E. MICHAEL GERLI

Individualism and the Castilian Epic: A Survey, Synthesis, and Bibliography

IN RECENT YEARS, Castilian epic studies have been undergoing a significant transformation. However, the impetus for change is not new: over five decades ago W. J. Entwistle [1933] saw the need to refocus the problem of Spanish epic origins by concentrating attention upon the epic artist and the moment of creation, rather than upon the history and tradition of the events a poem narrates. Entwistle felt that works like the *Poema de mio Cid (PMC),* although composed from disparate folkloric, historical, legendary, and even literary materials, are the results of the artistry, imagination, and even hard work of individual poets. He recognized that "at some particular point of time, by some particular poet in some particular place, the Facts and Fables [which we encounter in the Castilian epic] were combined to form the poems that we know and admire, having been previously unrelated" [1933, p. 376]. Entwistle intuited that these poems embody a personality; that they constitute units possessing properties not derivable from their parts in summation; and that they are not atomistic aggregations of voices but configurational wholes. He saw that the Castilian epic texts which have come down to us are not conflations of popular song or commemorations of ephemeral performances, but deliberate, studied compositions that were in all likelihood created in writing, and that their artistry was a correlative of a unique personality.

Entwistle's modest observation was, as we now know, a crucial, if unpublicized turning point in Hispanic epic studies: his students and their students have gone on to form the backbone of Individualism in the field. Indeed, Entwistle's intuition, I think, even more than the writings of Joseph Bédier, provided the germ and still summarizes the crux of Individualism in a Hispanic context. Without compromising himself to geography ("Au commencement était la route") or to the principle of ecclesiastical propaganda, Entwistle stressed only his belief in the poet as artist. This remains the unchanged, universally accepted tenet which unifies the

disparate research results of Hispanists who propound Individualism. In Hispanism today, then, the issue at the heart of Individualism centers less upon the transmission of the epics (most Individualists agree to oral recitation) than upon the poets who created them, and upon the dates, composition, and purpose of the extant texts.

For Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the progenitor of Neo-Traditionalist theory in Spain, the Castilian epic, indeed the Romance epic, had its roots in a Visigothic oral tradition thought to have existed in the High Middle Ages.[1] This was in turn a manifestation of an uninterrupted Germanic strain of epic song dating back to prehistoric times. According to that theory, the epic was composed orally by a *juglar,* or rustic minstrel, and served an essentially historiographie and social function within the preliterate community: it faithfully recorded the significant events of the recent past which were instrumental in forming and maintaining a collective identity. Its transmission was oral (though late in the tradition a manuscript could serve as a memory aid) and depended upon the recollective skills and intentions of the *juglar,* who was free to suppress, enlarge, elaborate, or modify the texts as he saw fit according to the needs of each audience and performance.

The songs were passed down through time from one generation of singers to the next, and with each succeeding generation the text underwent an organic evolution in themes, morphology, and content. This occurred as a result of the progressive distancing of the original events in time, and the poet-performer's need to meet the different requirements of different audiences on different occasions. The *PMC* which we possess, then, represents an isolated and fortuitously preserved example of a commemorative song originally composed in the first decade of the twelfth century, which was subsequently reworked by another minstrel around 1140, and which existed in as many variants as there were *juglares* who knew it, and as there were performances of it. For Menéndez Pidal, proof of the epic's diffusion through an oral tradition could be found in

'Menéndez Pidal's writings on the epic are vast. The basic works for understanding his views are: *Los godos y la epopeya española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956); *Reliquias de la poesía épica española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1951); *Poesía juglaresca y orígenes de las literaturas románicas,* 6th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1957); *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épique des Francs* (Paris: A. Colin, 1960); and "Dos poetas en el *CMC," Romania,* 82 (1961), pp. 145-200. Neotraditionalists tend to use the title *Cantar de mio Cid(CMC),* emphasizing orality in the title. Individualists prefer the more literary title of *Poema de mio Cid (PMC).*

today's oral ballads, many of which have epic motifs, in the preserved variant texts of medieval ballads with epic themes (the *romancero viejo),* and in the vestiges of the prosified epics found in medieval Castilian and Portuguese historiography.

The publication of Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales* in 1960, in addition to other studies on the South Yugoslav epic, appeared to corroborate Menéndez Pidal's hypotheses with present-day examples of epic performances relying on extemporaneous oral composition.[2] Parry's and Lord's findings not only seemed to substantiate what Menéndez Pidal had said about the Spanish epic, but indeed what Jean Rychner was saying about the transmission and composition of the French epic, and what C. M. Bowra had argued about all world epic literature. The last echoes of Bédier's Individualism were heard in the studies of U. T. Holmes [1955] and D. M. Dougherty [1960], followed by the rear guard actions of Italo Siciliano [1968], Maurice Delbouille [1966], Antonio Viscardi [1956, 1962], Duncan McMillan [1956, 1960], and P. Aebischer [1972]. After Parry and Lord, there was a flood of critical studies, some with truly spectacular results, applying their theory to Romance texts. With the advent of Formulism, the issue of the origins of the Romance epic appeared to be settled. All that was left to do was undertake thorough, detailed investigations of the works and methods of oral composition. Joseph J. Duggan's *The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft,* and his "Formulaic Diction in the *Cantar de mio Cid* and the Old French Epic," devised a canon and methodology which demonstrated a remarkable degree of incidence in the formulaic density of the *Cantar de mio Cid* (*CMC)* and the *CR,* concluding that these were the products of oral-formulaic composition.[3]

All the while, however, as the Neo-Traditionalists and Formulists were compiling their impressive results, a group of more skeptical Hispanists, tracing its origin principally to Entwistle, was employing more cautious and more traditional methods of scholarship which were yielding equally surprising, if contradictory, evidence. In 1952, for exam-

[2]For his reaction to Parry and Lord, see his "Los cantores yugoeslavos y los occidentales: El *Mio Cid* y dos refundidores primitivos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona,* 31 (1965-66), pp. 195-225. Rather than a response to Formulism, however, this proves more a defense of his now all but discredited theories on the *PMC's,* multiple authorship.

