered him.

Dozy's explanation for the fact that only Ibn Alkutiya appears to have recorded this conspiracy is that the court tried to keep it quiet at the time, since it involved several high-ranking people. Only Ibn Alkutiya recorded it, then, for he was writing after the death of the conspirators. Lévi-Provençal gives the date of the conspiracy as 850 (236 H.), and suggests that Al-Harrani may be identified with an Eastern doctor - Harran - mentioned in Sa'id of Toledo's *Tabakât al-Umam*.⁽²³⁾

(7) Conclusions

We have seen examples of the would-be poisoner having to take the potion himself in tales connected with Rosamund, queen of the Lombards, and Cleopatra, queen of Syria; and in a 9th century palace intrigue against Abderrahman, occurring inside the Peninsula itself. This suggests that there is some historical precedent for this type of crime, but it also seems to be a folklore theme occurring in Celtic legend in connection with the death of King Crimthann of Ireland.

All the women involved - Rosamund, Cleopatra, Tarub and Mongfind - represent the same type of ambitious and scheming female as we find in the Countess of Castile. All betray their own family - husband, son, or brother - and attempt to kill by poisoning to further their own ambition. Rosamund poisons her husband because she wishes to rule over the people of Ravenna, or the whole of Italy; Cleopatra tries to kill her son, Grypus, because she is jealous of his victories; Tarub schemes against Abderrahman because of her ambition for her son to succeed to the throne, and Mongfind poisons her brother for the same reason - to secure the succession of her son, Brian.

If we now compare the different Spanish versions with the foreign versions, the possibility of any relation between them will be more apparent.

<u>Chronicle</u>	<u>Occasion of Poisoning</u>	<u>Motive for Poisoning</u>	<u>Warning Received</u>	<u>Death of the Traitor</u>
<u>Najerense</u>	When Sancho returns from an expedition, and asks for a drink.	The Countess wants to marry Almanzor.	From a Moorish slave girl.	The Countess is invited to drink first; they invite one another mutually; she drinks and expires at the first draught.
<u>Toledano</u>	Not stated.	The Countess wants to marry a Moorish prince, and dispose of her son to prevent his opposition.	From a woman-in-waiting.	The Countess is invited to drink first; at length compelled to do so.
<u>PCG</u>	Not stated.	The Countess wants to marry a Moorish king, and dispose of her son to avoid his opposition.	From the Count's squire, via the Countess's lady-in-waiting, who discovers the plot.	The Countess is invited to drink first; she refuses and is forced to do so at the point of a sword.
<u>Historian</u>	<u>Occasion of Poisoning</u>	<u>Motive for Poisoning</u>	<u>Warning Received</u>	<u>Death of the Traitor</u>
Paul the Deacon	As Helmechis comes from his bath.	Rosamund's desire to marry the prefect of Ravenna, Longinus.	None - Helmechis drinks the poison and notices the taste after drinking.	Rosamund is forced to drink at the point of a sword. Both Helmechis and Rosamund die.

<u>Historian</u>	<u>Occasion of Poisoning</u>	<u>Motive for Poisoning</u>	<u>Warning Received</u>	<u>Death of the Traitor</u>
Agnellus of Ravenna.	As Helmechis comes from his bath.	Rosamund's desire to marry Longinus.	None - Helmechis drinks the poison and notices the taste afterwards.	Rosamund is invited to drink, but refuses. She is forced to drink at the point of a sword. Both Helmechis and Rosamund die.
Justin	When Grypus returns hot from hunting.	Cleopatra's jealousy of her son's victories.	Grypus is warned, though we are not told by whom.	Cleopatra is invited to drink first, but refuses. Grypus declares her only defence is to drink the potion herself. Only Cleopatra dies.
Ibn Alkutiya	Offered by Nasr as a medicine for Abderrahman's ill-health.	The desire of Tarub and Nasr to dispose of Abderrahman so that Abdallah may succeed him in place of Mohammed.	From one of Abderrahman's favourites via Al-Harrani, who prepared the poison.	Nasr is invited to drink and has to obey - no suggestion of being forced at sword-point, but merely had to obey his master. Abderrahman does not drink; only Nasr dies.
Irish legend of Crimthann's death	At a banquet.	To obtain the kingdom for Mongfind's favourite son, Brian.	No warning.	Mongfind is invited to drink first, and does so. Crimthann follows suit. Both die.
<u>Ballads</u>	<u>Occasion of Poisoning</u>	<u>Motive for Poisoning</u>	<u>Warning Received</u>	<u>Death of the Traitor</u>
<u>Song of Donna Lombarda</u>	When her husband returns thirsty from hunting.	Donna Lombarda is urged to do so by her lover.	In some versions no warning, but the husband notices the wine has a strange	Donna Lombarda is made to drink at the point of a sword; her husband refrains. Some versions indicate that he drank some of the poison, but his death is only mentioned specifically in one version.

<u>Ballads</u>	<u>Occasion of Poisoning</u>	<u>Motive for Poisoning</u>	<u>Warning Received</u>	<u>Death of the Traitor</u>
			appearance. In other versions the husband is warned by a child, or his daughter.	
<u>El Convite</u>	Not stated.	Revenge, because of Alonso's refusal to marry Mariana.	No warning.	Mariana is invited to drink first, but pours away some of the poison. Alonso drinks alone, and only he dies.

The occasion on which the poison is administered in the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora" is nearest to that given by Justin, since in both cases it is suggested that the victim returns hot and thirsty either from hunting or some sort of military expedition. The latter, of course, is more in keeping with the warlike nature of the period when Sancho García lived. The poison is also administered after hunting in many versions of the song of Donna Lombarda.

The nature of the drink in which the poison is mixed is not specified clearly by Paul the Deacon, Agnellus, Justin, or as a folklore theme. The Najerense and the Toledano simply call it a potion as well, but the song of Donna Lombarda and El Convite relate that the poison is given in wine. This coincides with the PCG version of the "Condesa Traidora", where wine is poisoned with herbs. Many deaths were due to poisoning in the Middle Ages, and a favourite method was to insert the poison into food or drink, red wine being one of the drinks chosen in particular for this purpose. (24)

The Countess of Castile's motive is closest to the Rosamund legend, since both Paul the Deacon and Agnellus state the reason for Rosamund's crime as her wish to dispose of her husband and marry someone else. In addition, Rosamund and the Countess both desire to play a more important rôle than hitherto - Rosamund as mistress of Ravenna, or all Italy, and the Countess as a Queen instead of just a Countess.

The poisoning fails in all versions of the Castilian legend, since the son is warned. The fact that only the Countess dies marks the great difference between this legend and the Lombard legend, where the husband dies as well as the queen, since he only becomes aware of the poison after drinking it. In this respect the Najerense is closer to Justin or Ibn Alkutiya. In the account of the latter, Abderrahman is warned by a similar character as the Count of Castile, i.e. by a Moorish favourite, and a Moorish slave girl respectively. Also, in these accounts, only the person who tries to administer the poison takes it.

The detail of being forced to drink by the drawn sword, which appears only in the PCG, is closer to Paul the Deacon or Agnellus. In fact, the wording of the Spanish Chronicle seems to have the greatest analogy with Agnellus, which suggests that he may have provided the source for this.

Although there are differences in the details, this does not diminish the possibility of the Castilian legend drawing on one or more of the accounts we have discussed. The very fact that a contemporary's account of the events concerning Queen Rosamund - that of

Gregory of Tours - can be so confused, confirms that different traditions may grow up even within a short space of time, based fundamentally on the same incident.

It is possible, therefore, that there is some direct relation between the Castilian legend and earlier examples of a similar motif, but the "Condesa Traidora" seems to have drawn on a combination of sources rather than one source alone. The main substance of the poisoning episode may initially have been taken from one of the sources discussed. Paul the Deacon's works were known widely in the Middle Ages, and we know that the PCG used him as a source. Justin, too, was fairly well known as a writer, and the PCG draws on him.⁽ⁱ⁾ The Archbishop of Toledo also cites him as an author he consulted under the name of Pompeius Trogus.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Moreover, the fact that Nasr's death by his own poison was recorded in the Peninsula itself prior to the Najerense - albeit by a Moslem historian - suggests that the circumstances of the conspiracy may have been known to the author of the "Condesa Traidora".

However, we must not exclude the possibility that the Najerense's author drew initially on an oral tradition or a folklore theme, for the Countess's poisoning is not necessarily based on a parallel written episode. Later it could have been elaborated with details taken from other accounts of a similar episode connected with a different character. The PCG has certainly added some small details

(i) Pidal mentions him as a source for the story of Dido, taken from Pompeius Trogus. PCG, 1955, I, pp. lxxviii-lxxix.

(ii) See Praefatio to De Rebus Hispaniae, in Schottus: Hispaniae Illustratae, II, p. 27.

to the original version, e.g. the fact that the poison was prepared from herbs, or the unsheathing of the Count's sword. This, and the fact that some details of the legend are closer to the Lombard tradition, some to the Oriental legend of Cleopatra, indicate that the "Condesa Traidora" probably drew on more than one source.

Notes to Chapter 2.

- (1) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora, in Idea Imperial de Carlos V, Madrid, 1955, pp. 66-71.
- (2) Pauli Historia Langobardorum, II, in MGH, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, Saec. VI-IX, ed. G. Waitz, Hanover, 1878, ch. 28-29, pp. 87-89.
- (3) Pauli Historia Langobardorum, op. cit., p. 89.
- (4) Agnelli Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis, in MGH, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, Saec. VI-IX, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hanover, 1878, ch. 96, pp. 339-341.
- (5) Agnelli Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis, op. cit., pp. 340-341.
- (6) Grégoire de Tours: Histoire des Francs, ed. R. Poupardin, Paris, 1913, IV, xxviii(41), p. 138.
- (7) Nigra, Costantino: Canti Popolari del Piemonte, Turin, 1888, p. 1 . . .
- (8) Nigra, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
- (9) Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Tratado de los Romances Viejos, in Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, XII, Madrid, 1916, p. 510.
- (10) Appian's Roman History, II, The Syrian Wars, ed. Horace White, London, 1912, xi, §§ 68-69, pp. 234-235.
- (11) Justin: Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée et Prologues de Trogue Pompée, ed. E. Chambry and Lucienne Thély-Chambry, II, Paris, 1936, Bk. xxxix, ch. i-ii, pp. 204-207.
Iustini, M. Iuniani: Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogo, ed. Otto Seel, Leipzig, 1935, Bk. xxxix, ch. i-ii, pp. 269-271.
- (12) Dillon, Myles: The Cycles of the Kings, London, 1946, p. 31.
- (13) O'Grady, Standish H.: Silva Gadelica, London and Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 373-375.
- (14) Stokes, Whitley: The Death of Crinthan, son of Fidach, and of the three sons of Eochaid Muigmedón, Brian, Ailill and Fiachra, Rev. Celt., XXIV, 1903, §§ 6-8, p. 179.
- (15) Keating, Geoffrey: The History of Ireland, trans. P. Dinneen, II, ITS, VIII, London, 1908, pp. 369-371.

- (16) Obras de R. Menéndez Pidal, I and II, 1934, rev. by G.T. Northup, MP, XXXII, 1934-1935, p. 313.
- (17) See Champion, Pierre: Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut, Paris, 1938.
- (18) Sánchez-Albornoz, C.: La España Musulmana, I, Buenos Aires, 1946, p. 297.
- (19) Dozy, R.: Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 313, and 331-332.
- (20) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, I, pp. 276-277.
- (21) Fagnan, E.: Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb, Algiers, 1944, pp. 220-221.
- (22) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, I, p. 278.
- (23) Sa'id al-Andalusî: Kitâb Tabakât Al-Umam, (Livre des Catégories des Nations), trans. R. Blachère, Paris, 1935, p. 143.
- (24) Penzer, N.M.: Poison damsels and other essays in folklore and anthropology, London, 1952, p. 7.

3. Foundation of San Salvador de Oña

The Toledano and the PCG both connect the foundation of the monastery of San Salvador de Oña with the "Condesa Traidora" legend. According to these Chronicles, Sancho García founded the monastery as a form of expiation for causing his mother's death by compelling her to drink her own poison. Its name derives from 'Mioña', the title by which the Countess was known in Castile, but Sancho ordered the prefix 'Mi-' to be removed, and the monastery called simply 'Oña'.

This is a completely fictitious explanation of the founding and naming of the monastery, for in reality it had nothing to do with Doña Aba, Sancho García's historical mother. However, the legend is correct in establishing Sancho García as the founder. We must therefore consider first his real reasons for the foundation, and then explain how it came by its name.

(1) Historical Reasons for the foundation of Oña

The official foundation document issued by Count Sancho and his wife, Doña Urraca, states clearly their purpose in founding the monastery. There is nothing in that document suggesting that this was done in repentance for causing the Countess's death, for the three main reasons given are:

- (a) for the benefit of their own souls,
- (b) to enable their daughter, Tigridia, to become a nun there,
- (c) as their own burial place:

". . . Ego Sancius comes cum conjuge mea Urracha cometissa, ob remedium animarum nostrarum, construximus monasterium Sancti Saluatoris et Sancti (sic) Marie Virginis et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, ceterorumque innumerabilium sanctorum quorum reliquie ibi

sunt recondite, in loco quod dicitur Honia . . . et offerimus ibi filiam nostram nomine Tegrídiam et elegimus eam ad gubernandas Dei cultores et omnes Deo devotas et de facultatibus nostris dittamus locum . . ."(1)

The date of this document is Monday, the 12th February, 1011, era 1049, which in any case must have been some time after Doña Aba's death.

This document apart, some donations to Oña by Sancho García and Doña Urraca also refer to the fact that they were its founders.

This is mentioned, for example, in a document of the 15th February, 1011, donating Solduengo de Bureba and other possessions to Oña:

"Ego Sancius comes cum coniuge mea Vrracha cometissa, pro remedio animarum nostrarum, damus monasterio Sancti Saluatoris de Onia, quem nos construximus, nostram uillam de Sotolongo . . ."(2)

In 1011 they donated as well to their monastery of Oña some properties in the region of Espinosa de los Monteros and Burgos. (3)

The epitaph on Sancho García's tomb at Oña recorded the fact that he was this monastery's founder. It read as follows:

"Sanctius iste Comes, populis dedit optima iura;
Cui lex Sancta Comes, ac Regni maxima cura.
Mauros destruxit, ex tunc Castella reluxit;
Haec loco construxit, istinc normam quoque duxit;
Tandem vir fortis, devictus pondere mortis,
Pergens ad Christum, mundum transposuit istum."(4)

Both Oña and Covarrubias were apparently founded for similar reasons - so that the daughters of Counts Sancho García and Garcí Fernández of Castile could devote themselves to the religious life. Such monasteries were also works of piety and monuments to the name of their founders, and quite apart from this, they were good economic propositions. Well endowed by royalty and the nobility, they were centres of wealth, possessing extensive lands. They served, too, to

provide a central point to a district, which, if it had been resettled only recently, needed some such nucleus.

(2) Derivation of the name of the monastery

Oña is now situated in the province of Burgos on the right of the river Oca not far from where it joins the Ebro,⁽⁵⁾ but López Mata situates it in la Bureba in his "Geography of Castile at the death of Fernán González",⁽⁶⁾

The monastery took its name from its site, and certainly not from any title held by Garcí Fernández's wife, for the place where it was built was apparently called 'Oña' before its foundation. This is proved by a document dated the 27th February, 1011, in which Gómez Díaz and his wife, Ostrozia, sold the township of Oña to Sancho García as the site of the monastery, in exchange for Tovera and other possessions:

"Ego Gomiç Didaç et uxor mea Ostroçia, placuit nobis expontanea nostra uoluntate, ut concambiauimus et uendimus nostra uilla Onia cum suas casas et suos homines habitantes in ea, et terras, et uineas, et ortos, et pomares et omnia arbusta que in ea sunt . . ."⁽⁷⁾

According to Berganza and Argáiz, while out hunting Sancho García came to a place called Valdoso in the valley of Oña and decided to found there a monastery on his daughter's behalf. The region he chose for the site was called 'Onia', and it lay on the old road to Espinosa de los Monteros. He bought the town in 1002, and ordered the foundation of the monastery, which took nine years to build.⁽⁸⁾ Evidently the name already existed in the 10th century, for in 967 Oña was represented as the head of the district:

"In alfoçe de Onie uilla que uocitant arrolo de Sancti Fructuosi."⁽⁹⁾

Argáiz suggests that the word 'Oña' derives from a Roman name 'Petronio'.⁽¹⁾ This gave 'Castra Petronia', which applied to the place where Petronio had his camp; it was abbreviated to 'Petronia', and then reduced to 'Pionia', 'Onia', and finally 'Oña'.⁽¹⁰⁾ Flórez, however, admits that the word's exact origin is not known, but suggests that it is derived from 'Omnia', and the place was so named on account of the valley's fertility, which gave rise to the idea that 'everything' grew there.⁽¹¹⁾ Finally, Pérez de Urbel believes that the name is related to the word 'Oni' meaning 'foot' in Basque or Iberian, which was spoken in this region before it was occupied by a Celtic tribe.⁽¹²⁾

(3) Conclusions

In conclusion, we may accept that Sancho García was the historical founder of San Salvador de Oña, although there is no reason to suppose that he founded it with the motive given in the Chronicles. The foundation document of 1011 states clearly that his purpose was largely the same as his father's purpose in founding Covarrubias, namely, to give their respective daughters somewhere in which they might devote themselves to the religious life. We may reject outright the legend's etymology, since the monastery took its name from the township of Onia, which existed long before the monastery was founded.

As the second part of the "Condesa Traidora" leads up to this fictitious account of the foundation of Oña, we may wonder whether

(1) He maintains that the Petronio who gave his name to the region was Publio Petronio, a Prefect of the Emperor Augustus, who distinguished himself in the region of La Bureba during a war conducted against the Cantabrians.

this is another episode added to the legend by the monastery itself. It is a further example of the way in which a legend grows to explain away something - in this case, the reason why Sancho García founded the monastery, and why it was called Oña - and it was obviously a late addition to the original legend. This is confirmed both by its omission in the Najerense version, and by the fact that the Countess of Castile is called 'Sancha' hitherto in the PCG. Episodes such as this may have been included in the epic legends by the monasteries without much regard for truth. They were not concerned with recording fact, since their aim was to glorify the hero whose tomb, or relics, they possessed, and to emphasize his connection with their particular foundation.

Notes to Chapter 3.

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- (2) Álamo, Juan del, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
 Pérez de Urbel, Fray J., op. cit., III, no. 553, pp. 1278-1279.
- (3) Pérez de Urbel, Fray J., op. cit., III, no. 558, p. 1283.
 Sota, Fray Francisco: Chronica de los Príncipes de Asturias y Cantabria, Madrid, 1681, escrit. XXIV, pp. 653-654.
- (4) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 133, pp. 310-311.
 Flórez: España Sagrada, XXVII, p. 262.
- (5) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Orígenes del Español, I, Madrid, 1929, p. 38.
 Madoz, P.: Diccionario Geográfico de España, XII, p. 286.
- (6) López Mata, T.: Geografía del Condado de Castilla a la Muerte de Fernán González, Madrid, 1957, p. 99.

"Aunque geográficamente Oña, situada en una angostura del Oca, cae fuera de la Bureba, un documento de 1203 la consideraba parte integrante de ésta, perteneciendo a su señorío los lugares más septentrionales de la demarcación, como Cornudilla . . . La localización de Oña en la Bureba se refuerza con el testimonio de dos privilegios . . . El primero se halla contenido en una copia del siglo XVIII, referida erróneamente a la era de 1061, alusivo a la donación de la abadía de Tabliega, en el valle de Losa (Castilla) al monasterio de Oña; de ella entresacamos la frase del señor de Tabliega . . . 'E si por ventura el Abad de Oña viniere a Castilla...'

El segundo . . . se refiere al rey Alfonso X (1252-1284), el cual, en consideración al estado lamentable de Oña, reduce el número de sus vecinos pecheros de 89 a 50 'por ayudas e pedidos que a nos ouieren a dar en la merindad de Burueua . . .'"

- (7) Álamo, Juan del, op. cit., no. 10, pp. 23-27.
 Menéndez Pidal, R.: Orígenes del Español, op. cit., pp. 36-38.
 Yepes, A. de, op. cit., f. 320-322.
 Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., III, no. 554, p. 1280.
- (8) Berganza: Antigüedades de España, I, § 129, p. 308.
 Argal, Fray Gregorio de: La Soledad Laureada por San Benito, VI, Madrid, 1675, p. 437.
- (9) López Mata, T., op. cit., pp. 99-100.

- (10) Argáiz, op. cit., pp. 415-416.
- (11) Flórez: España Sagrada, XXVII, p. 251.
- (12) Pérez de Urbel, op. cit., II, p. 901, n. 1.

