

ISSN: 0213-2060

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14201/shhme.31404>

## MATERIAL PERFORMANCES: HEROIC THREADS IN THE *CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA*<sup>1</sup>

*Performances materiales: los hilos heroicos en la Crónica de Castilla*

Marija BLAŠKOVIĆ

Departament d'Humanitats. Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Ramon Trias Fargas, 25-27, 08005 Barcelona. C. e.: [marija.blaskovic@upf.edu](mailto:marija.blaskovic@upf.edu). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1496-8173>

Recibido: 2023-07-29

Revisado: 2023-12-22

Aceptado: 2024-07-19

**ABSTRACT:** Medieval courtly culture often relied on corporeality and materiality to structure its social order and indicate its members' power and prestige. However, these aspects were rarely integrated into the historiographical discourse. This article explores how the *Crónica de Castilla* (c. 1300) employs material culture as an additional strategy to represent characters and interpersonal relationships. Via carefully selected scenes involving Rodrigo Díaz, the Cid, and two rulers who interact with various him, the study examines the impact of narrative materiality on identity and memory formation in the work. Considering that these semiotically charged displays are intertwined with various contemporary discourses and practices, they also lead to a better understanding of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s compositional tendencies and the values attached to non-verbal forms of communication.

*Keywords:* historiography; cultural memory; Cidian matter; materiality; *Crónica de Castilla*.

**RESUMEN:** La cultura cortesana de la Edad Media se basaba a menudo en la corporeidad y la materialidad para estructurar su orden social e indicar el poder y el prestigio de sus miembros. Sin embargo, estos aspectos no solían formar parte del discurso historiográfico. Este artículo explora cómo la *Crónica de Castilla* (c. 1300) emplea la cultura material como estrategia adicional para representar personajes y relaciones interpersonales. A través de las interacciones cuidadosamente seleccionadas de Rodrigo Díaz, el Cid, y dos soberanos que interactúan con él, el estudio examina el impacto de la materialidad narrativa

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used throughout the article are: *CrCast* = *Crónica de Castilla*; *CMC* = *Cantar de Mio Cid*; *CI* = «The Cidian Interpolation». I wish to thank Manuel Hijano for his valuable comments on the first draft of this article and to Sarah-Grace Heller for helping me and encouraging me to move through the historiographical material webs.

en la formación de la identidad y la memoria en la obra. Teniendo en cuenta que estas imágenes crean una red semiótica con varios discursos y prácticas contemporáneos, también contribuyen al mejor entendimiento de las tendencias compositivas de la *Crónica de Castilla* y de los valores atribuidos a las formas de comunicación no verbales.

*Palabras clave:* historiografía; memoria cultural; materia cidiana; materialidad; *Crónica de Castilla*.

SUMMARY: 0 Introduction. 1 The Benches at the Castilian Court in Toledo. 2 From Persia to Cardeña: Material Entanglements Across Borders. 3 Producing and Interweaving Images and Legacies. 4 References.

## 0 INTRODUCTION

Scholars have long acknowledged the importance of corporeality in medieval courtly culture and the implications it had for the construction of identity:

At court, signification of bodies and their appearances develops in an extremely complex manner. Seignorial relations are not definitively codified in a stable legal text; rather, the «law» of the court is «inscribed» into the noble bodies and elaborated by them<sup>2</sup>.

This notion is deeply grounded in anthropological premises that the world and its order are a consequence of «la dialectique de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur»<sup>3</sup>. Given this view, it is no surprise that material culture, with its performative nature, was integral to identity formation throughout the Middle Ages. Due to the material turn, the study of objects such as seals, (heraldic) garments or coats of arms, to name a few, has yielded significant insights into medieval mentality, at the same time allowing us to reconsider or even reconceptualize their societal roles.

Scholars have also focused on literature and visual arts to study the vast array of meanings ascribed to clothes and arms, both understood as «acting force[s] in generating social bodies»<sup>4</sup>. In the peninsular context, late-thirteenth testimonies, such as Alfonso X's *Partidas* and Ramon Llull's treatise on knighthood, also engaged with this understanding of physical appearance reflecting and affecting the inner world<sup>5</sup>. While this

<sup>2</sup> «Die Zeichenhaftigkeit der Körper und ihrer Konfigurationen wird am Hofe dementsprechend zu einer besonders hohen Komplexität entwickelt. Herrschaftsverhältnisse sind nicht definitiv in einem stabilen Gesetzestext kodifiziert, das *Gesetz* des Hofes wird vielmehr in die adligen Körper *eingeschrieben* und von ihnen ausgearbeitet». Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen*, 339 (his emphasis, my translation).