[3]*The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973); "Formulaic Diction in the CMC and the Old French Epic," *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* 10 (1974), pp. 260-269.

ple, Peter E. Russell published an important yet little noted essay which brought up fundamental questions regarding Menéndez Pidal's theories on the date and authorship of the *PMC.* It seems that the seals and documents alluded to in the *Poema* reveal an expert knowledge of notarial practices and law in particular, as well as chancery customs not implemented until late in the twelfth century. Afterward, following up Bédier's hypotheses, though stopping short of declaring that the author of the *Cid* was a cleric, Russell [1958] showed how the work echoes the existence of a tomb cult at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, and how it was probably directed at an audience of Burgos or its environs [see also Ian Michael, 1976, 1977]. Russell's noteworthy observations went unheard partly owing to the sheer force and diffusion of Neo-Traditionalism and partly, no doubt, because of a conscious unwillingness to hear a "foreign" scholar, particularly a British one.[4]

Russell's studies were the outgrowth of ideas originally propounded by Entwistle [1929]. They were complemented by D. G. Pattison's findings [1967], which dated the *Poema* in the latter half of the twelfth century and substantiated the poet's even greater legal knowledge and command of legal diction. All of this has recently been emphatically confirmed by Smith *[Estudios Cidianos,* 1977], Lacarra [1980], and Hook [1980], who demonstrate the work's remarkable conformity to Castilian legal language and legal institutions, making it almost certain that the author was a scholar trained in the law, and certainly not an illiterate *juglar.*[5]

In 1957 serious challenges to Menéndez Pidal's Neo-Traditionalism began to surface in Spain. In that year, Antonio Ubieto Arteta published his "Observaciones al *Cantar de Mio Cid"* followed by

[4]Early on there were Individualists in Spain, but Neo-Traditionalism proved so attractive to the majority of critics that these were subsequently ignored. See Julio Cejador y Frauca, "El *CMC* y la epopeya castellana," *Revista Histórica,* 49 (1920), pp. 1-310; and Carmelo Viñas Mey, "Sobre el origen e influencia de los cantares de gesta," *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos,* 43 (1922), pp. 528-561; 45 (1924), pp. 127-143; 46 (1925), pp. 9-22; 48 (1927), pp. 70-90. Outside the Iberian Peninsula, early in the century other Continental critics were sympathetic to the Individualist perspective: Giulio Bertoni, ed. *Il Cantare del Cid* (Bari, 1912); Rudolph Beer, "Zur Überlieferung altspanischer Literaturdenkmäler," *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien,* 49 (1898), pp. 1-45; Alfred Coester, "Compression in the *PMC," Revue hispanique,* 15 (1906), pp. 98-203.

[5]At the end of the last century Eduardo Hinojosa detected an exceptional degree of knowledge of Castilian law in the *PMC:* "El derecho en el *PMC,"* in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez yPelayo (Madrid:* Victoriano Suárez, 1899), I, pp. 551-581.

his more definitive *El Cantar de Mio Cid y algunos problemas históricos* [1973], in which he challenged Menéndez Pidal's dating of the poem, his insistence upon its historicity, and his claims concerning its geographical accuracy. For Ubieto Arteta, the author of the *PMC* was not a Castilian minstrel, but an Aragonese clerk who clearly dealt with learned sources, including Petrus Comestor's *Historia Escolastica,* and probably the man whom the Neo-Traditionalists always considered the scribe of the text, Per Abbat (p. 189). Similarly, Luis Rubio García, though he began his study of the *PMC* firmly believing in Menéndez Pidal's work, was forced by the evidence that he uncovered to adopt an Individualist point of view. His *Realidad y fantasía en el PMC* [1972] is perhaps the most Bédierian of recent Spanish epic studies: he finds that the *Poema* relies heavily on Latin chronicles for information (particularly the *Historia de Cardeña),* consciously distorts history for esthetic purposes, and that it was doubtless written by a monk at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña. José Fradejas Lebrero [1962] also adduces evidence for monastic origins, although García's study remains the most interesting because, albeit ignorant of Russell's and Deyermond's work [1969], he complements it through quite independent means and arrives at similar conclusions regarding the epic's ecclesiastical connections.

The publication of Alan Deyermond's *Epic Poetry and the Clergy: Studies on the Mocedades de Rodrigo* [1969] marked not only an important defection from the Neo-Traditionalist camp,[6] but the most detailed, convincing, comprehensive, and meticulous study to date of learned influences and clerical authorship in the Castilian epic. In a *tour de force* of scholarship combining erudition and archival work, Deyermond demonstrated conclusively that the *Mocedades de Rodrigo (MR),* one of the three surviving Castilian texts in assonant rhymed meter, was of ecclesiastical provenance, blatantly propagandistic, and sought to promote the renown of the diocese of Palencia. Deyermond's significant conclusions subsequently received further support from Raymond S. Willis [1972], who found even more evidence of learned compositon in the *Mocedades.*

Just as Deyermond's inquiries into the design and intent of the *Mocedades* led to surprising evidence for individual authorship, Maria Eugenia Lacarra's study of the ideology of the *PMC* [1980] has raised sig-

[6]Initially Deyermond leaned toward accepting an oral-formulaic origin for the Spanish epic. See his "The Singer of Tales and Medieval Spanish *Epic," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 42 (1965), pp.* 1-8.