IV. Almanzor and the Moors in the Spanish epic legends

Muhammad ibn Abi 'Amir appears in several Spanish epic legends as Almanzor, the title which he assumed for himself in 981, following his successful encounter at Rueda with Garcí Fernández, Ramiro III of Leon, and Sancho Aberca of Navarre. The name itself, 'Al-mansūr Billāh', means 'helped by God, victorious by the help of God', but hitherto, only the Caliph had assumed a title or surname in this way.⁽¹⁾

This gives us an indication of the historical Almanzor's character. He was one of the outstanding Moslem personalities in the Peninsula during the Middle Ages, becoming virtual Dictator at Córdoba in the latter part of the 10th century, and conducting a series of successful campaigns against the Christian kingdoms and Counties of the North. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that he appears as the most prominent Moslem figure in Spanish epic legend, although we should not expect the legendary Almanzor to achieve quite the same measure of success as his historical counterpart, since the legends in which he appears are glorifying Castilian or Christian heroes. It is more natural, then, to expect him to fill the rôle of the enemy, whom those heroes have to fight and vanquish.

Apart from the "Condesa Traidora", the epic legends in which Almanzor appears are those concerning Fernán González, the seven Infantes de Lara, and Abbot John of Montemayor. We must now examine his part in each of these legends in turn, in order to see whether he is portrayed as one consistent person with the same basic traits, or whether his characteristics vary from legend to legend.

(1) The "Condesa Traidora" legend

In the "Condesa Traidora" we have seen Almanzor trying to win the Countess's support by words of love, and by playing on her ambition, with his suggestion that it would be better to be a Queen than a Countess. This is how he persuades her to dispose of Garcí Fernández, and already he is depicted as something of a diplomatist, since he realises that flattery and the prospect of greater power are the means of securing the Countess's aid. Obviously, he is prepared to ally himself with the Christian enemy if this is to his advantage, and we also have the other example of an alliance between Moor and Christian in the Najerense version of the legend, when Sancho García obtains peace by handing over his sister to Almanzor.

As regards military ability, Almanzor is shown as a powerful leader of the Moorish army. Having disposed of Garcí Fernández, we have seen that he lays waste Castile and so frightens Sancho García that he withdraws to Lantarón and is forced to come to terms with him. Momentarily, then, Sancho García cowers before the superior strength of the Moors, but as Almanzor cannot be allowed to triumph in a legend celebrating Christian heroes, he ultimately falls a victim to Sancho García's forces, and dies as he flees.

At Calatañazor, in the later Chronicles, clearly Almanzor does not appear in a very favourable light, for having fought the Christians for a day, he flees somewhat ignominiously during the night, because he is afraid of joining battle with the Christians a second time. According to legend, he dies subsequently, not because of wounds, but because of his refusal to eat or drink, shamed by his defeat. He

appears in one more episode in the C.1344 version of the legend, namely, at the Vado de Cascajares, when he leads the Moorish attack on Garcí Fernández while he is at San Esteban de Gormaz.

We may sum up by saying that in the earliest version of the "Condesa Traidora" Almanzor is represented thus: (a) Initially he is a good warrior, who defeats the Christians. It is only after wreaking havoc in Castile and frightening Sancho García to the extent of making him come to terms, that Almanzor is himself finally overcome. (b) He is not only a skilful diplomatist, but also an opportunist, since he is ready to consort with the Christians if he will benefit from this. We have already made it clear that this type of alliance is one for which there are many historical precedents in the medieval Peninsula. If we turn now to the legend of Fernán González, we shall see that Almanzor's rôle there is a more restricted one.

(2) Legend of Fernán González

Here Almanzor appears primarily as leader of the Moorish armies campaigning against Fernán González of Castile. This is an obvious anachronism, since the Count died in 970 and Almanzor's military campaigns against the Northern kingdoms and County of Castile did not begin until 977. His defeat at Fernán González's hands is therefore a fiction, and although the PCG informs us that the Count fought many battles against the Moors and was always victorious, this is historically inaccurate:

"Et salio con sos uassallos contra los moros, et ouo con ellos grandes lides et grandes batallas, et uençio siempre."(2)

The F.Gz. also stresses this point:

"Fyzo ggrandes batallas con la gent descreyda,
mas nunca fue vençido en toda la su vyda."(3)

According to legend, Almanzor has two encounters with Fernán González. The first is at Lara, in the following circumstances. As soon as news of the Count's conquest of Carazo reaches Almanzor, he summons as many Moors as he can and assembles over five legions. (i) He then moves against Castile in anger:

"Llego (a) Almozor luego el apellido,
sopo como avya a Caraço perdido,
dixo: 'Afyirme so del conde maltrraydo,
sy del non he derecho en mal ora fuy nasçido.'
Quando ovo Almozor su poder ayuntado,
mouio pora Casty(e)lla san(n)udo e yrado,
avya muy fiera m(i)ente al cond amenazado;
que non fyncaria tierra que non fues(s)e buscado."(4)

Both the F.Gz. and the PCG represent Almanzor as a very powerful opponent. According to the F.Gz.:

"mayor poder non ovo ningun omne nasçido,"(5)

and the PCG describes him as:

"el mas poderoso more de aquend la mar so Abderrahmen rey de Cordoua . . ."(6)

Not only is Almanzor himself a strong enemy, but his army outnumbered the Christian army. For this reason the Moors inspire fear in their opponents, as Gonzalo Diaz's words show when he advises Fernán González to postpone the battle:

"Muchos son syn(es) guisa los pueblos rrenegados,
caveros e peones todos byen aguisados,
somos poca conpanna de armas muy menguados,
seremos sy nos vençen todos descabeçados."(7)

(i) Almanzor assembles seven legions, according to the PCG version of this episode. See PCG, II, § 688, p. 392.

However, Fernán González is sufficiently confident of victory to insist on preparing for battle, and before meeting Almanzor on the field, Pelayo declares at San Pedro de Arlanza that the Count will be victorious with God's aid.⁽⁸⁾ The force of the Moors is exaggerated and made to outnumber the Christians by a thousand to one, since this enables the poet to stress the great valour of the latter, who total only three hundred knights:

"pora cada cristiano avya mill descreyentes,
los del conde eran pocos mas buenos conbatyentes."⁽⁹⁾

Almanzor himself is represented as particularly valiant, for upon realising his defeat his first reaction is to demand his horse so that he may attack the enemy, although his people refuse to allow this:

"Demando su cavallo por lidiar con sus manos,
fueran y venturados caveros castellanos,
muerto fuera o preso de los pueblos cristianos,
mas non lo aconsejaron los poderes paganos."⁽¹⁰⁾

Finally, as at Calatañazor, he flees, dejected at his defeat, having lost his faith in Mahomet, and with no wish to live, since so many Moors have died:

"Ffoya Almozor aguis de algarivo,
diziendo: '¡Ay, Mafomat, en mal ora en ty fyo!
- non vale tres arvejas todo tu poderio -
(tod) el mi grran(d) poder es muerto e catyvo.
Pues ellos muertos son ¿por que fynco yo viuo?"⁽¹¹⁾

The PCG emphasizes that it was a great feat for the Christians to have vanquished so many Moors and such a great leader as Almanzor, although it implies that this was due to God's aid:

". . . et tan buenos fueron y todos, (los castellanos) que uencieron tod el poder de los moros et fizieron foyr a Almançor et con muy pocos caualleros. Et alli mostro Dios aquel dia el so

poder qual era, de uencer CCC caualleros a tan grand gentío de moros et a tan grand sennor et tan poderoso como Almançor."(12)

The poet also indicates that Fernán González and the Castilians defeat Almanzor with God's help, since the miracle He performs on their behalf is a sign of His favour. The impression is conveyed that both Fernán González's campaigns are conducted against Almanzor in defence of the Christian faith, for the poet is at pains to point out that the enemy has a different religion. Nevertheless, he must be portrayed as a great power for the Count's victory to have any merit; hence the exaggeration in describing the enemy army. The stress on the religious nature of the warfare is interesting, since the campaigns against Almanzor in the "Condesa Traidora" are conducted in a different spirit.

Fernán González's second victory over Almanzor is at Hacinas. After the battle at Lara, Almanzor withdraws to Morocco, where he assembles a huge force of people from all over the East, preparatory to avenging his defeat. An interesting point is the poet's description of the Moors as mutually unintelligible and uglier than Satan:

"non eran d'un logar nin d'un entendimiento,
mas feos que Satan con todo su conuento,
quando sal del infyerno suzio e carv(o)niento."(13)

Again, the campaign's religious nature is stressed by St. Pelayo's appearance to Fernán González, telling him that God commands him to fight Almanzor and the heathen:

"Avn te dize mas el alto Criador,
que tu eres su vas(s)allo e el es tu Sennor,
con los pueblos paganos lidias por su amor,
manda te que te vayas lidiar con Almoçor."(14)

Once more, the PCG stresses the opposition's strength, for the idea of a thousand to one opponents is repeated, and we are told that it is the largest force Almanzor has ever assembled. (15) The battle is even more closely contested than the former one, for the Christians do not gain any advantage until the third day; even then they are only victorious through the supernatural intervention of St. James and the heavenly knights. (16)

It is obvious now that Almanzor appears in this legend only in a military rôle at the head of the heathen army. Pérez de Urbel tries to prove that the battle at Hacinas is fact, by connecting it with the campaign of 934, when the Moors penetrated to Navarre. He suggests that Fernán González and his knights participated in the battle, and the memory of this event impressed the popular imagination so vividly that it became one of the main episodes of the F.Gz. (17) Even if such a battle were fought then, the leader of the Moslem army would have been Abderrahman III, not Almanzor, who was not even born until 940. Introduction of Almanzor's name to the legend therefore has no historical foundation, but is an example of poetic licence.

(3) Legend of the Seven Infantes de Lara

Almanzor's rôle in the legend of the Infantes de Lara is a more complex one. Here, instead of representing him simply as an outstanding military leader, the legend reveals a more humane side of his character. The PCG and C.1344 preserve the content of this legend. It takes place during the rule of King Ramiro and Garcí Fernández, and part of it is set at the Moslem court of Córdoba during the period of Almanzor's supreme power there.

Ruy Velázquez, urged by Doña Lambra to avenge her dishonour, dissembles and flatters the Infantes to allay their suspicions. He sends Gonzalo Gustioz to Almanzor's court on the pretext of obtaining money which Almanzor had promised for his wedding expenses:

"Cunnado, uos sabedes bien como me costaron mucho mis bodas, et el conde Garcí Fernandez non me ayudo y tan bien como yo cuede et el deuiera, et Almançor me prometio que me darie muy buena ayuda pora ellas, et uos sabedes que assi es. Et si lo uos touieredes por bien, gradesçeruoslo ya mucho que fuessedes uos fasta ell con mis cartas et me le saludassedes de mi parte, et lo uno por las cartas, lo al por nuestra palabra, demostrarlyedes la grand costa que e fecha, et auia mucho mester la su ayuda. Et bien se yo quel plazra et uos dara luego muy grand auer ..." (18)

The motif of the 'letter of death' is introduced when Ruy Velázquez gives Gonzalo Gustioz a letter for Almanzor written in Arabic. It is couched in friendly terms, for he addresses the Moor as: "salut como a amigo que amo de todo mio coraçon", (19) and he then explains that because Gonzalo Gustioz's sons have dishonoured him and his wife, he wants Almanzor to behead him. He proposes to lead the seven Infantes with his army to the plain of Almenar, and requests Almanzor, with Viara and Galbe, to meet the Christians there and kill the Infantes. In other words, he deliberately arranges with Almanzor to lead the Infantes into a trap, but he wishes the final responsibility for their death to rest with the Moors. As an inducement, he adds that Almanzor will then have the Christian lands at his command, since the Infantes are a great support to Garcí Fernández.

Gonzalo Gustioz travels to Córdoba, and conveys Ruy Velázquez's greetings to Almanzor in person. As the Moor reads the letter, horrified at the betrayal of Gonzalo Gustioz, he discloses its con-

tents to him. Because of his affection for the Christian, he imprisons him instead of having him beheaded:

"Roy Blasquez me enuia dezir que te descabesçe; mas yo, por que te quiero bien, non lo quiero fazer, mas mandarte he echar en prision."(20)

It is, of course, essential to the legend's plot that Almanzor should not kill Gonzalo Gustioz, since the second part depends on his imprisonment at Córdoba, which enables him to procreate the avenging son, Mudarra. He has this son by 'una mora fijadalgo', whom Almanzor makes his custodian. The PCG already suggests that this Moorish woman is related to Almanzor, for in this way the legend explains Almanzor's affection for Mudarra. According to the later tradition in the C.1344, the woman is Almanzor's own sister.

Already, Almanzor is depicted as generous in offering to defray some of the wedding expenses, and in this respect he is contrasted with Garcí Fernández to his advantage. The legend suggests that Garcí Fernández lacks generosity, since he failed to contribute as much towards the wedding as Ruy Velázquez hoped. Almanzor is also compassionate and merciful towards Gonzalo Gustioz, and these are all traits which he preserves throughout the legend.

Almanzor does not lead the army into battle on the plain of Almenar. Instead, Viara and Galbe command it, while Almanzor remains at Córdoba. Once more the Christians are hopelessly outnumbered, for the Moors amount to over 10,000. Almanzor is not alone in possessing redeeming features in this legend, for Viara and Galbe also show momentary compassion. In the midst of the battle, noticing the weariness of the Infantes, the two Moors take them to their tent

and provide them with bread and wine. In fact, they only renew the battle when Ruy Velázquez threatens to go to Almanzor in Córdoba and have them put to death unless they kill the Infantes. It does, perhaps, seem strange that Viara and Galbe actually permit the Infantes to return to the battle, once having held them captive, for they subsequently kill many more of the enemy before their own death. However, we may cite a similar episode from the anonymous French Histoire de Jean d'Avesnes set during the Crusades, and belonging to the middle of the 15th century. The Saracens take Jean prisoner, but Saladin frees him, permitting him to rejoin the combat. He takes advantage of the situation to slay more of the infidel. (21)

The C.1344, which gives a more detailed version of the legend, adds that after the death of the Infantes, Ruy Velázquez returns to Castile, and King Alicante - one of the two Moorish kings replacing Viara and Galbe in the earlier version - goes to Córdoba and sends him a letter challenging him in the name of Almanzor and all the Moors. (22) In one variant of the Refundición de la C.1344, the Moorish kings inform Almanzor about the battle by letter. Almanzor is so troubled to learn of Ruy Velázquez's treachery, that he personally orders a Christian to write a letter challenging him on behalf of all the Moorish kings, since he had lied to him pretending that he would not kill anyone:

"E quando Almançor lo sopo, quedo dello muy espantado e pesole mucho de coraçon, e dixo asi publicamente, que Dios feria muy grand contrario de quien fuese amigo de tan grand traydor como aquel, ca nunca tan grand traydor fue por jamas delos elementos sacado, e mando llamar vn christiano enasiado que le escriuiese vna carta de desafio asi de su parte como dela parte de todos los otros rreys moros asi de

alen mar como de aquen mar; e esto por que mintio a Almançor, disiendo que los tomarian a manos e syn muertes de onbres; e despues, por que non ovo en el piadat alguna, e ovo en el tan grand crueldat, siendo vmano, a quien toda vmanidat deuia ser muy contraria, e lo aborrescer e matar."(23)

Having killed the Infantes, the Moors return to Córdoba bearing the heads of the Infantes and Nuño Salido. On recognising the heads, Almanzor's reaction is one of feigned sorrow, in which there is a touch of genuine regret, for he has them carefully washed with wine, and placed on a white sheet in order of the Infantes' ages:

". . . et las cato et las conosco por el departimiento quel ende fizieran, fizo semeiança quel pesaua mucho por que assi los mataran a todos, et mandolas luego lauar bien con uino fasta que fuessen bien limpias de la sangre de que estauan untadas . . ." (24)

He asks Gonzalo Gustioz to identify the eight heads, and this episode reveals some inconsistency in Almanzor's character. There is a considerable contrast between the barbarous way he confronts him with the heads, and his pity at Gonzalo Gustioz's grief as he weeps over each one. The father is so overcome that he seizes a sword and slays seven 'alguaciles' in Almanzor's presence, begging him to have him killed. Despite this action, Almanzor does not show any anger or malice, but again full of compassion, he promises to release Gonzalo Gustioz from prison, giving him all he needs to return to Doña Sancha:

". . . Et rogo ell alli a Almançor quel mandasse matar. Almançor con duelo que ovo dell, mando que ninguno non fuesse osado del fazer ningun pesar Gonçalo Gustioz estando en aquel crebanto . . . Et dixol estonces alli Almançor: 'Gonçalo Gustioz, yo e grand duelo de ti por este mal et este crebanto que te ueno, et por ende tengo por bien de te soltar de la prision en que estas, et darte e lo que ouieres mester pora tu yda, et las cabeças de tus fijos, et uete pora tu tierra a donna Sancha tu mugier.'" (25)

According to the C.1344 version, Almanzor is so moved to pity by

Gonzalo Gustioz's distress over the heads that he begins to weep too, and assures Alicante of his wish to spare Gonzalo Gustioz, as he realises that he has been betrayed:

" . . . yo non querria que Gonçalo Gustioz aqui muriese por quanto Cordoua vale, por que yo vi quanta trayçion a el fiso Ruy Vasques e sus hijos."(26)

He sends his sister to comfort Gonzalo Gustioz, threatening to cut off her head if he dies, and she becomes the mother of Mudarra.⁽²⁷⁾ The motif of a Moslem putting a Moslem female relative in charge of a Christian prisoner has a parallel in the chansons de geste, where the daughter, sister, or wife of the Saracen king is entrusted with guarding his prisoner, and falls in love with him. We have discussed examples of this motif in Fierabras and Huon de Bordeaux. The motif in the Castilian legend may owe something to the inspiration of the chansons de geste, for the examples quoted are both older than the earliest extant version of the "Infantes de Lara" legend.

Following Gonzalo Gustioz's departure from Córdoba, the Moslem girl gives birth to a son, and tells Almanzor that Gonzalo Gustioz is the father. Once more, Almanzor displays his generosity and a desire to fall in with the Christian's wishes, for he is delighted at the news, and has the child brought up at court by two women, as the father had requested:

"Et dixo ella a Almançor, en su poridad todo so fecho, et como era aquel ninno fijo de Gonçalo Gustioz. Desto plogo mucho a Almançor, et tomo el ninno et mandolo criar a dos emas, assi como el padre dixiera a la mora, et pusol nombre Mudarra Gonçalez."(28)

The legend relates that Almanzor loves Mudarra, and arms him knight when he is ten. I have already pointed out that this affection is explained by saying that Mudarra is related to Almanzor.⁽²⁹⁾

Not content with this sign of affection, Almanzor also appoints two hundred knights to serve and look after Mudarra, and when the boy grows up, Almanzor encourages his decision to avenge his brothers' deaths and his father's dishonour. He therefore provides him with the necessary equipment - horses, knights, and arms - and releases many Christians, whom he has been holding prisoner:

"Respondioli Almanzor que lo tenie por bien et quel plazie por tan buen fecho como aquel que yva fazer: et cumplioli estonces Almanzor de caualleros et cauillos et armas et de auer et de quanto ouo mester por que fuesse bien acompañado et onrrado; et segund la estoria cuenta, otrossi diol de cristianos que tenie catiuos caualleros et otros cristianos muchos."(30)

The C.1344 amplifies the episode in which Mudarra discovers his parentage. He angers a King of Segura at Almanzor's court by defeating him at chess. They insult one another, and when the king calls Mudarra 'fijo de ninguno', the latter strikes him with the chessboard. Almanzor is forced to intervene in Mudarra's favour, exhorting his vassals to drive away the King of Segura's supporters. Subsequently, Almanzor offers Mudarra three hundred knights, and decides to release his Christian prisoners to accompany him, providing in addition arms, horses, and guides. (31)

As in the legend of Fernán González, there is some discrepancy in the chronology of the "Infantes de Lara" legend. Although Almanzor and Gonzalo Gustioz are correctly represented as contemporaries of Garcí Fernández and Ramiro III of Leon, the wedding of Ruy Velázquez and Doña Lambra is celebrated in 959, according to the PCG, and Gonzalo Gustioz's embassy to Córdoba and the pre-arranged ambush of the Infantes follow the dishonour at the wedding. (32)

Also, according to the PCG Mudarra was ten years old in 968, but at neither of these dates was Almanzor powerful at Córdoba, nor was Garcí Fernández Count of Castile. It was only after Alhaquem II's death that Almanzor became Prime Minister under the next caliph, Hixem II, and dictator at Córdoba from 976 onwards.

If Pidal is right in identifying the Galbe of the legend with Galib, the Moor who commanded part of the frontier region of Castile until his death in 981, and did, in fact, fight against Garcí Fernández, the legend is correct in making him a contemporary of the other historical characters. Although Pérez de Urbel identifies him instead with Galib ben Amril, he, too, was a contemporary of Garcí Fernández, Ramiro, and Almanzor, and fought in the frontier region of Castile.