nificant questions regarding the latter poem's purpose and the personality of the man who wrote it. She argues that the author was a clerk from the town of Molina de Aragon who was possibly employed in the chancery of the powerful Lara family. After a long, detailed, convincing, and documented demonstration of the author's legal expertise, as well as a discussion of how his judicial knowledge saturates every aspect of the poem down to the relationship established between the characters, Lacarra concludes that the work is a deliberate defamation of the prominent Castro family. Descendants of García Ordóñez, the Cid's historical antagonist, and the Beni-Gómez clan, whose enmity with the Cid, though historically false, is depicted in the poem, the Castros were also traitors to Castile during the minority of Alfonso VIII. The Laras were mortal enemies of the Castros and loyal defenders of the Castilian cause during Alfonso's minority. They were both kinsmen of the king and descendants of the Cid, and were thus in a position to seek to discredit the Castros by fictionally shaming their forebears in the *Poema.* In it, Lacarra contends, the Laras simultaneously sought to exalt Castilian values, the Castilian monarchy, and their own and the king's common ancestor, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, Mio Cid. Thus the work distorts eleventh-century Castilian history and actually reflects the political tensions between two major rival families in the latter years of the twelfth century, tensions which became an open feud shortly after the year 1200. In the *PMC,* then, historical reality is deliberately skewed in order to conform to the propagandistic needs of a later age; in it fact is artistically transformed into compromised fiction.

The individual authorship of the *PMC* has also received strong support from numerous studies of the work's artistry. Deyermond's approach to its art was codified as early as 1967 and has proven an essential method in revealing the subtlety and esthetic coherence underlying the poem's composition. In December of that year, at the MLA Convention, he read a paper titled "Structural and Stylistic Patterns in the *CMC"* [subsequently published in 1973]. This study is an exclusively literary examination of the work which uncovers concerted image and style patterns that could not be the random result of oral composition. The conclusion is obvious: the pattern's presence strengthens the probability for unity of authorship and the likelihood of written composition.

The image pattern approach devised by Deyermond has yielded further corroboration of textual cohesiveness in the *PMC* and has been lately successfully implemented by him and David Hook [1979], Peter Bly [1978], and Patricia Grieve [1979]. Colin Smith, on the other hand, has

investigated sound patterning in the work's prosodie structure [1976] and finds that this too provides additional evidence of highly controlled, individual composition. Indeed, it is in the investigation of the *PMC* as a work of art that the strongest evidence of individual composition and the most fruitful area of future research lie.

Perhaps no one has better summed up the artistic accomplishments of the *Cid* poet than Smith, for whom "his handling of the theme, his concept of his subject, of dramatic action, of character and of setting both social and geographical, seem ... not merely good but masterful" *[Mio Cid Studies,* 1977, p. 167]. Literary studies implicitly complementing the case for single, written authorship (they are not aware nor consciously directed at proving this point) can be traced back to Ernst Robert Curtius's classic essay on the esthetics of medieval literature [1938], Dámaso Alonso's "Estilo y creación en el *PMC"* [1941], Pedro Salinas's examination of the departure and reunion motifs [1947], and to Spitzer's assault on the work's purported historicity in favor of its artistry [1948]. However, it is really only in the last twenty years that Hispano-Medievalists have come to consider the *PMC* less a philological artefact and more a great, singularly unique work of art. Miguel Garcí Gómez [1975], for example, illuminates in great detail its debt to rhetoric and to literary motifs dating back to classical times, while discussing the artistic interpretation of history undertaken by the poet. Similarly, Ulrich Leo [1959] and Thomas Hart [1956, 1972, 1977] discuss plot structure and the careful, analytical characterization of the personages, a phenomenon absent from oral literature and yet another symptom of written composition (see also the exchange between Walsh and Walker in *La Corónica* [1977]).

Ironically, evidence for single authorship can often even appear in the work of the most committed Neo-Traditionalists. This is the case, for instance, with Edmund de Chasca's *El arte juglaresco en el CMC* [1972], a book which is a contradiction in terms. In it, he demonstrates, above all, the unified structure of the poem and its delicate artistic nuances while arguing that it is the product of juglaresque composition. The same is true for Zahareas's penetrating analysis [1964] of the Cid's legal maneuvering at the Court of Toledo, in which he refers to the author as a *juglar* yet demonstrates the subtle ironies and cunning legal strategies underlying the hero's course of action.

The literary approach to the body of surviving Spanish epic legends has proved an equally promising field of investigation. Deyermond [1976], for example, points out the basic critical distortion which

prevails in discussing Spanish epic cycles from the strictly historiographie point of view: the methodological error of departing from the assumption that because Spanish epic legends contain much that is historical, they are in fact wholly and accurately historical. By close attention to the structuring of events and motifs in these legends, he shows how many derive from one another and that they possess an intrinsically literary as well as historical quality. Similarly, Charles Fraker [1974], John G. Cummins [1976], and Salvador Martínez [1971] discuss the literary value of lost epics, while Louis Chalon [1976] and Geoffrey West [1977], through the detailed comparison of historical events with their poetic and legendary renditions, determine that the Spanish epic cycles are primarily imaginative recreations of history. In his lengthy and informative book, Chalon concludes that in the *Cid* "le poète . . . se préoccupe avant tout de l'aspect esthétique de son oeuvre" (p. 558). Along these same lines, D. G. Pattison [1977] investigates the prosification of poetic texts in the chronicles, drawing attention to how the added plot complexities of the latter do not necessarily reflect lost variants of an epic, but disconcerted attempts by the chroniclers to rationalize poetic narrative. Equally, Diego Catalán [1963], though a confirmed Neo-Traditionalist, determines that the disparate chronicle versions of the Cid's story all derive from the extant *Poema.*

Colin Smith's diligent inquiries into the *PMC* represent the high point of Individualist research of the last fifteen years. The appearance of his and Ian Michael's revolutionary editions of the poem [1972 and 1976 respectively] showed just how much Menéndez Pidal's earlier critical text had been compromised by the Spanish scholar's Neo-Traditionalist theses. In the lengthy introduction which precedes Smith's splendid, accurate reading, he relies upon his own earlier articles in which he demonstrated the remarkable kinship between the style of the *PMC* and twelfth-century Latin histories [1971], and in which he discussed its historicity as the fruits of a learned poet's research in a Cidian archive [1971] rather than as evidence of its nearly contemporaneous composition to the events it narrates. He concludes that, while the work possibly reflects the existence of a prior or even parallel oral epic, it is not a direct product of it. On the grounds of its learned features, high artistry, and written nature, he says, "the author cannot have been other than a lawyer, or at least a person who had been trained in the law and had considerable technical knowledge of it" [1972, p. xxxiv]. The internal coherence of the *Poema,* its stylistic unity, and its deliberate attempt to evoke literary as well as historical verisimilitude all indicate that the poet "worked in writing... [was a] sensitive individual, and that he cannot have been an illiterate minstrel" [1972, p.

xxxviii].

Indeed, Smith conjectures [1973] that the author of the *PMC* was probably none other than the man always taken for the scribe, Per Abbat. Noting how in Menéndez Pidal's critical edition the Spanish scholar adds an extra roman numeral C to the date of the manuscript, and interpreting the words "Per Abbat le escrivió" not as "copied" but as "Per Abbat composed it," Smith concludes that the poem was in fact written in 1207 (a date approximately confirmed by the bulk of recent investigations into its chronology: Gicovate [1956] and Lomax [1977], for instance) and that its author was the same Per Abbat who appears in the *becerro* of Aguilar, where he is recorded as presenting forged documents in a legal dispute adjudicated in 1223. Moreover, one of the documents referred to in the litigation is, in all likelihood, a still extant thirteenth-century forgery known as the "apócrifo de San Lecenio," falsely dated 1075. The major point of interest in this spurious opuscule, possibly confected by Per Abbat, is its list of witnesses: a virtual catalogue of literary as well as historical Cidian friends and associates.[7]

Smith has continued compiling evidence for the learned, individual authorship of the poem and has recently published a book entitled *The Making of the Poema de mio Cid* [Cambridge University Press, 1983]. He has discussed how there are very distinct stylistic and thematic analogues between the *Poema* and the French epic *[La Corónica,* 1977]; and how the work's irregular versification may not be a defect or aberration but a new, wholly rhythmic form invented by Per Abbat in reaction to the limitations of the available French models [1979]. Michael Herslund [1974] and Kenneth Adams [1978, 1980], on the other hand, show how the diction of the *PMC* follows closely that of the *chansons de geste,* while Roger Walker *[Modern Language Review,* 1977] discusses the *Cid* poet's creation of the Corpes episode and its dependence upon the French verse *roman* of *Florence de Rome,* a work available in Spain only in the years from about 1200 to 1207. Equally concerned with learned French sources, Peter Russell [1978] has convincingly argued that dona Ximena's prayer, uttered upon the Cid's departure for exile, is not an accommodation of a liturgical text but a literary invention with direct French antecedents which

[7]Riaño Rodríguez [1971] attributes the *PMC* to one Per Abat, a cleric from Fresno de Caracena. However, on geographical, legal, and chronological grounds, as well as due to the link with the *apócrifo de San Lecenio,* Smith's Per Abbat is the more likely candidate.

is made to sound liturgical; while I have tried to demonstrate how the prayer serves a symbolic and prophetic function in the structure of the work [1980].

On another front, in an important article, John K. Walsh, although a Neo-Traditionalist, establishes the clear parallels existing between numerous Latin hagiographies and Spanish epic texts [1970-71]. His findings, especially for the *Afrenta de Corpes* in the *PMC,* are impressive and confirm not only the poet's sources but his highly sophisticated allusive technique by which he weaves in images and echoes from the lives of the martyrs in order to heighten the characterization of the Cid's daughters and their tormentors, all the while appealing to the hearts of his audience through this pathetic, immediately recognizable imagery. Similarly, Salvador Martínez [1973] examines other literary avatars of the Corpes episode, while Alan Deyermond [1975] has discovered its debt to the medieval lyric.

Colin Smith, David Hook and Salvador Martínez have made substantial contributions to our understanding of classical influences upon the epic. Smith [1975], for instance, posits the influence of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and Frontinus's *Strategemata,* a manual of military tactics, upon the depiction of the conquests of Castejón and Alcocer in the first part of the *PMC.* Hook [1979] proposes that Pero Bermúdez's impetuous conduct as the Cid's standard bearer at Alcocer is derived from Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico,* a work that with Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* appears in a medieval catalogue of the Peñíscola library, and that was therefore possibly accessible to the author of the poem. Martínez [1975], on the other hand, suggests not only the existence of classical literary derivations in the extant texts, but indeed the origin of the entire Romance epic genre in a medieval Latin heroic tradition reflected in the *Poema de Almería.* In his lengthy and interesting book, he theorizes that the *Nota Emilianense,* the *Hague Fragment,* and the other oblique medieval Latin references to epic themes, do not attest to the existence of a vernacular tradition but, like the Almería poem, to a well developed and vigorous Latin heroic literature.

The empirical evidence of the last few years tends also to affirm the learned provenance of the Castilian epic, and with regard to the *PMC* in particular, its unity of authorship. Franklin Waltman's computer studies of formulaic expression in the *Cid* [1973, 1980], as well as his study of synonym choice [1974], confirm that it is in all probability a written poem composed by one man. Additionally, Oliver T. Myers [1977], after

examining the rhyme groups of the *Poema,* finds against multiple authorship, while Margaret Chaplin [1976] shows that the work possesses a relatively low formulaic density in comparison to orally composed Yugoslav songs, and that it follows a unique form of thematic composition which cannot reflect improvised origin.