Clearly, there is a marked difference between the way Almanzor and the Moors are depicted in this legend and in the F.Gz. Almanzor is far more humane in his treatment of Gonzalo Gustioz and Mudarra in the "Infantes de Lara" legend. He feels the emotions of an ordinary man - pity, generosity, and real affection - and it is this aspect of his character on which the legend concentrates, rather than portraying him as a military genius. In fact, it is the Christian Ruy Velázquez who appears in a bad light. He is the traitor who plots with the enemy, and he is prepared to sacrifice his entire army for the sake of avenging a personal dishonour. We have seen that even Galbe and Viara show compassion towards the Infantes in the course of the battle, and when contrasted with the more sympathetic nature of the Moors, Ruy Velázquez's treachery is made to seem all the more terrible.

The Poema de Mio Cid provides a parallel with this legend, for some of the villains there are also Christians. The Infantes de Carrión are an obvious example, although because of their Leonese nationality they may reflect some of the Castilians' hostility towards the Leonese in the early Middle Ages. Apart from this, the Cid overruns the land of the Count of Barcelona and fights him, because he is unable to placate him, finally defeating him and taking him prisoner.⁽³³⁾ According to the CVR, the Cid also fights the Castilian Count, García Ordóñez, when Alfonso sends him to collect tribute from the Moorish kings of Córdoba and Seville. García Ordóñez has joined King Almudefar of Granada, who attacks King Almutamiz of Seville - Alfonso's vassal. Ruy Díaz therefore advances to meet them, defeats the army of the King of Granada, and takes García Ordóñez prisoner.⁽³⁴⁾ In contrast, the Moor Abengalvón is one of the good characters. He not only welcomes the Infantes and their wives at Molina on their way to Carrión, but also provides them with an escort, and gives them presents. His generosity is explained by his affection for the Cid:

"aguíjan quanto pueden ifantes de Carrión;
félos en Molina con el moro Avengalvón.
El moro quando lo sopo, plógol de coraçón;
saliólos recibir con grandes avorozes;
Dios, que bien los sirvió a todo so sabor!
Otro día mañana con ellos cavalgó,
con dozientos cavalleros escurrir los mandó; . . .
A las fijas del Çid el moro sus donas dió,
buenos seños cavalllos a ifantes de Carrión;
tod esto les fizo el moro por el amor del Çid Campeador."⁽³⁵⁾

The 'letter of death' motif - in the form of Ruy Velázquez's letter asking Almanzor to put the bearer to death - is one which also occurs in the chanson Beuve de Hantone. There Beuve is sold into

slavery and he falls in love with Josiane, daughter of King Hermine of Armenia. The king discovers this, and on the advice of two knights, he dispatches Beuve to the court of the emir Bradmund of Damascus with a letter asking the emir to kill the bearer:

"'Sire,' ceo dist li uns, 'bon conseil avez: fetez fere un bref mult bien enselez, e Boefs meimes le bref porter frez de ci ke au roi Bradmound le prisez. Le bref frez ~~frez~~ porter, beau duz sire cher, ke Bradmound le face en tel prisoun poser ke vus de li ne oiez ja un mot soner, e li sur sa lei trebien le frez jurer, que il ne fra le bref a nul homme mustrer for sulement au roi Bradmound le gwerer.' 'Par Mahoun!' dist li roi, 'ceo fra ge volunters.'"(36)

Instead of hanging Beuve as he is asked, the emir, like Almanzor, merely imprisons the bearer, and he manages to escape seven years later:

"Bradmund out pour de Boefs le pussaunt, le bref prent en poin toust e ignement. Quant il out veu le bref, mult out le quer joiaunt, par le destre poin prist Boefs meintenaunt, car il out pour ke il dust trere le braunc; e dist a ses chevalers: 'Levez vus en estaunt, e liez moi Boefs mult estreitement; Hermine me maund, ke jeo en haut le pend, car il ad purgue Josiane a cors gent . . .' 'Boefs,' ceo dist Bradmund, 'par mun dieu Tervagaunt! si vus ne me ussez conquis o la espeie trenchaunt, vus fussez pendu ore endreit en present; mes jeo vus frai assez peine nekedent, vus serrez en ma prisoun de ci en avaunt a trente teises de parfound, ceo sachez verement . . .'"(37)

As this chanson de geste is probably earlier in date than the first known version of the "Infantes de Lara" legend, the episode may have been imitated from the chanson, although this is not the only time the motif appears in France. We also find it, for instance, in La Vengeance de Rioul. This chanson has now disappeared but the

English historian William of Malmesbury narrates its content.⁽¹⁾ According to him, William, Duke of Normandy, killed Anquetil, the son of the Norman noble Rioul, by a trick. He sent him to the ruler of Italy with a letter asking him to kill him, and this was carried out:

" . . . post non multum tempus afficta occasione comes Anshetillum in Papiam dirigit, epistolam de sua ipsius nece ad ducem Italiae portantem."⁽³⁸⁾

The 'letter of death' motif seems to be a folklore one, for it also occurs in a tale included in the Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne. The story is Les Trois Poils de la Barbe d'Or du Diable. The king, wishing to terminate the life of his gardener's son, Charles, sends him to the queen with a letter ordering her to put the bearer to death.⁽³⁹⁾

Evidently the motif was known in medieval France before it appears in the "Infantes de Lara" legend, so this may be an example of French influence on the Castilian epic legends.

Returning to Almanzor himself, the "Infantes de Lara" legend suggests that he is already a good friend of Ruy Velázquez before Gonzalo Gustioz's embassy. As in the "Condesa Traidora", Almanzor intervenes in a personal conflict within a Castilian family to ensure the death of certain members of that family - the Infantes de Lara in the one case, and Garcí Fernández in the other. We have seen that friendships like these between Moorish and Christian leaders were

(1) William of Malmesbury wrote between 1119-1135. There is a reference to this chanson in Wace, and Gaston Paris has suggested that a primitive form of it went back to the event itself, i.e. the assassination of the Duke at Picquigny in 942. See Paris, G.: La Chanson de la Vengeance de Rioul . . ., R, XVII, 1887, pp. 276-280.

known in the Peninsula in the 10th and 11th centuries, and such military alliances were frequently formed to defeat the forces of a rival Christian kingdom. Apart from the example of the historical Cid, Dozy mentions the Galician Count, Rodrigo Velázquez, who appears to have been on friendly terms with the Moors, and in fact sent an embassy to Córdoba in 973. (40) Whether he lent his name to the legend of the Infantes de Lara or not, he provides us with an example of the type of contact between Moor and Christian reflected in the legends. Dozy and Lévi-Provençal also both record that Ramiro III of Leon, faced with the insurrection of the Galician nobles, who in 982 proclaimed Vermudo II king in his place, was compelled to appeal to Almanzor for aid and recognise him as his overlord in 984. Following Ramiro's death that year, his successor, Vermudo II, likewise appealed for help to Almanzor, who put a Moslem army at his disposal. This enabled Vermudo to bring the whole kingdom under his control, although a Moslem force remained there. (41)

In addition to these historical examples of alliances between Moors and Christians in the Peninsula, a similar type of alliance is made in another epic legend - "Bernardo del Carpio". Bernardo joins Marsil, the Saracen king of Zaragoza, and some Christian peoples including the Navarrese, and they fight Charlemagne and the French, defeating them at Roncesvalles. (42) Other legends show, too, that in time of need the Moors are prepared to grant shelter to their Christian friends. For example, in the Najerense version of the legend of Sancho II, the bastard step-brother of Sancho's wife, the Infanta of Navarre, abducts her while she is on the way to Castile,

and takes refuge with the Moorish king of Zaragoza and Ramiro of Aragon. (43) Also, in the same legend Alfonso flees to Almemon, the Moorish king of Toledo, who is his own tributary and gives him hospitality after he has been taken prisoner by Sancho following the battle at Golpejera. (44)

The "Infantes de Lara" legend suggests that an embassy such as Gonzalo Gustioz's from a Christian nobleman to the Moslem court at Córdoba was customary practice, for Gonzalo Gustioz assents very willingly to Ruy Velázquez's proposal to send him there:

"Aquí respondió Gonçalo Gustioz: 'Don Rodrigo, mucho me plaze lo que uos queredes, et yre y muy de buena mente por complir uuestra uoluntad.'" (45)

Historical evidence proves that there were several embassies from the Christians to Alhaquem II at Córdoba in the latter years of Fernán González's government of Castile, and the early years of Garcí Fernández's rule. (46) Gonzalo Gustioz's legendary embassy is therefore quite in accordance with contemporary practice, whether the historical character of that name did participate in one of the embassies or not. Pidal suggests that he could, in fact, have gone to Córdoba in 974, since we know that Garcí Fernández sent ambassadors in that year, and they were imprisoned after his treacherous attack on Deza in September. (47) The Count attacked irrespective of the fact that his ambassadors were at Córdoba, in the same way as the legendary Infantes go willingly with Ruy Velázquez and his army to the plain of Almenar, even though their father is at Córdoba. Neither Garcí Fernández nor the Infantes are deterred by concern for the safety of the ambassadors, whose lives might well have been endangered by a

hostile attack on the people with whom they were seeking peace. We may also add now that the suggestion of the Countess of Castile's message to Almanzor in the "Condesa Traidora" is quite in accordance with 10th century usage.

Almanzor's willing acquiescence with Ruy Velázquez's plan for the ambush and death of the Infantes is not necessarily inconsistent with the more sympathetic side of his character. Although by sending the Moslem army to the plain of Almenar he is instrumental in accomplishing Ruy Velázquez's revenge, he is equally swift to help Mudarra avenge himself on the traitors in his turn. Here we may point out that the ambush and treachery are very similar to the ambush Ganelon plots with King Marsil in the Chanson de Roland, when he arranges for the Saracens to attack the French rearguard at Roncesvalles. He delivers Roland and the Peers of France up to the enemy, intending to secure their death, in the same way as the Infantes de Lara are handed over to the enemy. Roland dies, as the Infantes do, after covering himself with glory.

The fact that Ruy Velázquez fills the rôle of villain instead of Almanzor is explained by the nature of the warfare in the "Infantes de Lara" legend. This is similar to the warfare in the "Condesa Traidora", for neither Garcí Fernández and his Christian companions, nor Ruy Velázquez and his army, express crusading sentiments. There is therefore a great difference between the character of their campaigns and the campaigns in the chansons de geste. In the Chanson de Roland, for example, the French are fighting a holy war in the name of Christendom to destroy the infidel. The words of the Bishop, Don

Jerónimo, also suggest this in the Poema de Mio Cid, when he says:

"Oy vos dix la missa de santa Trinitade.
 Por esso salí de mi tierra e vin vos buscare,
 por sabor que avía de algún moro matare . . ." (48)

Elsewhere in the Poema de Mio Cid, however, the poet makes it clear that the Cid is fighting to 'ganar el pan'. On the whole, therefore, Christian sentiments do not inspire the warfare against the Moors in the Poema de Mio Cid, or the legends of the "Condesa Traidora" and "Infantes de Lara". Rather, it is caused by damage done by the Moors to Christian territory, or by some ulterior motive, such as the deliberate invitation to the Moors to meet the Christian army on the plain of Almenar, merely to satisfy some personal animosity. Hence, since there is no suggestion in the "Infantes de Lara" legend that the enemy is a religious one, Almanzor may be represented sympathetically and show himself capable of greater acts of sacrifice and generosity than Ray Velázquez. The basic conflict, then, is not so much one of Moor against Christian as one against a traitor, who happens incidentally to be a Christian, and must be punished according to the principles of poetic justice.

(4) Legend of Abbot John of Montemayor

The legend of Abbot John of Montemayor seems to be later than the legends we have discussed so far. It has come down to us in two different prose versions. The first dates from the end of the 15th century, for it is included in the Compendio Historial of Diego Rodríguez de Almela, which he presented to the Catholic sovereigns in

1491. (i) The second was included in a small book, which first appeared

(i) It was evidently written some years previously - between 1476-1480. See Amador de los Ríos, José: Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española, VII, Madrid, 1865, p. 308, n. 1.

in 1506. However, it has come down to us in a later edition - 1562 - which gives a longer form of the legend than the Compendio Historial.

The legend itself is set mainly in Portugal, and it relates Abbot John's defeat of Almanzor in the region of Montemayor. In the 14th century, the introduction to a poem by Afonso Giraldes, on the subject of a battle fought at El Salado in 1340, contains an earlier reference to such a defeat. This reads:

"Outros falan da gran rason
De Bistoris gram sabedor
E do Abbade Don Ioon
que venceo Rei Almançor . . ." (49)

This suggests that a legend on the subject of Almanzor's defeat by this abbot was already circulating in the early 14th century. Pidal, who has published both prose versions of the legend, believes that they come from a common prose text, but that the legend initially had a poetic form and was of Castilian origin. (50)

Its content as it appears in the Compendio Historial, and in so far as it concerns Almanzor, is as follows. In the time of Ramiro III of Leon, Abbot John of Montemayor brings up a foundling child, whom he baptises García. Later he turns out to be a traitor, and decides to become a Moor. This legend again contains the motif of the message sent to Almanzor, for García dispatches a letter to him secretly, informing him of his decision:

"Yendo a caça un día, fabló con algunos de aquellos que lo aguardauan e servían, de quien él confiaua, de como hera su voluntad de se ir a tornar moro, porque entendía que hera mejor ley la de los moros que non de los cristienos. E aquellos a quien lo fabló conformáronse con él, e enbiólo dezir por su carta secretamente al rey Almonzor a Córdoba; e plógole mucho dello, e concertó de se ir para él con los más que pudiese . . ." (51)

The Abbot, believing that García wishes to invade Moorish

territory to fight against them, gives him three hundred knights for this purpose, although he himself is at peace with the Moors. Almanzor, delighted to learn of García's proposal to turn Moslem, rides a league out of Córdoba to welcome García and receives him like a brother:

"quando Almanzor vió las cartas, ovo mucho plazer; e desque supo que don García hera çerca de Córdoba, salióle a reçoibir una legua de la çibdad, e fízole muy grand honrra e abraçólo, como si don Garçía fuera su hermano."(52)

García is taken to Almanzor's palace, and when he repeats his desire to become a Moslem, Almanzor has him taken to the main mosque. There he renounces Christ and St. Mary and his holy baptism, even drinking his own blood, and promising to inflict as much harm on the Christians as he can. On his return to Almanzor's palace, he is given the name of Don Zulema, and the Moors celebrate his conversion, and that of his Christian companions, for two months:

". . . después que Almanzor vió tornado moro al dicho don García, al qual avía puesto don Çulema, e a todos los más de los cristianos que consigo levó, fizieron en Córdoba muy grandes alegrías, dos meses continos, faziendo muchas honrras e serviçios al dicho don Çulema e a los que con él se avían tornado moros, que más non podía ser . . ."(53)

Almanzor subsequently assembles a huge army and invades Portugal and Galicia, penetrating as far as Santiago. He meets with little resistance, both because of the strength of his own force, and because of discord between the Christian peoples, as the Galicians have proclaimed the Infante Vermudo king, in opposition to Ramiro of Leon:

". . . que non avía quien ge lo registiese; lo uno, por el grand poder de moros que consigo levava; e lo otro, por la división e guerra que hera entonçe entre los cristianos, por quanto los gallegos avían alçado por rey en Galizia al ynfante don Bermudo, fijo del rey don Ordoño, contra el rey don Ramiro que en León estava en aquel tiempo."(54)

On his way back from Galicia, at the request of Zulema, Almanzor besieges Abbot John in Montemayor for two years and seven months. During this time, Zulema tells the Abbot of an agreement he has made with Almanzor, whom he describes as "el mayor rey e señor que ay en el mundo". The proposal he now makes to the Abbot is that, if he will go to Córdoba, Almanzor will make him controller of all the muezzins and alfaquis. However, the Abbot refuses and will not surrender his castle, and García therefore urges Almanzor to take it by force. Almanzor agrees, and the Moors besiege it until its defenders are reduced to starvation. At this point, the Abbot advises them to kill all the old people, women, and children, before making a last desperate stand.

The Moors then play a trick on the Abbot, for Zulema arrives accompanied by three hundred knights bearing the standards of Ramiro of Leon and Geraldo of Astorga. Realising that it is a trick, the people of Montemayor fight and kill Zulema and the three hundred knights, and then attack the rest of the Moors. They are all put to flight, pursued by the Christians for two leagues. As Almanzor flees, the Abbot throws his lance at him, but Almanzor turns, declaring that he has only torn his 'aljuba'.⁽ⁱ⁾ Henceforth the site of the battle was called 'Aljubarota'. Almanzor finally succeeds in escaping on horseback:

"Como el abad don Johan vió ir fuyendo al rey Almonçor, conosciólo e díxole: 'torna acá, perro traidor, que yo so el abad don Johan, e verás como se canta la misa.' E en diziendo esto,

(i) The 'aljuba' was a Moorish garment, defined by the Spanish Academy Dictionary as: "vestidura morisca, especie de gabán con mangas cortas y estrechas, que usaron también los cristianos españoles."

tiróle la lança e firiólo por los lomos. Entonce Almonzor bolvióle el rostro, diziéndole que non lo avía ferido, salvo que el aljuba le avía rota; e por esto fué puesto aquel lugar, do acaeció esta batalla, de allí adelante Aljubarota. E así escapó e se fué el rey Almonzor del abad don Johan, a una de cavallo."(55)

After the battle, the Abbot learns that all the people, whom the Christians slaughtered in Montemayor, are alive again, and he expresses a wish to spend the rest of his life at the very spot where he now is, i.e. this is the site of the monastery of Alcobaza. (56)

The episode of Almanzor's flight has some similarity with the Cid's treatment of King Búcar in the Poema de Mio Cid, for he taunts the fleeing king in much the same way as Abbot John taunts Almanzor:

"Acá torna, Búcar! venist dalent mar.
Veerte as con el Çid, el de la barba grant,
saludar nos hemos amos, e tajaremos amiztad."(57)

Neither Moor waits for the enemy to catch him, but whereas Almanzor escapes alive from the Abbot, in the Poema Búcar is killed by the Cid. However, in the rehandled version of the Cid legend, the hero is unable to catch Búcar and throws his sword at him, as Abbot John does at Almanzor, and wounds him in the back:

". . . el Çid vio quel non podie alcançar, et lançol el espada et diol en las espaldas. Et el rey moro ferido, metiosse en las naues."(58)

The second version of the legend of Abbot John is more detailed. According to the 1562 publication, the first addition is that Abbot John gives the foundling to two 'dueñas de buena sangre' to bring up. Now this is reminiscent of Almanzor's action in the "Infantes de Lara" legend, when he carries out Gonzalo Gustioz's suggestion and puts Mudarra in charge of two women. (59)

In this version Abbot John displays a certain fear of Almanzor,

who he confesses is the most powerful man in the world. This explains his reluctance to grant García's request for permission to go and make war on him:

" . . . bien veo, don García, que dezís muy bien, mas no quiero que lo hagais assí, porque el rey Almanzor es tan poderoso que no ay hombre en el mundo que pueda con él; ca sabed, don García, que tengo gran recelo de vos, porque pienso que os hará daño, ca es rey que tiene muy grandes poderes."(60)

Finally, he gives García two hundred knights in addition to the three hundred he already has, together with horses, mules, clothes and squires. The idea of providing him with everything he needs before his expedition, and the suggestion of the three hundred knights who accompany him, is similar to the episode in the C.1344 version of the "Infantes de Lara", where Almanzor provides Mudarra with all he needs before setting off for Castile, including three hundred knights. The similarities in the details of these two legends therefore suggest that the "Infantes de Lara" influenced the legend of Abbot John. The second version of the latter also stresses Almanzor's generosity, as does the "Infantes de Lara" legend, for after García's conversion to Islam, Almanzor marries him to the daughter of a great knight of Córdoba, and gives him a magnificent wedding:

"mandó llamar a don Çulema que viniessse a su palacio y a todos los moros, y mandó hazer muy grandes alegrías, y casólo con una hija de un gran cavallero, el más honrrado que avía en la ciudad de Córdoba, y mandóles hazer una boda tan honrada que no avrá hombre en el mundo que lo pudiesse contar."(61)

The 1562 version's description of the assembled Moors before Almanzor's invasion of Christian territory is close to the description of the army Almanzor assembles in Morocco in the F.Gz., preparatory to the battle at Hacinas. In both cases the Moors come from a variety

of places and cannot understand one another, and there are so many gathered together that they cannot be counted:

" . . . y las compañías fueron ayuntadas de moros andaluces que vinieron, y moros de otros lugares, y eran de tantas partes que no se entendían unos a otros; y, según yo podía pensar en mi corazón, esta quantía de moros que estaban en Cordoba con el rey Almanzor eran hasta ciento y cincuenta mil cavalleros y trezientos mil peones que aí vinieron, y estos eran sin el poder de Cordoba y su reino, los quales yo no cuento, porque eran tantos que no se podrían contar. De manera que todas las sierras y valles estaban cubiertos de moros."(62)

Corresponding passages in the F.Gz. are:

"Venien y destas gentes syn cuento e syn tiento,
non eran d'un lugar nin d'un entendimiento . . ."(63)

and the description of Almanzor's army before the battle at Lara, which also expresses the idea that the army is so large that it covers all the hills and valleys:

"non es omne en el mundo que asmas los paganos,
todos venian cobyertos los oteros e llanos . . ."(64)

In the legend of Abbot John the Christians are scattered in disorder over the hills before Almanzor's invasion:

"Viérades andar los cristianos por los montes y por las sierras, de cinquenta en cinquenta y de ciento en ciento, perdidos como las bestias, y como desaventurados por aquellos montes, así los hombres como las mugeres."(65)

This again recalls a parallel situation in the F.Gz., when the Christians flee into the mountains from the invading Moslems:

"As(s)y yvan foyendo de las gentes estrannas,
muryen de grran(d) fanbre todos por las montannas,
non diez nin veynte omnes mas muchas de conpannas.
Perdieron muchos dellos de miedo los sentydos,
matavan a las madres, en braços a los fyjos,
nos' podien dar consejo mugeres nin marydos,
andavan del grand duelo muchos enloquecidos."(66)

These similarities therefore suggest that the "Abbot John" legend may

have been influenced by the F.Gz., as well as the "Infantes de Lara" legend.

Returning to the theme of the second version of the "Abbot John" legend, when Almanzor and Zulema invade Christian territory, the Christians are depicted as cowards, for Almanzor does not encounter any defence or resistance in his advance:

"ca nunca hallaron christianos ningunos que se lo defendiessen ni amparassen."(67)

The Moors are therefore able to destroy Santiago. This version of the legend represents the renegade, Zulema, as the traitor, and not Almanzor. This means that as in the "Infantes de Lara" legend, Almanzor may possess some redeeming features, and he shows some respect for the church of Santiago, threatening with death any of his people who enter it, except Zulema. Only Zulema, therefore, rides in, burns all its relics, and rides near the altar. In this way, the legend represents him as more impious and disrespectful of the Christian religion than the native Moors.

Almanzor appears a very suppliant character in this version, since it is Zulema who guides his actions, and everything he does or suggests seems right for Almanzor. For example, Almanzor accepts his advice to advance through Portugal, and the Moors destroy Coimbra before moving up the Mondego to attack the castle at Montemayor.

The Abbot conducts three battles against Almanzor's army, and during the third he obtains provisions from them. He throws his lance inside the tent where Almanzor and Zulema are playing chess, upsetting the board and their game. They are both very scared at

this, and send their army in pursuit of the Abbot's. Almanzor is an even more cowardly figure here than in the earlier version of the legend, for when he learns of Zulema's death, fearing that he, too, will be killed, he flees, and all the Moors follow his example:

" . . . y cavalgó, y començó lo mas aína que él pudo a huir, con tan gran miedo que siempre iba tornando la cabeça atrás por miedo del abad don Juan, pensando que iba empós dél; que parecía que havia tomado miedo dél, assí como si fuera el diablo."(68)

As the Abbot pursues Almanzor, he taunts him crying:

"torna, traidor, que tú te alabas que pelearás con quantos christianos ay en el mundo."

Instead of the Abbot throwing his lance at Almanzor, as he does in Almela's version, it is Almanzor who turns in his flight and throws his lance at the Abbot, so that it pierces his shield and breast-plate. The second version, therefore, does not explain the place name 'Aljubarota' as deriving from Almanzor's torn 'aljuba'!

Finally, the Abbot has a church and monastery built with his 'quarto', i.e. his share of the booty won in battle, and spends the rest of his life there doing penance. Here the 'quarto' probably stands for the 'quinto', since it was customary in medieval Spain for the leader of the army to receive a fifth part of the booty. In the F.Gz. the Count uses his 'quinto' - also won in battle against Almanzor - for a similar purpose, namely, to build the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. (69)

Although some of the characters appearing in the "Abbot John" legend are historical, for example, Almanzor and King Ramiro, the main theme of the legend is completely fictitious. Almanzor is not even represented in his historical rôle, for he is called King of the

Moors, although he did not actually become Caliph. The legend is anachronistic, for it mistakes the real date of the foundation of the monastery of Alcobaza. This was not in the time of Almanzor or Ramiro III, but in 1153, its historical founder being the first King of Portugal, Afonso Henriques,⁽¹⁾ who endowed it with extensive territory in Extremadura.⁽⁷⁰⁾ At the period of the legendary battle, Alcobaza and Montemayor were still in Moorish hands, for they were only finally reconquered in the time of Ferdinand I.

King Ramiro, whom the Compendio Historial interprets as Ramiro III, was, in fact, one of Almanzor's contemporaries, for he came to the throne in 966, when only a few years old, and died in 984.⁽⁷¹⁾ Almela's version of the legend refers to the historical situation during Ramiro III's reign, when the Galicians revolted and supported the Infante Vermudo as king in place of Ramiro. On the 15th October, 982, Vermudo II - son of Ordoño III, and Ramiro's cousin - was crowned at Santiago. Ramiro marched against him, and they fought an indecisive battle at Portella de Arenas, on the frontier of Leon and Galicia, and in 984 Vermudo took the city of Leon from Ramiro.⁽⁷²⁾ This civil strife becomes one of the legendary reasons for Almanzor's successful advance to Santiago, which seems to reflect Almanzor's historical destruction of the city.

We have already seen that this really occurred in 997, and the legendary circumstances are rather different from those given by the Chronicles, for there the church is not profaned by one person only,

(1) Afonso Henriques was recognised king in 1143 by Alfonso VII. See Almeida, Fortunato de: Historia de Portugal, I, Coimbra, 1922, p. 145.

as it is in the legend of Abbot John. The introduction of Almanzor's destruction of Santiago into the legend is also anachronistic, since Vermudo II had been king of Leon for some years at the time of the Santiago campaign, and he did not die until 999.⁽⁷³⁾ According to the legend, Almanzor returns from the Santiago expedition, and subsequently destroys Coimbra and besieges Montemayor. Although his army is defeated, we have noted that Almanzor himself escapes alive from his engagement with the Abbot, even though we do not discover his ultimate fate. This legend, therefore, does not agree with the Tudense in linking the Santiago expedition with Almanzor's last campaign.

However, the Toledano refers to an expedition by a Moorish king called Alcorexí through Galicia to Santiago during Ramiro III's reign:

"Ranimirus autem morbo correptus obiit Legione, et in Destriana traditur sepulturae. Interea Alcorexi Rex Agarenorum eam partem Galleciae quae nunc Portugallia dicitur, et vsque ad Sanctum Iacobum, non veritus Apostolum, deuastauit, sed merita Apostoli occurrerunt, et immissa in eos infirmitate, aut pauci, aut nulli superstites euaserunt qui in patria nunciarent."⁽⁷⁴⁾

This expedition follows the Chronicle's account of the conflict between Ramiro III and Vermudo II, and the latter's coronation at Santiago, so it seems possible that the legend of Abbot John drew on the Toledano, replacing the name 'Alcorexí' by that of 'Almanzor'.

A later Portuguese version of the legend has changed the name of the Moorish king of Córdoba from 'Almanzor' to 'Abderrahman' (II). This has been done in the 17th century Monarchia Lusytana,⁽⁷⁵⁾ and the amendment is explained by confusion concerning the identity of the King Ramiro of the legend. In the later version, Ramiro is Abbot

John's nephew, and according to Brito, there was a John, abbot of Lorván, who was uncle to Ramiro I. The latter king ruled Asturias in the mid 9th century - 842 to 850 - over one hundred years before Almanzor rose to power in Córdoba, and the contemporary Moslem emir there was Abderrahman II (822-852); hence the correction of the Moorish king's name in the legend.

Almanzor's name has also been changed in a 16th century reference to the legend contained in Jorge de Montemayor's pastoral novel Diana. The reference appears in the seventh book, and the Moorish king is there called 'Marsilio', i.e. the name of the Saracen king in the Chanson de Roland and other Carolingian chansons de geste:

". . . y el castillo que delante los ojos tenían, era la luz de nuestra España. Y que este nombre le convenía más que el suyo propio, pues en medio de la infidelidad del mahomético Rey Marsilio, que tantos años le avía tenido cercado, se avía sustentado de manera que siempre avía salido vencedor y jamás vencido y que el nombre que tenía en lengua Portuguesa era Monte moro vello."(76)

Although Abbot John is not mentioned, the passage evidently alludes to the legend of Abbot John, and a later edition of the Diana includes a more explicit reference in the story of Alcida and Silvano. There Abbot John is mentioned by name as having defeated a Moorish king and García:

"Miraua aquella cerca antigua y alta
que por tropheo quedo de las hazañas,
del sancto abad do Iuan, en quien se esmalta,
la honrra, el lustre, y prez de las españas:
alli la fuerça de Hector, no hizo falta,
pues destruyo su braço las compañas,
del sarracino rey que le seguia,
y a su traydor sobrino don Garcia . . ."(77)

The Diana's reference indicates that there may have been a different tradition from the earliest known written versions. Pidal

has suggested that the name 'Marsilio', instead of 'Almanzor', may belong to a tradition of popular character localised in Montemayor itself. However, we must not stress unduly the appearance of Almanzor's name, since he need not necessarily be situated in his historical epoch in epic legend. In fact, it seems to have been traditional for the legends to use his name for the leader of the Moorish army, when wishing to represent a great Christian victory over the Moors. This is probably due to his reputation as a military leader, who was respected and feared throughout the Peninsula in the 10th century. His defeat therefore seems to represent the maximum success which the Christians may attain, and this explains the anachronistic use of his name in the epic legends. He appears, then, in the same way as Marsil appears in some of the chansons de geste.

Like the F.Gz., the legend of Abbot John also emphasizes that the warfare is against enemies of the Christian faith. We do not find the same kind of contact between Moor and Christian as in the "Infantes de Lara" or "Condesa Traidora". Only a traitor or renegade such as García can have personal contact with the Moors, for there is no suggestion of one Christian fighting with Almanzor against another. In fact, Zulema is even more vehement in his hatred of the Christians than Almanzor or the native Moors. This is illustrated by his vehement desire to inflict harm on the Christians after his conversion to Islam, and the way he tries to persuade the Abbot to become a Moslem. The one version of the legend also stresses García's religious fanaticism by making him alone profane the church of Santiago.

We have already suggested that Almanzor is a more suppliant and

less forceful figure than usual in this legend, since he allows Zulema's ideas to guide him. It is chiefly at the latter's instigation that he attacks the Christians and, again influenced by García, he is even prepared to resort to bribery to win over the Abbot.

(5) Concluding remarks

Having discussed Almanzor's appearance in the epic legends in some detail, we may now make some general observations from this material concerning the legendary rôle of the Moslems in the Peninsula. The enemy is represented simply as 'los Moros', a term which is applied loosely to anyone who is a non-Christian. There are, of course, ample historical grounds for the large part these people play in the Spanish epic legends, as so many of these are situated in the part of the Peninsula engaged actively in the Reconquest - particularly the region of constant warfare ⁽¹⁾ between Christian and Moslem armies during the lifetime of epic heroes such as Garcí Fernández, Fernán González, Sancho García and the Cid.

The Moors serve a literary purpose in the legends, for they provide a powerful enemy, and enable the hero to achieve glory by fighting and vanquishing them. This is, of course, all the more effective if the victory is achieved against overwhelming odds. Hence the exaggerated numbers of the Moors, who generally have the numerical advantage, and the use of what are almost stock ways of indicating a vast opposing force, e.g. the idea that the Moors are so many that they cannot be counted, or so many that they cover all the

(1) i.e. Castile, and the region of the Duero.

hills and valleys. Forms like this are used to suggest countless unbelievers, who can be assembled hastily to fight the Christians from the huge resources at Almanzor's disposal in Africa or the East.

We learn very little about the main body of the Moorish army from the legends. Generally, these simply create an impression of a mass of people, all more or less alike, and completely subservient to their leader. Often, Almanzor is the only one who stands out, although occasionally another may be singled out for particular bravery; for example, an African king in the F.Gz., whom Fernán González kills at Hacinas. (78) In the legend of Abbot John, after his conversion Zulema has a more important rôle than Almanzor, although the latter still appears as the leader of the enemy forces.

The Moors may be maligned for literary purposes of contrast with the Christians. We have seen, for instance, that the F.Gz. describes Almanzor's army as uglier than Satan. They may also be depicted as shouting or making a great noise before an attack:

"Fazian grrand alegria los pueblos descreydos,
venian tannendo trronpas e dando alaridos,
davan los malfadados atamannos rroydos,
que los montes e valles semejavan mouidos."(79)

Sometimes they are called 'dogs' as a term of derision. Abbot John, for example, addresses Almanzor as 'perro traidor' in the Almela version of the legend. The chansons de geste also use this terminology for the Saracens. Les Enfances Vivien, which probably dates from the early 13th century, contains such a reference:

"mal soit des chiens qⁱ tant en engendrerēt . . ." (80)

However, on the whole the Spanish legends are prepared to give

the Moors their due. They may display considerable military skill; generally the battles are fairly hard fought, and the Moors may win the initial advantage. In the F.Gz., although Fernán González and a few Christians eventually defeat a larger number of Moors at Hacinas and Lara, Almanzor nearly succeeds in vanquishing them. Indeed, the legend implies that he would have done so if Fernán González had not received divine aid. The odds against which they fight make the Christians' ultimate victory the more noteworthy in proportion, and they do not always require divine aid in overcoming the enemy.

Although the Moors' main purpose in the legends is to provide a worthy opponent for the Christians, they may occasionally add a note of romance. Such is the case in the "Condesa Traidora" when Almanzor woos the Countess of Castile.

We have already noted that Castile itself provides the background for many of the legends, which are set during the early days of the Reconquest, when the Moors managed to penetrate even as far as Galicia. We have also discussed how the legends reflect conditions in the medieval Peninsula. For instance, Gonzalo Gustioz's embassy to Córdoba, and the suggestion that the Countess of Castile communicated with Almanzor by message, reflect the contact existing between Moslem and Christian in the earlier days of the Reconquest. The type of alliances suggested in these legends were opportunistic, and religious convictions did not prevent them. In other legends, which possibly arose later - like those concerning Fernán González or Abbot John - the Moors have become merely an enemy of the faith. There can therefore be no personal contact with them, and there is a feeling of

greater antipathy towards them. In fact, they are conceived in a way which is more similar to the poets' conception of the Saracens in the French epics. This is far from the idea of fighting to win bread, as the Cid does; appealing to the Moors for aid in settling a matter involving family dishonour, as we find in the "Infantes de Lara" legend; or even seeking help in disposing of one's husband, as the Countess of Castile does. We do not find the same impulse to convert the enemy in the Castilian legends as in the French epic poems. The Chanson de Roland, for example, makes death the only alternative to conversion.

García's conversion to Islam in the legend of Abbot John is fairly unusual, for this is more likely to happen the other way round - from Islam to Christianity. For instance, the legend of the Moorish princess Zaida relates her conversion to Christianity before marrying Alfonso VI. ⁽⁸¹⁾ An action such as García's therefore requires some explanation, and the legend is careful to indicate that religious convictions alone do not prompt it. Rather, it is explained by the circumstances of García's birth, for he is the result of an incestuous love between brother and sister, and so reverts to his original nature in turning traitor. He is a typical epic traitor, for he is capable of any degeneracy. Having renounced Christianity, he is prepared to fight not only against the Christians but also against his foster-father.

This legend and the "Infantes de Lara" both show that it is not always the Moors who are represented as the enemy or the traitors. Sometimes the enemy may even be a rival Christian leader, as at the

battle of the Era Degollada, where Fernán González defeats Sancho of Navarre. The Christians may also be portrayed as showing fear. In the F.Gz., for instance, they are scared by the appearance of the flaming serpent before the battle at Hacinas, although this is partly in order to offset Fernán González's valour.⁽⁸²⁾ There is little difference between the behaviour of Christians and Moors in the legends, since they both plunder and burn their opponents' territory and possessions, and acquisition of booty is an important consideration for both.

To sum up now concerning Almanzor himself, the fact that he is the most important Moslem figure in the epic legends is easily explained. Undoubtedly, this was because of his personal prestige and his reputation as a military leader, since he is said to have fought over fifty successful campaigns against the Christians. In addition, the 10th century was a splendid period of Moslem history in the Peninsula, culminating in Almanzor's government. It therefore seems only natural that the legends have preserved the memory of this important period, particularly as after Almanzor's death the Caliphate in Spain was weakened by civil war, and it collapsed completely in 1031.

We have seen that Almanzor himself does not always appear in his historical rôle, for he may be represented erroneously as the King of Córdoba. Sometimes he appears in conjunction with historical characters who were his contemporaries, e.g. Garcí Fernández, Gonzalo Gustioz, but his name may also be linked anachronistically with people living at a different time, e.g. Fernán González. He does not always

appear in his military capacity, since he remains at Córdoba in the "Infantes de Lara" legend, while Galve and Viara - Alicante and Barrasin in the C.1344 version - lead the Moslem army. We may conclude that 'Almanzor' is the characteristic name of the Moorish king or leader in the Spanish legends, as 'Marsil' is the characteristic name in the Carolingian epics.

It should be clear now that Almanzor's character varies considerably from legend to legend.

(a) As a military leader. In the legend of Abbot John he is very cowardly, and flees, fearing for his own safety. This is out of keeping with his historical character, and even in legend he is more often a successful and valiant warrior, and one respected by the enemy. Generally, Almanzor takes the initiative in campaigns by invading Christian territory, but obviously he cannot win his legendary battles, since it is necessary to show that heroes such as Fernán González, Sancho García, or Abbot John are his military equals. In this connection, the legendary Garcí Fernández differs, as Almanzor's army actually defeats him. To be true, this is partly due to the Countess's schemes, but it does suggest that the Count's reputation as a military leader was not very high among the initiators of the "Condesa Traidora" legend, even though the historical Count appears to have had some success in keeping the Moors at bay.

(b) In his non-military capacity. In a non-military capacity Almanzor may be represented as a figure capable of ordinary human emotions. The "Condesa Traidora" displays his real ambition, for he hopes to conquer Castile more easily by persuading the Countess to get

rid of her husband. In the "Infantes de Lara" legend, he is not only compassionate in his attitude towards Gonzalo Gustioz, but also capable of genuine affection - even for Mudarra, the child of a Christian. In addition, he displays generosity in his gifts to Gonzalo Gustioz and Mudarra.

Clearly, then, the Spanish legends do not paint Almanzor as a complete villain, and his character is not one consistent whole. Instead, each legend concentrates on different aspects of his character, and he is made to fulfil a variety of functions, both military and non-military.

Notes to Section IV

- (1) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, p. 235.
Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p.228.
- (2) PCG, II, § 684, p. 390.
- (3) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, v. 190, p. 59.
- (4) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 194, p. 60, and v. 197, p. 61.
- (5) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 198, p. 61.
- (6) PCG, II, § 688, p. 392.
- (7) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 204, pp. 62-63.
PCG, II, p. 392.
- (8) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 236-237, p. 72.
PCG, II, § 690, pp. 393-394.
- (9) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 250, p. 76, and v. 262, p. 79.
- (10) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 266, p. 80.
- (11) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 268, pp. 80-81.
- (12) PCG, II, § 691, p. 395.
- (13) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 385, p. 117.
- (14) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 406, p. 123.
- (15) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 431-432, pp. 128-129.
PCG, II, § 698, p. 401.
- (16) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., XX, pp. 162-165.
PCG, II, § 700, pp. 403-406.
- (17) Pérez de Urbel, Fray J.: Historia del Condado de Castilla, I, pp. 426-427.
- (18) PCG, II, § 738, pp. 434-435.
- (19) PCG, II, § 738, p. 435.
- (20) PCG, II, § 738, p. 435.

- (21) Histoire de Jean d'Avesnes, ed. P. Chabaille, Abbeville, 1840, pp. 16 and 66.
- (22) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, in Obras Completas I, Madrid, 1934, p. 277.
- (23) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit., pp. 339-340.
- (24) PCG, II, § 743, p. 441.
- (25) PCG, II, § 743, p. 442.
- (26) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit., p. 284.
- (27) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit., pp. 284-285.
- (28) PCG, II, § 743, p. 442.
- (29) PCG, II, § 751, pp. 446-447.
- (30) PCG, II, § 751, p. 447.
- (31) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit., pp. 291-294.
- (32) PCG, II, § 736, p. 431.
- (33) Poema de Mío Cid, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1951, §§ 54-63, pp. 159-166.
- (34) Poema de Mío Cid, op. cit., pp. 99-101.
- (35) Poema de Mío Cid, op. cit., § 126, pp. 245-246, l. 2646-2652, and 2654-2655, and 2658.
- (36) Stimming, A.: Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Hauttone, Halle, 1899, pp. 28-29, l. 791-801.
- (37) Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Hauttone, op. cit., p. 32, l. 903-911, and 916-921.
- (38) Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gesta Regum Anglorum, ed. T. Duffus Hardy, I, London, 1840, Bk. II, § 145, p. 230. Paris, Gaston: La Chanson de la Vengeance de Rioul ou La Mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée, R, XVII, 1887, p. 278.
- (39) Luzel, F.M.: Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne, I, Paris, 1887, VI, p. 89.