John J. Geary [1980] and Ruth Webber [1980] arrive at similar conclusions about the *Mocedades de Rodrigo.* However, though accepting their determinations, Alan Deyermond [1978] cautions against the outright uncritical adoption of the results. Indeed, what we likely have in the *MR* corresponds to John S. Miletich's findings [1978, 1981] after comparing the ratios of *elaborate* and *essential styles* in the *MR* and the *PMC* to orally composed as well as written Yugoslav narratives: namely, that the Castilian epics are what Serbo-Croatian critics denote *pučka književnost,* or literature composed in writing by learned poets using a traditional style.

What, then, may we conclude about the Individualist approach to the Castilian epic? As far as there can be any form of agreement amongst critics, is there a general consensus amongst Individualists? Both these questions, I think, can be answered by stating simply that, on the evidence, Individualists agree upon several essential points: that the epic texts which we possess are not entirely popular in origin and are, in fact, learned and consciously literary in nature; that although largely anonymous, they are the deliberate, studied compositions of individual poets; that they are not historical in the sense that they reflect composition at the time of the events of which they tell; and that they reveal specific artistic and often propagandistic (though not exclusively ecclesiastical) goals; and finally, as a result of all of the above, that they were not orally but chirographically composed. I must stress, too, that Individualism is not a wholesale denial of Neo-Traditionalism: it does not gainsay the possibility of the existence of a prior or even parallel oral tradition of legends and songs *(cantos noticieros)* which might have been the source for some of the stylistic features and themes of the extant works. However, Individualism stops short of viewing the preserved epics as the perpetuation in writing of a hypothetical oral epic. Rather, it seeks to restore attention to the texts themselves and to the poet as creator, recognizing that great poetry, as any other great human endeavor, is not hastily assembled, and certainly never so by a committee. My own personal inclination is to view the Castilian epic as a conscious recreation, though not a continuation, of the style of an oral tradition. In this sense, it is similar in nature to the task undertaken by José Hernández in *Martín Fierro,* Pushkin in *Ruslan and Ludmilla* and

Wordsworth and Coleridge in the *Lyrical Ballads.* In these, the poets sought the studied adaptation of the best folk ballad motifs and techniques for the purpose of creating exquisitely beautiful, yet undeniably learned verse. The epics, just as these poems, are not extensions of oral poetry; and if they are popular in any way, they are that only in so far as they might have exploited an oral tradition as a source.

The debate between Individualists, Neo-Traditionalists, and Formulists will, of course, continue to rage. Though I fear that Formulism may have been permanently put to rest by J. D. Smith.[8] In this paper I have merely tried to bring together the most noteworthy evidence in support of individual composition in the Castilian epic and apprise our French brethren of the status of our research. There are still a myriad of unanswered questions which we must resolve before we can, if ever, come to a definitive conclusion. We must, for example, face the ballad question and carefully assess the methods of chronistic composition, as my kind friend and teacher Samuel G. Armistead reminds us.[9] We must follow too the inroads of scholars like H. J. Chaytor [1945], Eric Havelock [1963], and Walter Ong [1967, 1971]. Especially the latter, who continues to expand our understanding of the essential differences between the economy of thought in oral and written cultures in relation to media. Ong assures us that the quill and the knife, just as the printing press, revolutionized literature, but that neither stamped out vestiges of oral style in texts composed entirely in writing. Although since Parry and Lord there have flowed rivers of ink about oral composition, all too little has been said about the other side implicit in the problem — the advantages and constraints of text, the liberties and limitations of the display of the word on parchment and their implications for emendation, deletion, amplification, and diction in the pursuit of a more nearly perfect form [see T. Montgomery, 1977].

Equally, we must continue to apply sensitive literary criticism to the subtler questions of epic art: irony (both verbal and situational), direct speech, characterization, parody, visualization, imagery, the handling of narrative and fictional time, and a host of other topics. And last, we must also inquire into the ideological foundations of our own

[8] "*The Singer* or *The Song?* A Reassessment of Lord's Oral Theory," *Man,* n.s. 12 (1977), pp. 141-153.

[9] See his "The *Mocedades de Rodrigo* and Neo-Individualist Theory," *Hispanic Review,* 46 (1978), pp. 313-327.

research and criticism. We must seek to illuminate the subtler contours of how and why our critical sympathies have developed in the context of social as well as literary history. Could, for instance, Ramón Menéndez Pidal have seen the epic the way he did because of circumstances arising out of his own and Spain's needs at the beginning of the twentieth century? In a word, could Neo-Traditionalism be *crypto-Noventaiochismo,* a philologist's way of writing what Unamuno called *intrahistoria?* Moreover, could we as medievalists be propagating this and the Romantics' paradox about the Middle Ages: their exaltation of medieval spontaneity and intuition to the detriment of medieval learning, thought, and tempered intellects — picturing a Verdiesque world full of mad monks, pregnant nuns, wandering minstrels, chivalrous knights, and rapturous mystics who, if not devoid of sensibility, were certainly devoid of sense. Neo-Traditionalism is surely an attractive theory, but it also runs the risk of denying medieval intellectual life. By its uncritical acceptance, especially in a Hispanic context, we may be paying too little attention to the erudition, artistry, and sophistication of the medieval heritage. In our pursuit of the mystical minstrel we may be renouncing truth and abetting the prejudice leading laymen still to speak of the Dark Ages; to adopt the facile assumption that all medieval expression was naïve, and that because it is largely anonymous it was the exclusive product of a numen called the folk.[10] In fact, there were very many learned men in the Middle Ages, all of whom were, as Colin Smith says, "capable of composing very vivid narrations, episodes, histories, and poems without having recourse to hypothetical sources in vernacular verse" *[Sexto Congreso,* 1980, p. 30]. In fine, then, and in the words of Philip Sidney, there seems "just cause to make a pitiful defense of poor Poetry, from which almost the highest estimation of learning is fallen."