- (40) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, p. 181.
See also Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara,
op. cit., pp. 452-453.
- (41) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II,
pp. 235-237.
Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 237-238.
- (42) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 75.
PCG, II, § 619, pp. 352-354.
- (43) Cirot, G.: Une Chronique Léonaise Inédite, BH, XI, 1909,
pp. 270-271.
- (44) PCG, II, § 826, p. 503.
- (45) PCG, II, § 738, p. 435.
- (46) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit.,
p. 453.
Pérez de Urbel, Fray J.: Historia del Condado de Castilla, II,
pp. 640-643.
Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, pp. 180-
182.
- (47) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, op. cit.,
p. 455.
- (48) Poema de Mio Cid, op. cit., § 116, p. 233, l. 2370-2372.
- (49) Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Tratado de los Romances Viejos, in
Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, XII, Madrid, 1916, p. 67.
See also Brandao, Fr. Antonio: Monarchia Lusitana, Terceira
Parte, Lisbon, 1632, Bk. X, ch. 45, p. 201.
Cardoso, Jorge: Agiologio Lusitanc, I, Lisbon, 1652, p. 328.
- (50) Menéndez Pidal, R.: Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, in
GRL, Band II, Dresden, 1903, p. vii ...
- (51) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 6.
- (52) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 7.
- (53) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 9.
- (54) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 10.
- (55) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 16.
- (56) For the whole of Almela's version see Menéndez Pidal, R.:
Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., pp. 5-16.

- (57) Poema de Mio Cid, op. cit., § 118, p. 235, l. 2409-2411.
- (58) PCG, II, § 931, p. 606.
- (59) PCG, II, § 743, p. 442.
- (60) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., pp. 27-28.
- (61) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., pp. 32-33.
- (62) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
- (63) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 385, p. 117.
- (64) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 251, p. 76.
- (65) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 34.
- (66) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 94-95, pp. 27-28.
- (67) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 34.
- (68) Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., p. 52.
- (69) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 246, p. 74:

"Sy Dios aquesta lid me dexa arrancar,
quiero tod el mio quinto a este lugar dar . . ."

and v. 278, p. 84:

"De toda su ganancia que Dios les avya dado,
mando tomar el quinto el cond aventurado,
qualquier cosa le copo ovo lo byen comprado,
mando lo dar al monje quel' diera ospedado."

For the 1562 version of the "Abbot John" legend see Menéndez Pidal,
R.: Leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor, op. cit., pp.23-54.

- (70) Herculano, A.: Historia de Portugal, ed. David Lopes, Paris, n.d.,
p. 61.
Almeida, Fortunato de: Historia de Portugal, I, Coimbra, 1922,
p. 161.
- (71) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II,
pp. 180 and 237.
- (72) Dozy, R.: Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, II, pp. 234-235,
and 237.
Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II,
pp. 235-237.

- (73) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, II, p. 251.
- (74) De Rebus Hispaniae, V, xii, p. 82.
- (75) Brito, Fr. Bernardo de: Monarchia Lusytana, Segunda Parte, Lisbon, 1609, f. 312d.
- (76) Montemayor, Jorge de: Los Siete Libros de Diana, (2nd ed.), ed. Francisco López Estrada, Madrid, 1954, p. 287.
- (77) Montemayor, Jorge de: Los Siete Libros de Diana, (2nd ed.), Valladolid, 1561, f. 16lv.
See also Cardoso, Jorge: Agiologio Lusitano, I, op. cit., p.328.
- (78) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 488-491, pp. 145-146.
- (79) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 252, p. 76.
- (80) Les Enfances Vivien, ed. Carl Wahlund and Hugo von Feilitzen, Upsala, Paris, 1895, p. 34, l. 526. For the date of the poem see pp. xxxii-xxxv.
- (81) PCG, II, s 883, p. 553.
- (82) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., v. 466-467, p. 139.

V. Final section

1. Preliminary considerations

Before attempting to separate historical elements from fictitious or folklore motifs in the "Condesa Traidora" legend, we still have to consider a few points of more general interest. These are the double aspect of this legend, seen in the light of the growth of epic legends in general; the hostile attitude towards the French in the Castilian epic; and finally, the relationship of the "Condesa Traidora" and Beuve de Mantone.

(1) Growth of an epic legend, and the double aspect of the "Condesa Traidora".

We have shown in the course of this study that the "Condesa Traidora" may be broken up into a number of different episodes and motifs, many of which have parallels in the traditions of other nations. As these motifs do not all appear in the Najerense, we have to explain how the legend grew from its original relatively simple form to the more complex version we find in the PCG and C.1344.

Epic poems and legends grew continually in the Middle Ages, for a variety of reasons:

(a) They were amplified because the composers sought novelty by filling in gaps in the life of a hero who had already become popular. The "Condesa Traidora" is an obvious illustration. Whereas the earliest version relates Garcí Fernández's death, subsequent versions fill in the details of his first unhappy marriage, and the manner in which he acquired the wife who betrayed him.

(b) They were amplified to introduce new members of the hero's

family;

(c) to clarify the motivation of the characters; or

(d) to explain away difficult or detrimental episodes in the hero's life, e.g. his death, or defeat in battle.

(e) As the epics were probably composed initially for recitation, they might be amplified or altered to fill in when the narrator's memory was at fault, or because each narrator liked to interpret the legend in his own way.

(f) As they were handed on, they might be remodelled to adjust outdated customs to contemporary usage, so that they suited the prevailing taste.

Remodelling occurred in different ways. A legend might be built up by the process of agglutination or contamination, that is, by bringing together a number of incidents or motifs which were once independent, or by transferring a motif or episode connected with one legend or personage to another legend, often with further additions taken from a variety of written or oral sources, or even invented by the person remodelling the legend. This might have been a minstrel or professional entertainer, an historian recording the legend, or even monks, anxious to publicise a particular hero's connection with their monastery.

Now these processes may result in doubling or repeating an episode or motif, and we find examples of this in the "Condesa Traidora". Although Garcí Fernández has only one wife in the Najerense version, by the time of the PCG version just over a century later, he has two wives, both of whom are French and are described in

similar terms as 'muy fremosa'. The later form of the legend therefore contains two instances of conjugal unhappiness. There are also the two pilgrimages to Santiago, in both cases by people of French nationality, i.e. the pilgrimage of Argentina and her parents, and that of the Count who abducts Argentina. There are the two French Counts - the father and the abductor - and finally, Garcí Fernández's second wife, Sancha, commits not one, but two, crimes - one against her husband, and one against her son.

This type of doubling or repetition of incidents is not peculiar to this legend, for it occurs frequently in the epic. The legends centring round Fernán González and Bernardo del Carpio, for instance, also illustrate this point.

The former contains the following three examples of doubling an incident:

(a) Fernán González is imprisoned twice - the first time when he meets King García of Navarre at Cirueña, and is imprisoned at Castroviejo, ⁽¹⁾ and the second time at Leon, after King Sancho has summoned him to the Cortes there. ⁽²⁾ The F.Gz. does not include the latter incident, which appears in the PCG version of the legend.

(b) The Infanta Doña Sancha visits and rescues the Count on both occasions. She rescues him from Castroviejo in return for his promise to marry her, ⁽³⁾ and from Leon, after she has become his wife, by letting him escape disguised in her clothes while she remains in prison. ⁽⁴⁾

(c) Fernán González defeats Almanzor twice - at Lara and at Hacinas - in both cases with divine aid. He also visits San Pedro de

Arlanza before each battle, prays for help against the Moors, and receives Pelayo's prophecy that he will defeat Almanzor. (5)

The "Bernardo del Carpio" legend, according to the earliest extant version in the Tudense, relates how Bernardo fights two battles against the French, who invade Spain twice. The first battle is against Charlemagne's army at Roncesvalles in the time of Alfonso II the Chaste, (6) and the second is against Charles, the third Emperor of the Romans, in Alfonso III's time. (7) On both occasions the enemy is defeated by Bernardo, aided by the Moors - Marsil at Roncesvalles, and Muza in the second battle, although both are described as the King of Zaragoza. According to the PCG, Bernardo also defeats and kills in battle a French nobleman, Bueso, who invades Spain with a large army. (8) In addition, Bernardo fights two similar battles with Alfonso the Great against two different Moorish kings, Ores of Mérida, who surrounded Benavente, and Alchaman, who surrounded Zamora. In each battle the Moorish leader is killed. (9)

Another example of repetition of a theme is the frequency of Bernardo's appeal to the King to free his father from the castle of Luna. He does this, for example, when he first learns that his father is a prisoner; (10) after his defeat of Bueso; (11) during the fiesta at Pentecost, after the Queen has already appealed on his behalf to the King; (12) and after his capture of ^{Orios} Godos and Count Tiobalt, whom he sends to Alfonso with instructions to ask for his father's release. (13)

We may sum up by saying that the "Condesa Traidora", and other epic legends such as "Bernardo del Carpio", provide us with examples

of amplification by adding an episode or motif of similar substance either for variety, or for emphasis. Such legends had to be easily intelligible to all, and the repetition of incidents would not only serve to drive them home to all the people for whom they were intended, but it would also stress the hero's military skill in the case of Fernán González or Bernardo del Carpio, or his misfortune in the case of Garcí Fernández.

This helps to explain how the "Condesa Traidora" probably grew in the intervening century between its appearance in the Najerense and the PCG. Gradually fresh incidents and motifs were added to the original nucleus of the legend, some probably modelled on whole episodes taken from other legends, and other details perhaps not drawn from any one specific source, but representing popular customs or motifs. Such, for example, are the motifs of the pilgrimages to Santiago, or the help given in exchange for a promise of marriage.

In this particular legend the story is of prime importance rather than characterisation. No one person is pre-eminent, although there is certainly more interest in the treacherous Countess than in the heroes - Garcí Fernández and Sancho García. Several people, however, play an important part, and because, instead of glorifying one particular person, the interest is concentrated chiefly in the events themselves, there is a tendency to pile on incidents drawn from a variety of sources. This was probably done both to maintain the interest of the people for whom it was originally destined, and to clarify episodes which might need, or lend themselves to, further explanation.

(2) Hostility towards the French

The next point for consideration is the "Condesa Traidora"'s apparent hostility towards the French. It is significant that in the PCG version both disloyal wives are French, and so is Argentina's abductor, who dishonours Garcí Fernández. The Najerense does not mention the Countess's nationality, so this is an addition, surely implying growing hostility towards the French. How, then, do we explain this feeling in the 13th century version?

This is not the first example of such an attitude in the epic legends of the Peninsula. We have already remarked that in the legend of Bernardo del Carpio, for instance, the hero challenges the French twice, even allying himself with the Moors. Many French nobles are killed at Roncesvalles, including Roland, and Charlemagne is forced to flee:

"Tunc Carolus scripsit Regi Adefonso ut sibi esset subditus et vasallus. Bernaldus autem haec audiens ira commotus festinavit cum suis contra Carolum ferre auxilium Sarracenis . . . Marsil Rex barbarorum, qui praeerat Caesaraugustae civitati, evocatis innum-rabilibus millibus Sarracenorum, et praedicto Bernaldo atque quibusdam Navarris secum associatis, et cum Francis inito bello Rodlandus Britannicus praefectus, Anselmus Comes, Egiardus mensae Caroli praepositus cum aliis multis nobilibus Francis exigentibus peccatis nostrorum occisi sunt. Transierat iam quidem Carolus in primo suorum agmine Alpes Roscidaevallis dimissa in posteriore parte exercitus manu robustorum ob custodiam, qui Bernaldo . . . super eos cum Sarracenis acerrime incursante interfecti sunt."(14)

The Tudense then relates the second battle, in which Bernardo defeats the Emperor Charles III and many French are killed, in the following way:

"Eo tempore Carolus tertius Imperator Romanorum cum exercitu magno debellaturus tam Christianos quam Sarracenos ad Hispaniam properabat. Sed Bernaldo cum exercitu Christianorum et cum Muza Rege Caesaraugustano illi ad clausuras Pyrenaeorum montium obviam

hostiliter procedente dum exercitus Caroli inordinate se gereret, mox in fugam versus est, et multi tam ex Romanis quam ex Gallis in illo excidio, Christianorum et Sarracenorum gladiis perierunt."(15)

The PCG account of the battle at Roncevalles gives the impression that the Spaniards would prefer death to subjugation to the French:

"Et maguer que el (= Charlemagne) auie asaz que fazer en aquella tierra con los moros, prometio a los mandaderos del rey don Alfonso quel yrle ayudar. Quando los mandaderos tornaron al rey, et los ricos omnes sopieron el fecho, pesoles mucho et conseiaron al rey que reuocase lo que enbiara dezir al emperador; sinon quel echarien del reyno et catarien otro sennor; ca mas querien morir libres que ser mal andantes en seruidumbre de los franceses. Et el que mas fuerte et mas rezio era en esta cosa su sobrino Bernaldo fue . . ."(16)

For this reason, the Christian regions are unanimous in joining Alfonso to assist in Charlemagne's defeat:

"Mas quando lo sopieron en Asturias, en Alaua et en Vizcaya, en Nauarra et en Ruconia - esta es Gasconna - et en Aragon, dixieron todos de vn coraçon que mas querien morir que non entrar en seruidumbre de franceses. Et allegaronse todos al rey don Alfonso, et salieron contra el emperador Carlos."(17)

The other French defeat in the PCG occurs in 843 in Castile, near the castle of Amaya, when Bueso invades and Bernardo kills him. The rest of the French army flee after their leader's death. (18)

The account of Bernardo's deeds in the F.Gz. expresses similar feelings of antipathy towards the French. Again, there are two invasions and two battles, in which the French are defeated. The first takes place at Fuente Rabya, instead of Roncevalles, and a large number of French are killed there:

"Mato y de franceses rreyes e potestades, com diz la escrytura syete fueron, sepades, muchos morieron y, esto byen lo creades, que nunca mas tornaron a las sus vezindades."(19)

During the second battle, we are told that Bernardo inflicts an even

greater defeat on the French than during the first:

"Tovo la delantera Bernaldo es(s)a vez,
con gentes espanones, gentes de muy grran(d) prez,
vençieron es(s)as oras a ffrançeses rrefez
(byen) fue es(s)a mas negra que la primera vez."(20)

The poet also voices strongly Spain's desire not to be subjected to France:

"Dyxo que mas queria com estava estar,
que el rreygno de Espanna a Françia sojuzgar,
que non se podryan des(s)o ffrançeses alabar,
que mas la querian ellos en çinco annos ganar."(21)

One more legend with a similar antagonism underlying it is that of the Cid's youthful adventures, related in the Crónica Rinada. According to this, the Pope, Emperor of Germany, and King of France demand tribute from King Ferdinand of Spain. He calls his vassals to a consultation, and Rodrick advises summoning people from all his kingdoms, and declares that he will penetrate as far as Paris. He is responsible, then, for leading the resistance against the enemy. He first meets in battle the Count of Savoy, whom he takes prisoner, and then he advises Ferdinand to advance to Paris, where the King of France, Emperor of Germany, and the Pope are waiting:

"Señor, lleguemos a Paris, que asy lo avré otorgado;
ca ay es el rey de Francia e el emperador Aleman;
y es el patriarcha e el Papa Romano;
que nos están esperando a que les diessemos el tributo;
e nos queremos gelo dar privado,
que fasta que me vea con ellos non serya folgado."(22)

The Spaniards camp outside Paris, and the attack on the French is again led by Rodrick, who challenges the twelve Peers of France to fight him:

"Ally movió Ruy Dias entre las tiendas de los Francesses,
expoloneó el cavallo, e feryan los pies en la tierra, yva
temblando.

En las puertas de Paris fue ferir con la mano,
 a pessar de Francesses fue passar commo de cabo.
 Paróse antel Papa, muy quedo estido:
 '¿qué es esso, Francesses e Papa Romano?
 Syempre oy desir que doce pares avia en Francia lidiadores;
 ¡llamadlos!
 Sy quisieren lidiar conmigo cavalguen muy privado.'"(23)

Later, he challenges the Pope, the King of France, and the German Emperor for demanding tribute, and declares that Ferdinand will give it to them in battle, and that he himself will fight the King of France:

"Estonce Ruy Dias apriessa se fue levantado:
 'Oytme', dixo 'rey de Francia e emperador Alemano,
 oytme, patriarcha e Papa Romano,
 Enbiastesme pedir tributario:
 traervos lo ha el buen rey don Fernando.
 Cras vos entregará en buena lid en el campo
 Los marcos quel pedistes.
 Vos, rey de Francia, de mi seredes buscado,
 veré si vos acorreran los doce pares a algun Frances locano.'"(24)

In fact, the manuscript is incomplete, and ends at the point where a truce avoids this battle, ⁽²⁵⁾ but the poem is interesting for its spirit of defiance to the French.

We know that there was close contact between the French and the Christian states of the Northern part of the Peninsula for several centuries in the Middle Ages. French influence there goes back to the Frankish expeditions against the Moors in the North-Eastern region of the Peninsula in Charlemagne's time. These resulted in the annexation of districts in the region, the siege of Barcelona in 801, and its final capitulation to Louis the Pious in 803, ⁽²⁶⁾ and the formation of the Spanish March. This included the region from the Eastern Pyrenees as far south as the Llobregat, and so corresponded approximately to Catalonia. It formed part of the Carolingian

Empire, and was influenced to some extent by Carolingian administration and political, social, and ecclesiastical organisation. (27)

French influence was particularly strong in the Northern Christian kingdoms between the 11th and the 13th centuries, although even before this other regions, apart from the North-East, underwent Frankish invasions and expeditions. Aragon and Navarre, for instance, were both penetrated, and there is some evidence of opposition to the Franks in the 9th century. In 824 the Basques are said to have defeated a French army under Counts Eblo and Aznar. Its leaders were taken prisoner; Eblo was sent to Córdoba, but Aznar was freed and allowed to return home, as he was also a Basque:

"Aeblus et Asinarius comites cum copiis Wasconum ad Pampilonam missi, cum peracto iam sibi iniuncto negotio reverterentur, in ipso Pirinaei iugo perfidia montanorum in insidias deducti ac circumventi, capti sunt, et copiae quas secum habuere, paene usque ad internicionem deletae: et Aeblus quidem Cordubam missus, Asinarius vero misericordia eorum qui eum ceperant, quasi qui consanguineus eorum esset, domum redire permissus est." (28)

The Annales from 741-829, which are attributed to Eginhard, also record a surprise attack delivered on the rearguard of the Frankish army as it passed through the Pyrenees after an expedition against Pamplona and Zaragoza. This they attribute to the Basques, (29) and Eginhard's Vita Karoli Imperatoris also records the defeat of the Frankish army in similar circumstances. (30) The Silense, however, specifies that the Navarrese were responsible for the attack on the rearguard of Charlemagne's army:

"Porro cum in reditu Pampiloniam Maurorum oppidum destruere conaretur, pars maxima exercitus sui in ipso Pirineo iugo magnas exsolvit penas. Siquidem cum agmine longo, ut angusti loci situs permittebat, porrectus iret exercitus, extremum agmen quod precedentes tuebatur, Navarri desuper incursantes aggrediuntur.

Consertoque cum eis prelio, usque ad unum omnes interficiunt. In quo bello Egghardus mense Caroli regis prepositus, Anselmus sui palatii comes et Rotholodus Britannicus prefectus cum aliis compluribus ceciderunt . . ."(31)

This is clearly written by a Spaniard with no love of the French, and all the Chronicles to which I have referred indicate the existence of an anti-Frankish spirit in the region of Navarre, and the people's determination not to submit lightly to Frankish domination.

There also appears to have been some antipathy towards the Franks in the Spanish March. Talking of Barcelona in the time of Charlemagne, Ermoldus Nigellus indicates that it preferred the Moors to the Franks: (i)

"Urbs erat interea Francorum inhospita turmis,
Maurorum votis adsociata magis,
quam Barchinonam prisci dixere Latini,
Romanoque fuit more polita nimis."(32)

In discussing Catalonia's relations with Southern Gaul, Milá y Fontanals refers to the existence of an anti-Carolingian party. He notes that the natives of the Peninsula strove to make Catalonia independent, and a nucleus of people sometimes formed an anti-Carolingian party and tried to shake off the Moorish yoke by themselves. (33) A number of counties - Barcelona, Gerona, Ausona, Urgel, Besalú, Cerdaña - eventually broke away from subjection to France, and were united under the rule of Wifred the Hairy. (34)

Between the 11th and 13th centuries, French civilisation penetrated the Peninsula in several ways:

(i) The Carmen from which the extract is taken was written in 826 in honour of the Emperor Louis. See MGH, Scriptores, II, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hanover, 1829, p. 464.