E. MICHAEL GERLI
Georgetown University

Selected Bibliography

Adams, Kenneth. "Further Aspects of Sound-Patterning in the PMC." *Hispanic Review,* 48 (1980), pp. 449-467.

[10]The issue of ideologically slanted criticism is germane to the interpretation of all medieval literature. John C. Hirsh provides an instructive article on this point because his observations are divorced entirely from the debate on the epic and from Continental literature. See his *"Havelok* 2933: A Problem in Medieval Literary History." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen,* 78 (1977), pp. 339-349.

_____ *"Pensar de:* Another Old French Influence on the *PMC." La Corónica,* 7, No. 1 (1978), pp. 8-12.

_____ "Possible French Influence on the Use of the Historic Present in *the PMC." Modern Language Review,* 75 (1980), pp. 781-796.

_____ "The Yugoslav Model and the Text of the PMC." In *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton, e*d. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1976, pp. 1-10.

Aebischer, Paul. *Préhistoire et protohistoire du "Roland d'Oxford."* Berne: Francke, 1972.

Alonso, Dámaso. "Estilo y creación en el *Poema del Cid." Escorial,* 3 (1941), pp. 333-372. Repr. in *Ensayos sobre poesía española.* Madrid: Editorial Revista de Occidente, 1944, pp. 69-111.

Bly, Peter A. "Beards in the *PMC:* Structural and Contextual Patterns." *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* 14(1978), pp. 16-24.

Catalán, Diego. "Crónicas generales y cantares de gesta: El *Mio Cid* de Alfonso X y el del pseudo Ben-Alfaraŷ," *Hispanic Review,* 31 (1963), pp. 195-215, 291-306.

Chalon, Louis. *L'Histoire et l'épopée castillane du moyen âge.* Paris: H. Champion, 1976.

Chaplin, Margaret. "Oral Formulaic Style in the Epic: A Progress Report." In *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton,* ed. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1976, pp. 11-20.

Chaytor, H. J. *From Script to Print.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945.

Cummins, John G. "The Chronicle Texts of the Legend of the Infantes de Lara." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 53 (1976), pp. 101-116.

————— "The Creative Process in the Ballad *Pártese el moro A licante." Forum for Modern Language Studies,* 6 (1970), pp. 369-378.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. "Zur Literarästhetik des Mittelalters." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* 58 (1938), pp. 1-50, 129-132, 433-479, but especially pp. 171-172, 225.

De Chasca, Edmund. *El arte juglaresco en el CMC.* Madrid: Gredos, 2nd edition, 1972.

Delbouille, Maurice. "Le Mythe du jongleur-poète." In *Studi in onore Italo Siciliano.* Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1966, I, pp. 317-327.

Deyermond, Alan D. *Epic Poetry and the Clergy: Studies on the Mocedades de Rodrigo.* London: Tamesis, 1969.

_____. "Lyric Traditions in a Non-Lyrical Genre." In *Studies in Honor of Lloyd A. Kasten.* Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1975, 39-52

_____ "Medieval Spanish Epic Cycles: Observations on their Formation and Development." *Kentucky Romance Quarterly,* 23 (1976), pp. 281-303.

_____, ed. *Mio Cid Studies.* London: Tamesis, 1977.

_____ "The *Mocedades de Rodrigo* as A Test Case: Problems of Methodology." *La Corónica,* 6, No. 2 (1978), pp. 108-112.

_____. "Structural and Stylistic Patterns in the *CMC."* In *Medieval Studies in Honor of Robert White Linker, e*d. B. Dutton, et al. Madrid: Castalia, 1973, pp. 55-71.

_____and David Hook. "Doors and Cloaks: Two Image-Patterns in the *CMC." MLN [Modern Language Notes],* 94 (1979), pp. 366-377.

Dougherty, D. M. "The Present State of Bédier's Theories. *"Symposium,* 14 (1960), pp. 289-299.

Entwistle, W. J. "My Cid—Legist." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies,* 6 (1929), pp. 9-15.

_____. "Remarks Concerning the Historical Account of Spanish Epic Origins." *Revue hispanique,* 81, No. 1 (1933), pp. 352-377.

————————. "Remarks Concerning the Order of the Spanish *Cantares de gesta." Romance Philology,* 1 (1947-48), pp. 113-123.

Fradejas Lebrero, José. *Estudios épicos: "El Cid."* Ceuta: Instituto Nacional de Enseñanza Media, 1962.

Fraker, Charles F. "Sancho II: Epic and Chronicle." *Romania,* 95 (1974), pp. 467-507.

Garcí-Gómez, Miguel. *Mio Cid: Estudios de endocrítica.* Barcelona: Planeta, 1975.

Geary, John. *Formulaic Diction in the "Poema de Fernán González" and the "Mocedades de Rodrigo".* Madrid: Porrúa Turanzas, 1980.

Gerli, E. Michael. "The *Ordo Commendationis Animae* and the *Cid* Poet." *MLN [Modern Language Notes],* 95 (1980), pp. 436-441.

Gicovate, Bernardo. "La fecha de composición del *PMC." Hispania* (U. S. A.), 39 (1956), pp. 419-422.

Grieve, Patricia. "Shelter as an Image-Pattern in the *CMC." La Corónica,* 8 No. 1(1979), pp. 44-49.

Guerrieri Crocetti, Camillo. Il *Cid e i Cantari di Spagna.* Firenze: Sansoni, 1957.

Hart, Thomas. "Characterization and Plot Structure in the PMC." In Mio *Cid Studies, e*d. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 63-72.