(a) The pilgrimage to Santiago increased in the 11th century, and acquired its international reputation. This opened up the Peninsula to the rest of Europe, bringing, in particular, many people from different parts of France to the shrine of St. James.

(b) The Benedictine monks of Cluny infiltrated the Northern states. Catalonia already had some Cluniac monasteries in the 10th century, (35)(i) but, perhaps encouraged by the success of the pilgrimage to Santiago, the Cluniacs began to enter the Christian states of Aragon, Navarre and Castile from the reign of Sancho el Mayor of Navarre (1000-1035). We know, for example, that Sancho el Mayor handed over to the monks of Cluny the monasteries of San Juan de la Peña and San Salvador de Leire in 1022, and Oña in 1033. (36) Sancho's immediate successors, his son, Ferdinand I of Castile (1035-1065), and grandson, Alfonso VI (1065-1109), also maintained close relations with the Cluniacs and continued to show them favour. Many French bishops came to the Peninsula as well - the first bishop of Toledo after its reconquest from the Moors in 1085 was a Frenchman. (37)

The result of this Cluniac invasion was far-reaching, from a secular as well as a religious point of view. The monks not only reorganised the Christian church and established new monasteries, particularly along the pilgrim route, but encouraged to go to Spain in the hope of acquiring material possessions, they helped the

(i) According to Pérez de Urbel, in 962 abbot Guarín of the French Cluniac monastery of Lezat was given control of the Catalan abbey of Cuxá. He rebuilt the church, and established a centre of reform which spread to the monasteries and churches subject to him, and subsequently to others in Catalonia. See Pérez de Urbel, Fray J.: Los Monjes españoles en la Edad Media, II, Madrid, 1934, p. 416.

Christians in their struggle against Islam.

(c) In addition, there were numerous French military expeditions to the Peninsula over a period of nearly 250 years. French knights were attracted by a desire for glory or wealth, obtainable by easy conquests and the acquisition of booty. They came, too, in a spirit of religious enthusiasm, believing that they could obtain eternal salvation by fighting the infidel. At first only isolated forces arrived in the 11th century, but the first great French Crusade of 1064-1065, in which the fortress of Barbastro in Sobrarbe was captured, (38) was sufficiently important for Ibn Hayyan to describe in some detail. (39) The expeditions continued until the middle of the 13th century, when the Spanish kingdoms no longer needed their help.

It is, in fact, debatable whether the Reconquest would have been accomplished without French aid, for before the Crusades the Peninsular states were still in the early stages of their development. Although Castile became a powerful kingdom in the 11th century, Navarre, Aragon, and the county of Barcelona were still small in extent and poor, and at a numerical disadvantage. (1) Moreover, they lacked cohesion, and instead of being united by a common desire to expel the Moslems, Christian still fought against Christian, sometimes with Moorish allies. (40)

(d) Numerous marriage alliances were formed between Spanish royal houses and the French aristocracy. For example, Alfonso VI married

(1) Navarre was an extensive kingdom under Sancho el Mayor, but before his death he divided it up between his sons. In this way the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were first created, and Navarre lost its hegemony over the other Christian states.

Inés of Aquitaine, and Constance, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy. Later, his daughters, Urraca and Teresa, married Counts Raymond and Henry of Burgundy.⁽⁴¹⁾ Ramiro I of Aragon married Ermesinde, a princess of the county of Bigorre c. 1038, and her sister, Etiennette or Stéfanie, married García of Navarre in 1036.⁽⁴²⁾ These alliances therefore strengthened the ties between the Peninsula and France.

(e) Some of the knights and soldiers, who had helped in the campaigns against Islam, settled in the Peninsula in a military and feudal capacity. Deliberate attempts were made to attract colonisers by granting them certain privileges, such as exemption from taxes, administrative autonomy, personal freedom, and help in acquiring land.⁽⁴³⁾ Some of the towns reconquered from the Moors were repopulated with French colonisers, for instance, Estella or Tarragona, and in some towns new French districts were established; one such district was Saint-Cernin in Pamplona, created by French immigrants. The French exploited the Christian kingdoms, benefiting from the privileges they received, buying up land, and acquiring wealth, and a certain amount of hostility towards them must have been inevitable. However, the inhabitants of the Peninsula were not completely dominated by the French. There has always been a certain resentment of foreign invaders there, and an inability to assimilate them completely, so the initial separation of the French and the natives of the country is not surprising.

(f) The last sphere of French influence is the cultural one. Peninsular architecture was influenced by French styles, and so were the language and literature of the country. A passage in the Silense

suggests that some chansons de geste were known in the Peninsula by the early 12th century, and it provides us with another example of anti-French feeling. The author is protesting against the French, who assert falsely that Charlemagne won some cities from the Moors below the Pyrenees, for this is not true:

"Sed neque Carolus, quem infra Pirineos montes quasdam civitates a manibus paganorum eripuisse, Franci falso asserunt. Cum enim per XXXIII annos, ut in gestis eiusdem habetur, bellum cum Saxonibus protraheret . . ." (44)

The French chanson Mainet was evidently known in Spain, since the PCG contains a prose version of it. The similarities between certain Spanish legends and some chansons de geste are also remarkable; for example, the "Condesa Traidora" and Beuve de Hantone, which we shall study in the next section, or Anseïs de Cartage, which resembles the Spanish legend of Rodrick, last Gothic king of Spain. The legend of the King of France's pilgrimage to Santiago is also similar to the chanson Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In addition, certain stylistic features of the Poema de Mío Cid are common in the French epics; for instance, the direct address to the audience; the desire for eternal salvation expressed at the end of the poem;⁽⁴⁶⁾ the similarity in the description of battles; or Doña Ximena's long prayer for the Cid's safety.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Finally, the "Bernardo del Carpio" legend probably originated as a direct reaction to the Chanson de Roland and the glorious rôle of Charlemagne and Roland in that poem, which is certainly humiliating to Spain. All these parallels, therefore, are indicative of some considerable contact between the Spanish legends and the chansons de geste.

To sum up, the anti-French feeling in the epic legends of the Peninsula may, in part, be a patriotic reaction against French influence in the medieval literary field. The Silense's attack certainly supports this belief. It represents a feeling which existed genuinely among the Christians in the medieval Peninsula, and it is probably explained as an understandable dislike of a foreign invader who plays such a leading rôle in a country's affairs as France did in medieval Spain, deliberately exploiting that country for its own advantage.

The later version of the "Condesa Traidora" was probably conceived in a similar spirit of antipathy to that of the "Bernardo del Carpio" legend. It came both as a protest against France's pretensions to extend her influence in every sphere of Peninsular life, and doubtless from a patriotic desire to rehabilitate the Castilian name by glorifying Castilian or native Spanish heroes and turning the enemy, or the traitors, into foreigners. In particular, the people responsible for these legends seized the opportunity to belittle a nation which had aroused varying sentiments in their own land, and given them cause for dislike or resentment. I have suggested in a previous chapter that the "Condesa Traidora" reflects a real Castilian dislike for Garcí Fernández's historical wife, since she was of foreign not Castilian, origin. This fact helps to explain the lack of sympathy with which the legendary wives are regarded.

(3) Relationship of the "Condesa Traidora" with Beuve de Hantone

We come now to the question of the relationship between our legend and Beuve de Hantone, in view of the resemblance of the first

part of the French poem with the Castilian legend. Different versions of Beuve de Hautone have come down to us. There are two extant Anglo-Norman manuscripts, one belonging to the 13th century,⁽ⁱ⁾ and one to the 14th century.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Although neither is complete, they supplement one another, and Albert Stimming has reconstructed the Anglo-Norman poem more or less in its entirety on the basis of one or the other.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In addition, there are nine French manuscripts not in the Anglo-Norman dialect, and the earliest of these dates from the 13th century.⁽⁴⁹⁾ These provide other versions, but there is a basic resemblance in their content. For purposes of comparison, I propose first to summarise that part of the Anglo-Norman poem which is similar to the "Condessa Traidora" legend.

(a) Anglo-Norman version

As an old man, Count Gui de Hautone marries the King of Scotland's beautiful daughter, who gives birth to a son, Boeve. Prior to her marriage, the Emperor Doon of Germany loved her, and in vain asked her father for her hand in marriage. At first the Countess loves Gui, but then she begins to hate and despise him:

"Seignurs, icele dame dunt jeo vus ai dist
estoit bele dame saunz nule contredist,
mes mult fu felunesse, ne out le quer parfist;
mult ama son seignour Guion petit,
einz le hai sur tuz e le teneit en despit."⁽⁵⁰⁾

After Boeve is ten years old, his mother resolves to kill her husband, for although she is still young and beautiful, he is now old and

(i) This is Ms. D, and was owned by Firmin Didot. See Stimming, A.: Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Hautone, Halle, 1899, p. iv.

(ii) This is Ms. B, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Stimming, A.: Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Hautone, op. cit., p. iii, and Boje, C.: Über den Altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hautone, Halle, 1909, p. 2.

ailing:

"Un jur se purpense la dame malement
ke estoit bele femme, jovene e avenaunt,
e son seigneur fu veuz homme e alout declinaunt;
ne le lerrai, ceo dist ele, pur nul homme vivaunt
ke ele ne lui face tuer a dol e a torment."(51)

She therefore sends a message to the Emperor of Germany, inviting him to a particular forest on the 1st May with 400 knights; she proposes to send her husband hunting there, with only a few men, and she asks the Emperor to kill him:

"E di lui, ke il face ov lui aprester
quater cent de chevalers, se facent ben armer
e veinient en ceste forest par desuz la mer;
jeo lui envoieurai mon seigneur ausi com pur chacer
e poi de gent od ly, ne ly estoit doter;
e di lui, ke il ne let lui jamés eschaper
que il ne lui coupe le chef o un branc de ascer."(52)

She promises that as soon as she receives her dead husband's head, the Emperor will receive her love. He agrees to the plan, and on the 1st May the Countess feigns illness, telling her husband that she needs the fresh meat of a wild boar to cure her. The Count goes hunting forthwith, accompanied only by three men, and he is attacked by the Emperor, who knocks him off his horse:

"Lui quens Guion brocha le destrer,
le emperur va tost un rust coup doner,
la sele de argent en fet il vuder
e encontre la tere le emperur fet il verser
e de sun destrer le fet il a val voler."(53)

After a fight against overwhelming odds, the Count and his companions are killed. The Emperor sends the Count's head to Gui's wife, who summons him, promising to celebrate their marriage at once.

Not content with her husband's death, the Countess next tries to have Boeve killed, for he accuses her of his father's death, and

threatens to take his revenge when he grows up. She forces Boeve's tutor, Sabot, to promise to kill the boy. Instead, he has a pig slain, covers Boeve's clothes with its blood, ties them to a stone, and throws them in the river. He disguises Boeve as a shepherd, sending him to guard his flock. One day, however, Boeve goes to the palace and strikes the Emperor with his stick. He escapes and takes refuge with his tutor, but when his mother threatens Sabot with death unless he surrenders Boeve, the boy gives himself up to her. She then instructs two knights to sell or drown him. Saracen merchants buy him and take him to Egypt, where he is received at King Hermin's court. (54)

After many adventures abroad, Boeve returns to Haumtone in England, and visits Doon, claiming to be Gerraud from Dijon castle. Afterwards he informs Doon by message of his real identity. Doon assembles an army to fight Boeve's army, which is commanded by Sabot and the giant Escopart. The latter captures Doon, and Boeve has him killed by throwing him into boiling lead. When news of his death reaches the Countess, she hurls herself from a tower:

"Boves ad fet de plum aporter,
 une fosce fet il en tur aparailer,
 de plum boylant le fet tot empler,
 pus ad fet Doun par dedens getter.
 'Ore se poet,' dist Boves, 'sire Doun bainer,
 si il eyt freyd, ore se purra chauffer.'
 A la dame vint corant un messenger,
 ke la conte noveles de Doun li fer.
 Quant ele l'oy, si prent un cotel de asser,
 le messenger fert dreit par mi le qer.
 A sa haut tur va la dame monter,
 de son gre chet jus, que le col fet debriser."(55)

The similarities with the "Condesa Traidora" are obvious:

(a) The wife's motivation in plotting her husband's death is identical.

(b) Both suitors are foreign leaders, and each reveals his love before the treacherous wife betrays her husband.

(c) Similar arrangements are made for disposing of the unwanted husbands - i.e. the wife's message to the suitor, and her part in ensuring her husband goes to his death with only a few supporters.

(d) Gui, like Garcí Fernández, falls from his horse, and is forced to meet the enemy face to face on foot, although his horse does not fall under him, and there is no suggestion that the Countess of Hautone weakened the animal. The difference between the actual deaths is that whereas Gui's enemies kill him on the spot, Garcí Fernández is only wounded and captured, and does not die until a few days later.

(e) Both Countesses try to dispose of their sons, but fail, owing to a servant's fidelity. The sons therefore live to avenge their father's death, and the treacherous women are finally killed and their accomplices defeated. The mode of death differs, however, as the Countess of Hautone commits suicide by falling from the tower, instead of taking poison like the Countess of Castile.

There are other minor differences in the details of the two legends:

(a) Whereas these episodes form the main basis of the Najerense version of the "Condesa Traidora", and a considerable part of the later versions, they only amount to a relatively small section of Boeve de Hautone. The major part of the poem is taken up with

Boeve's own adventures, both abroad and in England.

(b) The exact date of the husband's betrayal varies. According to the Najerense, Garcí Fernández encounters the Moors on Christmas Day, but the Emperor Doon goes in pursuit of Gui de Hautone on the 1st May.

(c) After her husband's death, the Countess of Hautone actually marries her accomplice, although the Countess of Castile marries neither Almanzor nor the Moorish king.

However, these dissimilarities are not sufficiently important to suggest that neither legend knew the other. In fact, the appearance of the poisoning motif in the other French versions of Beuve de Hantone strengthens the belief that one legend influenced the other.

(b) The mainland French versions

The poem is not identical in all the extant French manuscripts, and we must consider two different versions to see how the poisoning motif is introduced.

One of these versions coincides with the Anglo-Norman poem in the essential outlines of the story, with the addition of two attempts at death by poisoning, and many details.⁽¹⁾ According to this version, Gui de Hantone, when an old man, marries the young daughter of Count Renier, and has a son, Beuve, by her. She begins to hate Gui,

(1) This version is preserved complete in two Mss. (a) Ms. P in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fr. 12,548, belonging to the 13th century, and (b) Ms. W in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, 3429, belonging to the 15th century. There is also a third Ms. at Rome in the Vatican Library, Regina 1632, dating from the 13th-14th century, but the beginning is missing. See Stimming, A.: Der Festländische Bueve de Hantone, Fassung II, GRL, Band 30, Dresden, 1912, Preface, and Boje, C.: Über den Altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hantone, Halle, 1909, pp. 2-4.

owing to his advanced years, and so plans to kill him and give her love to Doon de Maience. She therefore tries to persuade her cook, Guinemant, to give Gui poisoned food:

"La male dame ot moult le cuer dolant
 Pour son signour, qui ele haicit tant,
 Herbes fist querre, moult se vait pourcachant,
 Son seignor velt occire a grant tormant . . .
 'Amis,' dist ele, 'par le cors saint Amant,
 J'ai poisons faites de moult divers samblant,
 Va si les pren, car je le te commant;
 Que nus nel sache, fai le moult coiemant,
 Tu sers Guion main et avespremant
 Et de cuisine fais son commandement,
 En toi se fie et si te croit formant;
 De la puison que ci vois en present,
 Quant Guis sera a la table seant,
 A son mengier li aporte devant;
 Se il en gouste, je te di et creant,
 De mort soubite carra tot maintenant.'"(56)

However, the cook refuses to do this, and the Countess imprisons him. She then sends a message to Doon de Maience asking him to kill Gui, whom she plans to send hunting in the Ardennes on a certain Wednesday. Doon agrees, on the grounds that he is avenging his father and brother, whom Gui killed. As in the Anglo-Norman version, on the pre-arranged day the Countess feigns illness, and sends Gui to hunt a stag, claiming that its heart will cure her. She informs Doon by message; he overtakes the Count, and after a lengthy fight Gui is killed.

Doon is subsequently unwilling to marry the Countess, fearing lest Beuve should kill him. The Countess therefore asks the traitors, Fromont and Hate, to dispose of her son. Hate promises to give Beuve some poison mixed with herbs:

"Je connois herbes, ferai une puison
 Se le ferai mengier en un poisson:
 Puis que del col passera le menton,
 Andoi li oeil li voleront du front,
 Puis ert noiiés u nous le mourdriron.'"(57)

In return for sparing the life of Beuve's tutor, Soibaut, the traitors force him to agree to kill Beuve. Soibaut is reluctant to do this, and on his wife's suggestion, Beuve is stained black with the juice of a plant and disguised in poor clothes, while his own garments are thrown into the river Blaive. Mate and Fromont are told that Beuve has been killed, and they pass on this information to the Countess. During the festivities at the wedding of the Countess and Doon, Beuve turns up at court and strikes Doon, subsequently managing to escape. The Countess renews her efforts to find him, and eventually he gives himself up to save Soibaut, whom the Countess is threatening to burn to death. Beuve's disguise is removed, and he is taken to court, but Gui's cousin, abbot Savari, realising that the Countess and Doon will make an attempt on Beuve's life, gives him a magic fir-cone, which will protect him from his enemies. This has the desired effect when Doon and the Countess give Beuve poisoned food. He throws it to Doon's greyhound, which eats it and dies:

"En la court fu un an Bueves et plus,
 Que il ne l'ont occis ne confondu.
 Do et la mere en sont moult irascu,
 Un jor le vaurrent enherber en un lus,
 Bueves li enfes s'en est aparcëus
 Et de la pome ot mengié a gëun,
 Devant lui a un grant levrier vëu,
 Moult le haicit, car son parrastre fu,
 Il l'a geté, et li chiens l'a vëu,
 Il le menga, car ne sot, que ce fu,
 Li cuers du ventre li est par mi rompus,
 Devant la table chäi mors estendus."(58)

Following this unsuccessful attempt to poison him, Beuve is sold into slavery and bought by King Hermin. (59)

In this version, too, Beuve eventually avenges himself. He goes to the court in London and complains when he finds Doon in the King's service. In face of the latter's refusal to admit that Doon is a traitor, Beuve challenges Doon in the royal presence. The King makes vain efforts to reconcile them, and he finally agrees to a duel to settle whether Doon is a traitor. Eventually Doon is severely wounded and confesses his guilt, claiming that he acted on the Countess's advice. Beuve terminates the duel by cutting off his head. (60) There is no reference here to the Countess's suicide.

The two attempts at assassination by means of poison are therefore the work of the Countess in this version, as is the attempt to poison Sancho in the "Condesa Traidora". The danger is averted in the first case by the cook's loyalty to his master and his refusal to co-operate, and in the second case by the foresight of the abbot, who provides Beuve with a means of protection. It is only after the plan to poison Gui has failed that the Countess persuades Doon to take an active part in her husband's murder. In the "Condesa Traidora" the poisoning motif applies, of course, only to the son, but it fails for a similar reason - a faithful person's loyalty, which makes him warn the victim.

The other French version contains only one genuine attempt at death by poisoning, and a brief reference to it as a possible means of death in another episode. In both cases it applies to the son. (i)

The actual attempt is averted in a way similar to the other version,

(i) This version is preserved in a 13th century Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 25,519. See Stimming, A.: Der Festländische Bueve de Hantone, Fassung I, Dresden, 1911, p. xi, and Boje, C.: op. cit., p. 6. Boje cites the Ms. as No. 25, 516.

for an abbot presents Beuve with the magic fir-cone, which has the power to protect its possessor against poison. When the Countess gives poison to Beuve, he passes it on to a greyhound, which again takes it and dies:

"Mais uns abes, qui chierement l'ama,
 Une pume de pin li aporta,
 Si le carna et bien le conjura,
 Hom qui le porte ja n'envenimera;
 Et Bevelins tout adés le porta
 Trestous les jors que el palais monta.
 Ordiés ja, que la mere fera:
 Grandes culevres et crapaus asambla,
 Porir les mist et puis les pestela,
 Les ieus d'aragne avoeques pestela,
 Trestous les jors a son fil les dona;
 Ainc n'i parut ne ainc ne s'en garda;
 Quant vient un jor, li enfes s'apensa,
 A un levrier que Dos i amena
 En a doné, et li chiens trebucha
 Et caï jus, car li mort le toucha;
 Bueves le voit, de la paour trambia ..."(61)

It is when the Countess perceives that she cannot kill Beuve that she summons Fromont and Hate and entrusts them with selling Beuve to the Saracens. (62)

In an earlier episode, the Countess appeals to Guinemant for his assistance in killing Beuve. She suggests that he should poison him so that he languishes, and then strangle him, or let her do the actual killing with a knife:

"Keus Guinemans, jurer vous convenra
 Que vous mon fil Beuvon qui m'alaita
 Vous l'ochirois si com vous l'orés ja;
 Enherbéle, tant que il languira,
 Et quant venra que il languit ara,
 Si l'estranlés u vous l'amenés cha,
 Un grant coutel qui sœf trenchera
 M'aporterois, puis vous traiés en la,
 Jou l'ochirai, ja mais ne mangera;"(63)

No further details are given concerning the administration of the

poison, and I have already pointed out that here the motif is connected with Beuve, whereas in the other version it forms the Countess's initial attempt to kill her husband, not her son. As in that episode, the Countess has to resort to other means to effect her design, because the cook refuses to have a part in any murder.

(c) The "Condessa Traidora" as the source of Beuve de Hantone

The basic similarities between Beuve de Hantone - both the Anglo-Norman and the French forms - and the "Condessa Traidora" indicate that one may have influenced the other directly. The evidence available suggests that the "Condessa Traidora" is older than Beuve de Hantone, and I think the problem of transmission may be explained fairly easily. All the elements of the Castilian legend which recur in the French poems are contained in the Najerense. This means that the legend must have been circulating in the Peninsula at any rate from about the middle of the 12th century. We have just discussed the considerable contact between France and the Northern kingdoms of the Peninsula from the 11th century, and pointed out that this included literary contact, since chansons de geste were evidently known in the Peninsula by the time the Silense was compiled. This contact may have been particularly strong along the pilgrim route to Santiago. The Najerense was probably compiled by a monk belonging to the monastery of Santa María de Nájera, which became dependent on Cluny in the late 11th century, and so most likely had close relations with the French Cluniacs from that time. (64) Perhaps of even greater significance is the fact that the pilgrim route to Compostela passed through Nájera, i.e. through the very place where the "Condessa Traidora" was

known. This legend could reasonably have been communicated, therefore, to people passing along the pilgrim route - perhaps minstrels accompanying the pilgrims - and taken back from the Peninsula to France, where it provided material for part of Beuve de Hantone. It seems most likely that the influence was this way round, since we have no reason to believe that Beuve de Hantone is older than the "Condesa Traidora". We have seen that the earliest extant manuscripts of Beuve de Hantone date from the 13th century - both Anglo-Norman and French versions. On the basis of its language, A. Stimming believes that the poem originated in the first half of the 13th century, (65) and Von Richthofen puts it between 1215 - 1225, and in any case not earlier than 1200. (66)

It is possible, however, that there was an earlier version of Beuve de Hantone. We may suggest this tentatively on the basis of a reference to 'Baf d'Antona' by a Catalan troubadour, Guilhem de Berguedán, in a poem dated between 1187-1190, or before 1175, according to M. de Riquer. (67)

(d) Daurel et Beton

There is also another chanson de geste in which a Count Gui and Beuve de Hantone appear, and it seems to have been circulating in France before the 13th century. This is a Provençal poem, Daurel et Beton, which is incomplete. Apart from the similarity of the names, there is some correspondence between the basic form of some incidents in this poem and Beuve de Hantone. Guilhem de Berguedán's reference could equally well have been to the character in Daurel et Beton, but it certainly suggests that one poem or the other was known in the late

12th century.

According to the Provençal poem, Duke Beuve d'Antone has as his companion a certain Count Gui, owner of the castle of Aspremont, and they agree that if Beuve marries and dies without an heir, his widow and his inheritance are to pass to Gui. Charlemagne marries Beuve to his sister, Ermenjart, giving him Poitiers as dowry. Gui, envious of Beuve's fortune, demands his share as agreed, but Beuve accepts this request as a joke and Gui resolves on his death. He makes an unsuccessful attempt to seduce Ermenjart while Beuve is out hunting, but when his wife tells him, Beuve refuses to believe in Gui's treachery. Ermenjart eventually gives birth to a son, who is baptised Beton, and a year after his birth, Beuve goes to hunt a boar in the Ardennes. Ermenjart makes vain attempts to retain him, and during the hunt, when Beuve and Gui have separated from the rest of the party, Gui murders the Duke.

The Duchess is sad at the news of Beuve's death, and accuses Gui, who tells Charlemagne that a boar has killed Beuve. Charlemagne then marries Ermenjart to Gui, against her will. Fearing for her son's life, she entrusts him to a bourgeois, who gives the child to his daughter, Aiceline. Gui, refusing to believe Ermenjart's assertion that Beton is dead, offers a reward for his recovery. A fisherman betrays Beton's hiding-place to Gui, but the minstrel Daurel saves the child and takes him to the castle of Monclar. Gui visits Monclar, where he kills Daurel's child, believing that he is Beton. The minstrel then takes Beton overseas to Babylon and has him brought up by the emir.

Later, when he has grown up, Daurel tells Beton the secret of his birth, and he determines to avenge himself on Gui, who is besieging Moncler. Disguised as minstrels, Daurel and Beton enter Gui's tent, and Beton cuts off the traitor's arm. The following day, Gui is taken to Ermenjart tied to a horse's tail; he is forced to confess to Beuve's murder, and is dragged through Poitiers and thrown into a ditch. (68)

It is clear that the fundamental situations are the same in this poem as in Beuve de Hantone:

(a) The treacherous murder is carried out in similar circumstances - Doon de Maience kills Gui de Hantone out hunting in the forest, and Count Gui kills Duke Beuve d'Antone in the same way.

(b) In both chansons, the murdered man's son is forced to go into exile, although for different reasons: Beuve because he is sold into slavery at his mother's instigation, and taken to Hermin by merchants: Beton because Daurel takes him to Babylon to save his life.

(c) Each son eventually returns and takes his revenge on the traitor who killed his father: Beuve kills Doon, and Beton, aided by Daurel, kills Gui.

However, the circumstances in which these events occur are by no means identical. In Daurel et Beton the murder is motivated by Gui's jealousy and envy. Also, whereas the Emperor Doon murders Gui de Hantone prompted by the Countess, Ermenjart has no part in the crime. In fact, she is so distressed to learn of Beuve's death that she actually accuses Gui. The facts do not correspond to the same people

either. Although Beuve de Hantone relates the treacherous death of Gui, father of Beuve, Daurel et Beton reverses the rôles, since it is Beuve who is killed by Gui. Beton's saviour, Daurel, is a character introduced into the Provençal poem, for in the French versions Beuve de Hantone is saved from death by supernatural means - the antidote which the abbot provides to the poison. Despite these differences, the analogy between the poems is sufficient to indicate that one may have been modelled upon the other.

The extant manuscript of Daurel et Beton dates from the mid 14th century. Von Richthofen believes that the poem appeared in the first half of the 13th century, probably before 1240,⁽⁶⁹⁾ but H.J. Chaytor has suggested that it was composed between 1170-1200.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The latter date seems more feasible, for in a poem addressed to a minstrel called Cabra, a troubadour, Guiraut de Cabrera, refers to Daurel and Beton among the tales then in vogue:

"Ja de Mauran
Om not deman,
Ni de Daurel ni de Beton."⁽⁷¹⁾

This suggests that the poem was known to him, and he also refers to 'Bovon':

"Ni de Berart ni de Bovon."⁽⁷²⁾

Although the reference is not so explicit, it may be to Beuve de Hantone.

Guiraut de Cabrera seems to have lived at the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th century, but there is some doubt concerning the date of his composition. Milá y Fontanals dates it c. 1170, because he identifies the author with the Viscount Ponce de

Cabrera, who lived in the 12th century,⁽⁷³⁾ and Riquer dates it 1169-1170.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Meyer, on the other hand, believes that the troubadour is more probably identified with this man's son, Guiraut by name. In this case, the date of the composition would be about 1200, and Daurel et Beton itself would probably date from the end of the 12th century or very beginning of the 13th century.⁽⁷⁵⁾

We may conclude, then, that the Provençal poem was probably composed before the troubadour's reference. This means that a version of one, or both chansons, concerning Beuve de Hantone may have been circulating at the end of the 12th century, but we have no proof that they were known before this. The "Condessa Traidora" legend could therefore reasonably have influenced one or both poems. However, it seems more probable that Beuve de Hantone influenced Daurel et Beton, or vice versa, rather than suggesting that both drew on the Castilian legend for inspiration. The greater similarity between Beuve de Hantone and the "Condessa Traidora" indicates that this was the poem directly influenced by the Castilian legend, and that Daurel et Beton perhaps drew on Beuve de Hantone, since apparently this was well known in the South of France.⁽⁷⁶⁾

2. Conclusions

We may now sum up the material collected in this study to try and determine the historical and fictitious elements of the "Condessa Traidora" legend, and to explain how it developed.

(1) Relation of epics with history

The first point to remember is that although most epic legends have their origin in historical fact, the extent to which this intrudes

varies considerably. A legend such as the "Condessa Traidora" does not pretend to give a strictly accurate account of the hero's life, and even if dealing with historical events, it may not stress their historical importance. Moreover, historical people do not necessarily appear in their true character, and in epic legend they may have only a tenuous connection with their historical counterpart.

Traces of verse and assonance in the PCG version of the "Condessa Traidora" suggest that it once existed in poetic form,⁽¹⁾ but in any case it is legend not history. The people responsible for creating it or remodelling it therefore had poetic licence to exaggerate or embroider facts, moderate them, and even omit known unpleasant facts, which would be detrimental to their heroes, or to their audience's prudishness. The Poema de Mio Cid's omission of the hero's campaigns with the Moors of Zaragoza against the Christians is a good example of this need to omit discreditable deeds, which occurred during the hero's lifetime. In the same way, historical great deeds may be omitted because a person's legendary greatness is sometimes very different from his historic greatness. It follows, then, that even if there is a real connection with history, this is far from being the most important aspect of an epic legend. Moreover, fresh details may be added which have little or no part in the hero's life. The lapse of time contributes to this type of amplification, for as a legend or poem is retold and grows further away from the event or

(1) See Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Tratado de los Romances Viejos, in Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos, XI, Madrid, 1914, p. 246. I think it unlikely that the Majerense knew a poetic form of the legend, and I have deliberately avoided looking for poetic elements in the PCG version, as Pidal has done with the "Infantes de Lara", and Carola Reig with the "Cantar de Zamora", as this question must remain outside the scope of this study.

person inspiring it, less attention is paid to preserving its original form. In particular, as the epics became decadent, elements of romance crept into them. The chansons de geste illustrate this by the increasing interest in matters of love, the element of magic or fantasy - e.g. the appearance of giants, such as the giant Escopart in Beove de Hautone - the repetition of long prayers containing references to lives of Saints and martyrs, divine aid for the hero, and the fact that everything is conceived on a much vaster scale than hitherto. The Castilian legends are not proof against this type of thing; consider, for instance, Doña Ximena's long prayer for the Old's safety in the Poema de Mio Cid, or the divine aid Fernán González receives in his battles against the Moors. We may therefore expect the later versions of an epic legend to differ considerably from its earliest version, and such is the case with the "Condesa Traidora".

In this study I have analysed the various motifs occurring in the legend, and the methods of growth. Although we have seen that much material was added between the Najerense version and the PCG or C.1344, none of this necessarily has any claim to be historically accurate. Nevertheless, I have suggested that many epic legends have some historical foundation, however slight, and the "Condesa Traidora" is no exception. We may now ask, then, what its historical elements are.

(2) Historical elements in the "Condesa Traidora".

Different Chronicles or documents bear witness to a number of incidents occurring in the legend, and we may at this point reject

outright Northup's assertion that "this brutal and fantastic story of Count Garcí Fernández . . . is so utterly fabulous and suggestive of French romance that to discover in it the slightest residuum of historic truth is nothing short of a 'tour de force'".⁽¹⁾

(a) Both Chronicles and documents prove that the main male characters are historical - Garcí Fernández, and his son, Sancho García, who succeeded him to the County in 995, and Almanzor, dictator at Córdoba in the last quarter of the 10th century. The legend is also correct in making these characters contemporaries, since we have seen that Almanzor did not die until 1002.

Regarding the female characters, there is no doubt that the names 'Argentina' and 'Sancha' are fictitious applied to Garcí Fernández's wife. Documentary evidence proves that the Count had only one wife, who was called Aba. We have no reason to believe that she played such a drastic part in her husband's death as the legend maintains. However, there are grounds for thinking that it may reflect a certain hostility towards Garcí Fernández, and perhaps disapproval of his policy, which Countess Aba felt towards the end of his life. Although she was not of direct French descent, as are the legendary wives, she was a foreigner to Castile, coming originally from Ribagorza, and was also of distant French descent. In the early Middle Ages the Navarro-Aragonese in particular were regarded as pro-Moorish, and Aba's nationality, together with the fact that she may have supported Sancho García's rebellion and favoured coming to terms with Almanzor, may explain why Garcí Fernández's legendary wife

(1) See Northup, G.T., rev. of Obras de R. Menéndez Pidal, I, La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara, II, Historia y Epopeya, Madrid, 1934, MP, XXXII, p. 312.

(Sancha) is such a treacherous character.

(b) Sancho García's rebellion, which the Tudense first mentions in connection with Garcí Fernández's capture and death, may have been included within the version of the "Condesa Traidora" known by the PCG and C.1344. There seems little doubt that Sancho García rebelled against his father shortly before the Count's death, and that the Moors took advantage of the situation to overrun Castile. This was most probably in 994, and the fact that these events coincided indicates that Sancho García may have been in league with Almanzor. If we are correct in suggesting that the historic Countess of Castile then supported her son, rather than her husband, the legend may have a slight historical connection in saying that the Countess consorted with Almanzor. Although the Najerense does not mention the rebellion, the detail of Garcí Fernández having to meet the Moors in his last battle with only a small force may reflect the depletion of his army by loss of some supporters to his son at the time of the rebellion. However, the legend's method of achieving the small force - by means of the false advice to Garcí Fernández to disarm himself - is a singularly epic ruse, and has no historical foundation in connection with the Countess of Castile.

(c) Historical evidence confirms the way in which Garcí Fernández meets his death in the legend, for this actually followed a battle in which the Moors captured him in the region of the Duero - probably somewhere between Alcozar and Langa. The time of year suggested by the Najerense - Christmas - is most probably a fiction, since this is contrary to the Moslem practice of campaigning against the Christians

of the North during the summer months.

I think that the historical circumstances of Garcí Fernández's death possibly provide the clue to the origin of the "Condesa Traidora" legend. In the course of this study we have seen that legends often explain away something. For instance, they may be attached to an historical person to explain away either some incident in his life which is discreditable to him, or the motives of some action. Since the first part of the earliest extant version of the "Condesa Traidora" relates Garcí Fernández's death after an encounter with the Moors, and makes this depend on the Countess of Castile's treachery, I think the whole of the first episode as it appears in the Najerense - i.e. Garcí Fernández's betrayal by his wife, her contact with the Moors, false advice and deliberate weakening of his horse - may have originated to explain away his historic defeat and capture. Otherwise, such a defeat would have been considered ignominious for a medieval warrior, even at the hands of Almanzor, and detrimental to Castilian prestige. We know, in fact, that Garcí Fernández acquitted himself fairly well in military campaigns, and had some success at least in checking the Moors. His wife's treason would therefore explain how such a warrior came to be captured in person, and would spare his name, or that of Castile, from the humiliation and shame they might otherwise suffer.

A close parallel is the "Cantar de Zamora", where Bellido Dolfo's treachery explains away Sancho of Castile's failure to capture Zamora, and his death during the siege. In the same way, we have seen that epic legend attributes the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and Spain's loss to the Moors in the 8th century to the treason on the part of

Witiza's sons, or Count Julian. Although he is partially responsible for the disaster by seducing Julian's daughter or wife, this is how king Rodrick is absolved from blame for allowing the country to fall to the Moors.

Similarly, Sancho García's historical foundation of the monastery of San Salvador de Oña is given a fictitious explanation in the later versions of the "Condesa Traidora". There it becomes a form of expiation on Sancho's part for forcing his mother to drink her own poison. It is also historical fact that Sancho García originated the Monteros de Espinosa as a form of royal bodyguard, but the legend explains this away as a mark of gratitude towards their ancestor, the squire who warned Sancho of the Countess's plot, and so saved him from an untimely death.

(d) It is fairly certain that Almanzor died during an expedition against the Christians - most probably to the district of La Rioja - but not until Sancho García had been governing Castile for several years. Whether Sancho García actually defeated Almanzor before his death is still not proved conclusively, but it seems likely that the legend reflects some historical encounter between them - perhaps at Calatañazor - in which the Christians had some measure of success, even if they did not inflict a crushing defeat on the Moslems. In any case, undoubtedly this did not cause Almanzor's death, for he seems to have died from an illness suffered during the campaign.

(e) The battle at the Vado de Cascajares may also preserve the memory of some battle between the Moors and Christians in the region of San Esteban de Gormaz, for this was an area of constant warfare

during the lives of Fernán González and Garcí Fernández. The form of this episode in the "Condesa Traidora" probably derives from a literary source - one of the "Cantigas de Santa María" of Alfonso the Wise. This does not necessarily mean that there was no such battle, for it is in accordance with historical possibility, although it has been amplified with the poetic addition of the miracle.

(f) The massacre of the monks at Cardeña may likewise recall an historical massacre by the Moors, although it is unlikely that this occurred in Garcí Fernández's time, or that 300 monks were killed. This number is obviously fictitious, since it is a common one in epic literature and legend.

Clearly, there is an element of truth in the "Condesa Traidora", but this is not confined to specific events alone. An epic legend may also reflect the historical conditions, customs, and conventions of its period, and these are usually valid for the time when it was composed or amplified, rather than for the hero's own epoch. Although they may occur in fictitious circumstances, and be attached arbitrarily to a particular person without any historical foundation, they may nevertheless inform us about the period to which the legend belongs. Examples of this in the "Condesa Traidora" are:

(a) The pilgrimages in the PCG version. The pilgrimage to Rocamadour was a reality by the 13th century, when it first appears in connection with Garcí Fernández. However, the historical Count himself could not have undertaken such a pilgrimage in the 10th century, for the evidence available indicates that it only began in the 12th century.

The two suggested pilgrimages to Santiago are also well in accordance with 13th century practice, for by then Santiago was attracting pilgrims from all over Europe. It is just possible that foreign pilgrims were visiting the shrine of St. James in the 10th century, although the route was only really opened up in the following century.

(b) The Countess of Castile's desire to dispose of her husband so that she may marry Almanzor, or the unnamed Moorish king, has an historical foundation in so far as marriages between Christian princesses and Moorish leaders were celebrated in the medieval Peninsula. In fact, we have seen that Almanzor himself is attributed with having had at least one Christian wife, although there is no record that he married a Castilian Countess. However, the legendary Countess does not actually marry the Moor for whose sake she sacrifices her husband.

In addition, the Najerense's suggestion that Sancho García delivered up his own sister to Almanzor for a diplomatic reason finds an echo in the Chronicles in connection with Teresa, sister of Alfonso V of Leon. Her marriage to the King of Toledo also occurs in fictitious circumstances, and is not reliable historical evidence of such a bargain, but the known marriages between Christian princesses and Moslem leaders do provide some historical precedent for these episodes.

(c) We have also seen that with certain reservations medieval law sanctioned revenge for adultery, in the form of the death of both offenders. This provides one of the foremost dramatic themes in the Golden Age, but it is a theme which evidently had its origin in reality, and was still recognised practice in the 13th century, when it is first attributed to Garcí Fernández. Again, however, the

episode occurs in fictitious circumstances, and there is no historical foundation for believing that Garcí Fernández slew his wife.

(d) Cutting off the heads of the dead and carrying them home as trophies was general practice in the Middle Ages, not merely in the Peninsula, but also among other European peoples and among the Moslems. Once more, therefore, although there are no historical grounds for saying that Garcí Fernández did this with the heads of his wife and her lover, the episode reflects a genuine medieval custom.

The final point to mention in connection with the legend's historical aspect is that it is conceived in a remarkably realistic way, whether treating historical or fictitious material. We have pointed out that the only exception is the episode of the miracle at the Vado de Cascajares. However, this is a late addition to the legend, and it is not fully incorporated within it until the C.1344 version. Apart from this incident, the supernatural does not intrude, and everything which happens could reasonably have done so. The legend is therefore kept mainly within the realm of the possible. As regards the spirit of its conception, we may equate it with the Poema de Mio Cid, for there, too, there is only the one indication of the marvellous - the angel Gabriel's appearance to the Cid. The legend of the Infantes de Lara is another example of this realistic conception, although it exaggerates more than the "Condesa Traidora" in the numbers of Moors slain by the Infantes. This realistic approach is something which a number of the Castilian legends have in common, and it separates them from the chansons de geste, which are

conceived as a magnificent spectacle, and written for our admiration rather than as a piece of reality. The Chanson de Roland is an obvious example, with its elements of fantasy and the supernatural - e.g. the heavenly aid given to Charlemagne, the unnatural portents expressing grief at Roland's death, the angels sent to carry Roland's soul to Paradise, and the large numbers of Saracens slain.