_____. "Hierarchical Patterns in the *CMC." Romanic Review,* 53 (1962), pp. 161-173.

————————. "The Infantes de Carrión," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 33 (1956), pp. 17-24.

_____ "The Rhetoric of (Epic) Fiction: Narrative Technique in the CMC." *Philological Quarterly,* 51 (1972), pp. 23-35.

Havelock, Eric A. *A Preface to Plato.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Herslund, Michael. "Le CMC et la chanson de geste." *Revue Romane,* 9 (1974), pp. 69-121.

Holmes, Urban Tigner. "The Post-Bédier Theories on the Origins of the *Chansons de geste." Speculum,* 30 (1955), pp. 72-81.

Hook, David. "The Legal Basis of the Cid's Agreement with Abbot Sancho." *Romania,* 101 (1980), pp. 517-527.

————————. "Pedro Bermúdez and the Cid's Standard." *Neophilologus,* 63 (1979), pp. 45-53.

Lacarra, María Eugenia. *El PMC: Realidad histórica e ideología.* Madrid: Porrúa Turanzas, 1980.

Leo, Ulrich. "La *Afrenta de Corpes,* novela psicológica." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica,* 13(1959), pp. 291-304.

Lomax, D. W. "The Date of the PMC." In *Mio Cid Studies, e*d. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 73-81.

McMillan, Duncan. "L'Humiliation du Cid." In *Coloquios de Roncesvalles.* Zaragoza: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1956, pp. 252-261.

Martínez, H. Salvador. *"Corpes:* historia poética de una afrenta (De la *Historia Roderici* a Menéndez Pidal)." *Anuario de Letras,* 11 (1973), pp. 59-103.

_____, *El Poema de Almería y la épica románica.* Madrid: Gredos, 1975.

_____. "Tres leyendas heroicas de la *Najerense* y sus relaciones con la épica castellana." *Anuario de Letras,* 9 (1971), pp. 115-177.

Michael, Ian. "Geographical Problems in the PMC: I. The Exile Route." In *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton,* ed. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1976, pp. 117-128.

———————. "Geographical Problems in the *PMC:* II. The Corpes Route." In *Mio Cid Studies, e*d. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 83-89.

_____, ed. *PMC.* Madrid: Castalia, 1976.

Miletich, John S. "Medieval Spanish Epic and European Narrative Traditions." *La Corónica,* 6, No. 2 (1978), pp. 90-96.

_____. "Oral Literature and *Pučka Književnost:* Toward a Generic Description of Medieval Spanish and Other Narrative Traditions." In *Folklore and Oral Communication,* ed. Maja Bošković-Stulli. Zagreb: Zavod za istraživanj folklora, 1981, pp. 155-166.

———————. "Repetition and Aesthetic Function in the *PMC* and South-Slavic Oral and Literary Epic." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 58 (1981), pp. 189-196.

Montgomery, Thomas. "The PMC: Oral Art in Transition." In Mio *Cid Studies,* ed. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 91 -112.

Myers, Oliver T. "Multiple Authorship of the PMC." *In Mio Cid Studies, e*d. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 113-128.

Ong, Walter. *The Presence of the Word.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

_____ *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Pattison, D. G. "The *Afrenta de Corpes* in Fourteenth-century Historiography." In *Mio Cid Studies, e*d. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 129-140.

_____ "The Date of the CMC: A Linguistic Approach." *Modern Language Review,* 62 (1967), pp. 443-450.

Riaño Rodríguez, Timoteo. "Del autor y fecha del *PMC." Prohemio,* 2 (1971), pp. 467-500.

Rubio García, Luis. *Realidad y fantasía en el PMC.* Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1972.

Russell, Peter E. "La oración de doña Jimena," In his *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios.* Barcelona: Ariel, 1978, pp. 111-158.

_____ "San Pedro de Cardena and the Heroic History of the Cid." *Medium Aevum,* 27 (1958), pp. 57-79.

_____. "Some Problems of Diplomatic in the CMC and their implications." Modern *Language Review,* 47 (1952), pp. 340-349.

Salinas, Pedro. "La vuelta al esposo: ensayo sobre estructura y sensibilidad en el CMC." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 24 (1947), pp. 79-88.

Siciliano, Italo. *Les Chansons de geste et l'épopée: Mythes, histoire, poème.* Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1968.

Smith, Colin. "The Choice of the Infantes de Carrión as Villains in the PMC." *Journal of Hispanic Philology,* 4, No. 2 (1980), pp. 105-118.

_____. "On the Distinctiveness of the *PMC,"* In *Mio Cid Studies,* ed. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 161-194.

————————. *Estudios Cidianos.* Madrid: Cupsa, 1977.

_____. "Further French Analogues and Sources for the PMC." *La Corónica,* 6, No. 1 (1977), pp. 14-21.

———————— "Latin Histories and Vernacular Epic in Twelfth-century Spain: Similarities of Spirit and Style." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 48 (1971), pp. 1-19.

————————. "Literary Sources of Two Episodes in the PMC." *Bulletin of*

Hispanic Studies, 52 (1975), pp. 109-122.

_____. "Los orígenes de la poesía vernácula en España." In *Actas del sexto congreso internacional de hispanistas,* ed. Alan M. Gordon, et al. Toronto: Department of Spanish and Portuguese of the University of Toronto, 1980, pp. 27-36.

_____. "Per Abbat and the PMC." *Medium Aevum,* 42 (1973), pp. 1-17.

_____. "The Personages of the *PMC* and the Date of the Poem." *Modern Language Review,* 46 (1971), pp. 580-598.

_____, ed. *PMC.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.

_____. "On Sound-Patterning in the PMC." *Hispanic Review,* 44 (1976), pp. 223-237.

_____ "Sobre la difusión del *PMC."* In *Études de philologie romane et d'histoire offerts à Jules Horrent à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire,* ed. Jean-Marie d'Heur, et al. Tournai: Gedit, 1980, pp. 417-427.