(3) Fictitious elements in the "Condesa Traidora"

Turning now to the purely fictitious elements in the "Condesa Traidora", we have already said that the names of the female characters are a complete fiction. 'Argentina' was a very unusual name in the medieval Peninsula, and its appearance in the legend may owe something to the influence of medieval French literature.

The circumstances of the first part of the legend as it appears in the PCG and C.1344 are also fictitious - i.e. Garcí Fernández's two marriages; the abduction by the French Count; Garcí Fernández's pursuit and revenge, together with the way he acquires his second wife. This whole episode was evidently a late addition to the legend, and I have shown that in many ways it coincides with the legend of Salomon, which appears to have been well known in the Middle Ages, and to have produced numerous variants.

The episode is particularly interesting, since it does not correspond with the most authentic type of epic subject. Certainly, an epic does not always require a magnificent and an ideal subject, but it may treat matters of common interest, familiar to everyone. Nevertheless, we may expect fighting, warfare, and violent action to play an important part in the epic legends, since these formed the

principal occupations of the heroic age, which produced so many of the epics. How, then, do we account for the nature of much of the material in the "Condesa Traidora"?

It agrees more with the type of subject we expect to find after the true epic period has passed. In the older chansons de geste we have said that the love interest and domestic matters of this nature are very slight, and on the whole the female characters play only a small part. With the passing of the heroic age, signs of the changing literary fashions of the 12th century were the intrusion into the epics of elements redolent of romance, and also a certain anti-tragic strain. The nature of the late versions of the "Condesa Traidora" illustrates these points, since we find elements of a non-violent, courtly type, reminiscent of Arthurian Romance or Oriental literature, mingled with the more violent kind of action we expect to find in the heroic age, i.e. the necessity of vengeance by killing those who offend against honour.

Garcí Fernández's beautiful hands are another fictitious element, but in a sense they are necessary to the plot, as they betray Garcí Fernández's noble origin to Sancha's waiting-woman.

The motifs of disarming the victim through treacherous advice, and the pact with the enemy are themes common to medieval literature and legend. I have already suggested that it is unlikely that the disarming has any historical foundation in the legend, and the motif is probably of literary origin, as it has both Classical and Germanic literary precedents. The poisoning episode is also fictitious, and we have seen that this, too, has literary precedents.

(4) Folklore parallels

Some of the fictitious elements may be rooted in folklore, which probably contributed to the formation of the epic legends. The following motifs are examples:

(a) The idea of deception by means of disguise, implicit in the pilgrim disguise Garcí Fernández adopts to enter the hostile territory of the French Count. We have seen that disguise is a common motif, both in folklore and in the epic legends. Frequently it takes the form of a pilgrim or poor person, and it is used to enter the enemy's home or camp.

(b) The help Garcí Fernández acquires from Sancha in return for his promise to marry her. This is an ancient motif, already occurring in classical literature, and it seems to be related to the fairy-tale motif of help given to the hero by the daughter of the ogre or enemy. It occurs frequently in the medieval epic in connection with the freeing of a prisoner by the captor's daughter, in return for his promise of marriage.

(c) Revenge for adultery, requiring the death of the guilty party. This motif seems to have its part in folklore, but having examined the analogy between the circumstances of the revenge episode in the "Condesa Traidora" and the Salomon legend and its parallels, it seems likely that the Castilian legend was modelled on one of these.

(d) The idea of the deceiver falling into his own trap, when the would-be poisoner is forced to drink his own potion. This may belong to folklore, as its appearance in the Crimthann legend suggests.

(e) Finally, Garcí Fernández's beautiful hands - later repre-

sented as white - may be related to the folklore motif of the successful suitor being the one with the whitest hands. We have pointed out that they do not necessarily indicate that Garcí Fernández was effeminate, because no stigma was attached to their possession in folklore. Rather, they were regarded as a good and desirable quality in a husband, and they might also be a sign of nobility. In addition, we have seen that the motif appears frequently in medieval literature as an important element of a person's beauty, and, in particular, it often applies to the hands of Archbishops. Hands play an important part in folklore, but we must not disregard the other possibility, i.e. that they are mentioned in the "Condesa Traidora" as a polite indication of physical weakness, which explains why the Count's two marriages end in failure.

(5) Limited field of the epic legends

These motifs, then, may owe something to folklore, and it should now be apparent that a folk epic of this type is very limited in field. It may be built up of incidents or motifs taken from literary or foreign sources, together with traditional or national themes, and it is hardly fair to say that any one theme is specifically 'Spanish' or specifically 'French', since it may occur in the literature or legend of several countries.

The false pilgrimage and the pilgrim disguise are obvious examples, as these are commonplace in the medieval epic. We have seen that revenge is another favourite epic theme, forming the basis of several Castilian legends. Examples I have cited in this study are: Mudarra's revenge on Ruy Velázquez and Doña Lambra for the

betrayal and death of the Infantes de Lara; the Cid's revenge on the Infantes de Carrión for their treatment of his daughters; Count Julian's revenge for the seduction of his wife or daughter; and the peculiarly horrible revenge which Doña Sancha takes on Fernán Lainez for the death of the Infante García. These examples bear witness to the theme's popularity, but it lends itself to various interpretations. For instance, Mudarra and Doña Sancha avenge themselves personally, as Garcí Fernández does, but only Ruy Velázquez perishes by the sword. Doña Lambra is burnt to death, while Fernán Lainez is mutilated and paraded through Castile. Count Julian plots with the enemy, persuading them to effect his revenge, and the Cid takes his by legal means before the Cortes at Toledo.

We may add to this that the epics are often based on a tragic plot, for tragedy brings out the best in the hero, and enables him to display his fine qualities by fighting against great odds; consider for example, Garcí Fernández's display of courage in going to meet Almanzor with only a small force. This makes his death more tragic, although the legend lacks verisimilitude in the ease with which the Countess persuades him to dismiss his army. In this way epic legends may fail to penetrate their characters psychologically. This is partly due to the relatively simple style they adopt, of necessity, since they were originally intended for recitation, and they had to be easily intelligible to a very mixed audience. This means that we must not expect very fine shades of character in the Castilian legends. Many people may be classed as 'good' or 'bad', and are not seen in their different aspects, although the same person may vary considera-

bly from one legend to another. Examples of this are the different interpretations of the character of the Cid or Almanzor. The Cid of the Crónica Rimada is a far more impetuous person than the hero of the Poema de Mio Cid, and the Almanzor of the "Condesa Traidora" or "Infantes de Lara" legend is seen in a very different light from the Almanzor of the legend of Abbot John of Montemayor.

Underlying many of the epic legends is some family drama, which may result in private warfare, rather than warfare undertaken on a national basis. Although many Peninsular legends belong to the period of the Reconquest, and celebrate deeds of heroes who took an active part in that movement, often they do not appear in that capacity. Basically, the legends are the stories of individual heroes and their personal fortunes.

This is obviously the case with the "Condesa Traidora", since the fundamental theme is the domestic problems of the Count of Castile's family. The legend gives these prominence, rather than the struggles between Castile and the Moors, and the contribution of Garcí Fernández and Sancho García to the Reconquest. National affairs are therefore relegated to a secondary place. The Najerense version dismisses briefly Almanzor's campaigns against Castile, and Sancho García's ultimate defeat of Almanzor. It mentions the Moors' first battle against the Castilians not so much out of patriotism as because Garcí Fernández's death followed this battle, due to his wife's treachery. Again, the Vado de Cascajares episode was not introduced into the legend to celebrate Garcí Fernández's victory, but rather because God performed a miracle there, showing that the Count enjoyed

divine favour.

The legend therefore lacks any real feeling of national consciousness. This may be explained because Spain was not yet a nation, but it was still broken up into a number of states or kingdoms, which sometimes allied against one another, and as yet there was no concerted drive to expel the Moors. The legend, then, may be patriotic in the sense that it protests deliberately against the French, whose influence was so strong in the Peninsula at the time, but it is not inspired by patriotism in the sense that it extols Castile's rôle in driving the Moors out of Spain. This has only a minor part in the legend, and the real theme is the drama within a particular family.

Other Peninsular legends also revolve round a family drama. An insult offered to one of its female members divides the family of the Infantes de Lara. Doña Lambra's insistence on revenge induces Ruy Velázquez to conspire with the Moors against his own nephews, sending them to their death. In turn, Mudarra's desire to avenge his half-brothers takes him to Castile in search of his uncle and aunt. The fundamental issue is again one of relations betraying one another to gratify a personal desire, and the legend so far neglects the war of the Reconquest as to turn the Christians into the villains. In comparison with Ruy Velázquez and Doña Lambra, the Moors appear charitable and sympathetic towards their victims. Instead of a conflict between Christianity and Islam, therefore, the legend treats an opportunistic alliance between Christian and Moor to satisfy a personal slight.

The legend of Sancho II is likewise based on a family feud, and

the anarchy caused by Sancho's private warfare against his brothers and sister. He breaks his father's will by trying to deprive them of the possessions they inherited on their father's death. He first attacks García, who inherited Galicia, and imprisons him for twenty-four years. Next, he attacks Alfonso, who is forced to flee from a battle at Llantada, and is then captured at the battle at Golpejera. He escapes and takes refuge with the Moorish king of Toledo. Lastly, Sancho besieges Zamora, which his sister, Urraca, inherited, and it is during this episode that he is assassinated. There is no suggestion at all that these campaigns are part of the Reconquest. The motivation is an unpatriotic one, since the warfare arises from Sancho's personal ambition and jealousy, rather than from a desire to defend his country.

The legend of Bernardo del Carpio presents a different type of family drama. Although the first part of the legend consists of Bernardo's defeat of the French, the second part is based on his efforts to free his father, whom Alfonso the Chaste imprisoned upon discovering that he had secretly married Alfonso's sister, Ximena, who became Bernardo's mother. Again, the warfare is of a private nature, for, angered by Alfonso III's persistent refusals to free his father, Bernardo leaves the court, overruns the kingdom, and establishes himself in the castle of El Carpio in the Salamanca region. He campaigns against Alfonso, and finally coerces him into agreeing to free his father, only to find that he is dead at the moment of meeting.

The family drama underlying the last Cantar of the Poema de Mío

Cid is obvious, and indeed the whole tone of the poem is different in this Cantar. Whereas the first Cantar, and at least part of the second, emphasize the Cid's military and heroic deeds, the last Cantar is concerned chiefly with a domestic problem - the unfortunate marriage of the Cid's daughters, the way in which the Cid exacts reparation from his sons-in-law, and the daughters' more promising second marriages to the Infantes of Navarre and Aragon.

These examples illustrate the family hatred, personal problems, and private warfare underlying so many of the Peninsular legends, and show that they were conceived in a different spirit from the chansons de geste. On the whole, the latter are based on national problems rather than domestic problems concerning chiefly one family, and they are more conscious that a holy war is being fought against Islam. A poem like the Chanson de Roland is constantly preoccupied with the glory of France and the defence of Christendom, which is more important even than the individuals' heroic deeds. The heroes' personal fortunes, therefore, are subordinated to an interest in a common cause.

I have stressed that the idea of fighting a holy war only appears fairly late in the Castilian legends - in the F.Gz. and the legend of Abbot John of Montemayor. This suggests that it may owe something to the influence of the chansons de geste. The Castilian legends' comparative lack of interest in the Reconquest may perhaps be explained by the tolerance practised in the Peninsula in the early Middle Ages. Many Christians lived on under Moslem rule in lands conquered from them, and for a time they were permitted to retain their own religion, although conditions were changing by the 10th century. Later, the

position was reversed, and as the Reconquest moved southwards, many Moslems continued to live in territory reconquered by the Christians. This toleration of the one people for the other may well account for the relative mildness with which the Castilian epic legends treat the Moors, and certainly for the lack of a driving urge to convert them, as we find in the French epics.

(6) Unity of the "Condesa Traidora"

Finally, we come to the problem of the unity of the "Condesa Traidora" legend. Although this falls naturally into two main divisions - the episodes connected with Garcí Fernández, and those connected with Sancho García - this does not inevitably mean that the legend lacked unity. Menéndez y Pelayo and Pidal have professed contradictory opinions on this subject. On the one hand, the former believed that there were two independent accounts, whose protagonists were Garcí Fernández and Sancho García, and that these accounts were probably only brought together by the compilers of the PCG. However, he has to admit that the legend concerning Sancho García is announced at the end of the PCG version of the legend concerning Garcí Fernández. (i) Pidal, on the other hand, maintains that the legend has unity in the person of Sancha, since the end of the first part of the PCG version mentions her wickedness. He also believes that this unity is obvious in the Najerense.

Menéndez y Pelayo's theory does not now hold any weight, as he bases his belief in two independent legends on the fact that the Toledano relates only the second episode, and calls the Countess

'Mionia' instead of 'Sancha'. This is no real argument, since the
 (i) Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Tratado de los Romances Viejos, in Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos, XI, Madrid, 1914, pp. 248-249.

Najerense, which is earlier, relates the episode concerning Garcí Fernández's death as well as the poisoning episode, and it does not name the Countess at all.

Obviously, the "Condesa Traidora" was not originally all one legend, but it grew little by little with the addition of new motifs and episodes. The original nucleus may well have been Garcí Fernández's defeat and death, with the fictitious explanation invented to explain away an historical fact; hence the treachery of the Countess, her relations with Almanzor, and the weakening of the horse. The second episode - the attempt to poison the son - would then follow on naturally because of the Countess's need to get rid of her son, (a) to avoid any opposition to her schemes, and (b) because of the necessity for the son to punish his mother for his father's death. Since both guilty parties - the Countess and Almanzor - meet their death at Sancho García's hand in the earliest version of the legend, they are there punished for their part in Garcí Fernández's death. All the events seem to lead up to the Countess's death, even in the later versions, and this may have been conceived as a form of poetic justice for her twofold treachery.

The character of the Countess may therefore provide the clue to the legend's unity. In both parts of the legend she is portrayed as one consistent character. In the later version, she willingly assists Garcí Fernández in killing her own father; her dislike for the Count makes her conspire with the enemy; and this makes her plan to poison her son completely in keeping with her character. The second episode - i.e. the poisoning of the Countess - therefore

probably formed part of the legend as the compiler of the Najerense knew it.

To the basic form of the legend, as it appears in the Najerense, were added later:

(a) The battle at the Vado de Cascajares, and the miracle performed on behalf of one of Garcí Fernández's knights.

(b) The initial episode of Garcí Fernández's first marriage and his revenge, together with his acquisition of a second wife, who is the one attributed with the two treacherous undertakings of the Najerense version.

(c) Garcí Fernández's beautiful hands.

(d) The names of Garcí Fernández's wives, and their foreign nationality.

(e) The massacre of the Cardena monks, which was probably incorporated in the legend by the time of the PCG version.

(f) Sancho's rebellion against his father, which enabled the Moors to overrun Castile. The C.1344 adds the detail that Sancho rebelled on the Countess's advice.

(g) The site of Garcí Fernández's capture - Piedra Salada - and the place of his death - Medinaceli.

(h) The origin of the Monteros de Espinosa.

(i) The explanation of Sancho García's foundation of Oña as a form of expiation for causing his mother's death, and the derivation of its name.

The methods of growth were by introducing fresh episodes, or by doubling or embroidering themes or incidents already existing in the

legend. It was probably remodelled as it was handed on - perhaps by minstrels or story-tellers, who elaborated it under the influence of other legends, or perhaps by the monasteries with which the heroes had some particular connection. Examples of episodes added or embroidered by the monasteries may be the massacre of the Cardena monks, Garcí Fernández's rebuilding of that monastery, and the explanation of Sancho García's foundation of Cña.

Notes to Section V

- (1) Poema de Fernán González, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, XXII-XXIII, pp. 171-179.
PCG, II, § 709, pp. 410-411.
- (2) PCG, II § 717, pp. 418-420.
- (3) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., XXV, pp. 187-190.
PCG, II, § 710, pp. 412-413.
- (4) PCG, II, § 718, pp. 420-421.
- (5) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., IX, pp. 68-75, XVII, pp. 119-132 - for the prophecies.
X, pp. 76-81, XIX-XX, pp. 144-165 - for the battles.
PCG, II, §§ 690-691, pp. 393-395, and §§ 698-700, pp. 400-406.
- (6) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 75.
PCG, II, § 619, pp. 352-354.
- (7) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 79.
- (8) PCG, II, § 651, p. 371.
- (9) PCG, II, § 649, p. 370.
- (10) PCG, II, § 621, pp. 354-355.
- (11) PCG, II, § 651, p. 371.
- (12) PCG, II, § 652, pp. 371-372.
- (13) PCG, II, § 654, pp. 373-374.
- (14) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 75.
- (15) Chronicon Mundi, IV, p. 79.
- (16) PCG, II, § 619, p. 353.
- (17) PCG, II, § 619, p. 353.
- (18) PCG, II, § 651, p. 371.
- (19) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., IV, v. 134, p. 41.
- (20) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., IV, v. 143, p. 43.
- (21) Poema de Fernán González, op. cit., IV, v. 129, p. 39.

- (22) Crónica Rimada, in Durán, Agustín: Romancero General, II, Madrid, 1921, apend. IV, p. 660, l. 970-975.
- (23) Crónica Rimada, op. cit., pp. 660-661, l. 999-1006.
- (24) Crónica Rimada, op. cit., p. 661, l. 1077-1085.
- (25) Crónica Rimada, op. cit., see pp. 658-662, l. 720-1126.
- (26) Lévi-Provençal, E.: Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, I, p. 180.
Soldevila, F.: Historia de España, I, Barcelona, 1952, pp. 122-124.
- (27) Soldevila, F.: Historia de España, op. cit., p. 124.
- (28) Einhardi Annales A. 824, in MGH, Scriptores, I, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hanover, 1826, p. 213.
See also Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Chanson de Roland y el Neotradicionalismo, Madrid, 1959, pp. 194-195.
- (29) MGH, Scriptores, I, op. cit., p. 159.

"Tunc ex persuasione praedicti Sarraceni spem capiendarum quarundem in Hispania civitatum haud frustra concipiens, congregato exercitu, profectus est, superatoque in regione Wasconum Pyrinei iugo, primo Pompelonem Navarrorum oppidum adgressus, in deditionem accepit. Inde Hiberum amnem vado traiciens, Caesaraugustam praecipuam illarum partium civitatem accessit, acceptisque quos Ibinalarabi et Abuthaur, quosque alii quidam Sarraceni obtulerunt obsidibus, Pompelonem revertitur. Cuius muros, ne rebellare posset, ad solum usque destruxit, ac regredi statuens, Pyrinei saltum ingressus est. In cuius summitate Wascones insidiis conlocatis, extremum agmen adorti, totum exercitum magno tumultu perturbant. Et licet Franci Wasconibus tam armis quam animis praestare viderentur, tamen et iniquitate locorum et genere inperis pugnae inferiores effecti sunt . . ."

See also Menéndez Pidal, R.: La Chanson de Roland y el Neotradicionalismo, op. cit., p. 476.

- (30) Einhardi: Vita Karoli Imperatoris, in MGH, Scriptores, II, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hanover, 1829, pp. 447-448.

"Cum enim assiduo ac paene continuo cum Saxonibus bello certaretur, dispositis per congrua confiniorum loca praesidiis, Hispaniam quam maximo poterat belli apparatu adgreditur, saltuque Pyrinei superato, omnibus quae adierat oppidis atque castellis in deditionem acceptis, salvo et incolomi exercitu revertitur; praeter quod in ipso Pyrinei iugo Wasconiam perfidiam parumper in redeundo contigit experiri. Nam cum agmine longo, ut loci et angustiarum situs permittebat, porrectus iret exercitus, Wascones, in summi montis vertice positus insidiis . . . extremam impedimentorum partem, et eos, qui novissimi agminis incedentes, subsidio praecedentes tuebantur,

desuper incursantes, in subiectam vallem deiciunt, consertoque cum eis proelio, usque ad unum omnes interficiunt, ac direptis impedimentis, noctis beneficio, quae iam instabat, protecti, summa cum celeritate in diversa disperguntur . . ."

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- (42) For a list of these alliances see Boissonnade, P.: Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland, op. cit., pp. 13-15.
- (43) Boissonnade, P.: Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland, pp. 65-66.
- (44) Historia Silense, op. cit., p. 16.
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- (47) Poema de Mio Gid, op. cit., pp. 124-126, l. 330-365.
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