Spitzer, Leo. "Sobre el carácter histórico del *CMC." Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica,* 2 (1948), pp. 105-117.

Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. *El CMC y algunos problemas históricos.* Valencia: Anubar, 1973.

_____ "Observaciones al CMC." *Arbor,* 37 (1957), pp. 145-170.

Viscardi, Antonio. "Credo quia absurdum!" *Filologia romanza,* 3 (1956), pp. 342-370.

————————. "Poesia colletiva, poesia giullaresca, letteratura epica." *Filologia e Letteratura,* 8 (1962), pp. 143-192.

————————. "In principio era il poeta." *Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell'Università Statale di Milano,* 9 (1956), pp. 31-56.

Walker, Roger M. "The Infantes de Carrión and the Final Duels in the PMC." *La Corónica,* 6, No. 1 (1977), pp. 22-25.

————————. "A Possible Source for the *Afrenta de Corpes* Episode in the PMC." *Modern Language Review,* 72 (1977), pp. 335-347.

————————. "The Role of the King and the Poet's Intentions in the PMC." In *Medieval Hispanic Studies Presented to Rita Hamilton,* ed. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1976, pp. 257-266.

Walsh, John K. "Epic Flaw and Final Combat in the *PMC." La Corónica,* 5, No. 2 (1977), pp. 100-109.

_____. "Religious Motifs in the Early Spanish Epic." *Revista Hispánica Moderna,* 36 (1970-71), pp. 165-172.

Waltman, Franklin. "Formula and Theme in the *CMC." Hispania (U.* S. A.), 63 (1980), pp. 20-24.

_____. "Formulaic Expression and Unity of Authorship in the PMC." *Hispania* (U. S. A.), 56 (1973), pp. 569-578.

_____. "Synonym Choice in the *CMC." Hispania (U.* S. A.), 57 (1974), pp. 452-461.

Webber, Ruth House. "Formulaic Language in the *Mocedades de Rodrigo." Hispanic Review,* 48 (1980), pp. 195-211.

West, Geoffrey. "King and Vassal in History and Poetry: A Contrast between the *Historia Roderici* and the *PMC."* In *Mio Cid Studies,* ed. A. D. Deyermond. London: Tamesis, 1977, pp. 195-208.

Willis, Raymond. "La *Crónica rimada del Cid:* A School Text?" In *Studia Hispanica in Honorem R. Lapesa.* Madrid: Gredos, 1972, I, pp. 587-595.

Zahareas, Anthony. "The Cid's Legal Action at the Court of Toledo." *Romanic Review,* 55 (1964), pp. 161-172.

-o-oOo-o-

Since this article was written in 1981 the relevant bibliography has continued to increase. In order to be as complete as possible, I offer here without comment a list of the most important items which have come to my attention since completion of this essay:

Armistead, Samuel G. "Epic and Ballad: A Traditionalist Perspective," *Olifant,* 8 (1981), pp. 376-388.

Burt, John R. "The Metaphorical Suggestions of Jimena's Prayer," *Critica Hispánica,* 4 (1982), pp. 21-28.

Deyermond, Alan D. and David Hook, "The *Afrenta de Corpes* and other Stories," *La Corónica,* 10, No. 1 (1981), pp. 12-37.

————————. "The Close of the *Cantar de mio Cid:* Epic Tradition and Individual Variation." in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Ro-*

mance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross, ed. Peter Noble, et. al. Millwood, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1982, pp. 11-18.

Hook, David. "The *Poema de mio Cid* and the Old French Epic: Some Reflections." In *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross, e*d. Peter Noble, et al. Millwood, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1982, pp. 107-118.

Lacarra, María Eugenia. "Consecuencias ideológicas de algunas de las teorías en torno a la épica Peninsular," *Ideologies and Literature,* 4 (1983), pp. 29-38.

_____. "Some Questions on the Function of the Castilian Epic," *La Corónica,* 11, No. 2 (1983), pp. 258-264.

Miletich, John S. "Hispanic and South Slavic Traditional Narrative Poetry and Related Forms: A Survey of Comparative Studies (1824-1977)." In *Oral Traditional Literature: A Festschrift for Albert Bates Lord,* ed. John Miles Foley. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica, 1981, pp. 375-389.

Pavlović, Milija N. and Roger Walker. "Money, Marriage and the Law in the *Poema de mio Cid," Medium Aevum, 51* (1982), pp. 197-212.

_____"Roman Forensic Procedure in the Court Scene in the *Poema de mio Cid," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 60 (1983), pp. 95-107.

Richthofen, Erich von. "The Problem of Fiction Alternating with Historical Documentation in the Cid Epics and the Castilian Chronicles," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos,* 6 (1982), pp. 359-376.

Smith, Colin. "Epics and Chronicles: A Reply to Armistead," *Hispanic Review,* 51 (1983), pp. 409-428.

Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. "El sentimiento antileonés en el *Cantar de mio Cid."* In *La Espana medieval: Estudios dedicados al profesor d. Julio González-González,* Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1980, pp. 557-574.

Webber, Ruth House. "Lenguaje tradicional: epopeya y romancero." In *Actas del Sexto Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas,* ed. Alan M. Gordon, et al. Toronto: Department of Spanish and Portuguese of the University of Toronto, 1980, pp.

779-782.

West, Geoffrey. "Medieval Historiography Misconstrued: The Exile of the Cid, Rodrigo Diaz, and the Supposed *Invidia* of Alfonso VI," *Medium Aevum,* 52 (1983), pp. 286-299.

———— "A Proposed Literary Context for the Count of Barcelona Episode of the *Cantar de mio Cid" Bulletin of Hispanic Studies,* 58 (1981), pp. 1-12.