<sup>3</sup> Schmitt, *La raison*, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the *Second Partida* states: *Paños de colores señalados establecieron los antiguos que troxiesen vestidos los caballeros noveles mientras que fuesen mancebos, así como bermejos, ó jaldes, ó verdes ó cardenos porque les diesen alegría: [...] et esto fecieron porque las vestiduras fuesen mas apuestas, et ellos andudiesen alegres et les cresciesen los corazones para ser mas esforzados* (*Las siete partidas*, II.xxi.18). In his spiritual version of knighthood, Ramon Llull emphasized the need for moderation *en vestir qui ha fete amistat ab vanaglorie* (Llull, *Llibre de l'ordre*, VI.16).

conceptualization can be easily extended to other objects, historiographical works were generally less inclined to explore these imageries. According to Ana Rodríguez's analysis of textual accounts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, other than a few notable examples of crowns, jewels, and spoils of war: «the imprecise and generic nature of references to precious objects is striking»<sup>6</sup>.

From a vast array of non-verbal signs that found their way into Romance medieval historiography, the Cidian matter seems to be particularly predisposed to shed light on contemporary cultural values and practices. Various aspects of the life of Rodrigo Díaz already formed part of different writings when the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (c. 1200) departed from them in many ways. The poem famously introduced elements that consolidated the hero's image, such as his horse Babieca and his two prize swords, Colada and Tizón. Decades ago, Duggan described the *CMC* as «saturated with the theme of wealth»<sup>7</sup>, although the battlefield was not the only setting in which the anonymous poet explored materiality. Along with other materials, the epic world was then incorporated into the large historiographical project of King Alfonso X. Nonetheless, its focus on a strong monarch and an exemplary vassal resulted in many abbreviations.

Fortunately, the hero's narrative prominence increased in the *Crónica de Castilla* (c. 1300). This was the period during which María de Molina (d. 1321), widow of Sancho IV (the second-born son of Alfonso X), served a regent of their minor son Fernando IV (until c. 1301). To justify Sancho's rebellion against his father and to legitimize the offspring who resulted from an endogamic marriage, the court enforced a cultural and political movement that promoted piety, orthodoxy, and chivalry, better known as *molinismo*.<sup>8</sup>

Usually characterized as more attentive to nobiliary needs and deeply marked by the principle of novelization, the *CrCast* is considered an epitome of this program<sup>9</sup>. These tendencies were also applied to the Castilian hero who, despite not belonging to the noblest houses, became a royal ancestor. On the one hand, his character, «[é]levé au rang des monarques», has been described as an «assimilation partielle entre le chevalier et le roi»<sup>10</sup>. On the other, his historiographical trajectory, facilitated by saints, serves a true paradigm of Christian perfection and expansion<sup>11</sup>.

Given that the *CrCast* integrated and harmonized the most diverse Cidian traditions, testing these conclusions by examining the work's dynamics between bodies and objects is a promising starting point. Though, in its broadest sense, material culture

<sup>6</sup> Rodríguez, «Narrating the Treasury», 43.

<sup>7</sup> Duggan, *Poetic Creation*, 5. For more on these aspects, see numerous comments, with valuable references, throughout Montaner's edition of the poem. For a recent analysis of the symbolic communication in the *CMC*, see Blašković, *Los potenciales*, 189-224.

<sup>8</sup> The term was coined by Gómez Redondo, *La historia*, 856-63; see also Gómez Redondo, «El molinismo», 52-8. For a critique of this term, see Linehan, *At the Edge*, 12-3.

<sup>9</sup> Catalán, «Monarquía»; Hijano Villegas, «La *Crónica*»; Bautista Pérez, «Narrativas» and «The *Poema*», 441-53; Gómez Redondo, «El molinismo», 67-81; as well as Rochwert-Zuili's «Introduction» to her edition of *CrCast*.

<sup>10</sup> Rochwert-Zuili, «Introduction», §55; and Lacomba, *Au-delà du Cantar*, 187, respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Rochwert-Zuili, «Introduction», §52; Lacomba, «Saints cidiens», §§30-1.

encompasses all human-made objects, this study draws upon the performative nature of the body and focuses on the movable items that, due to their direct bodily contact, are considered integral to the formation of identities, interpersonal relationships, and legacies. This analysis, however, does not consider items inalienable from the Cidian memory, such as his prize swords, but instead explores the most innovative *CrCast*'s passages from a material point of view.

Starting with the court assembled at Toledo, the following section highlights the episode's narratively functionalized materiality, read both intratextually and in relation to the *CMC*. The study then turns to the scenes related to the Cid's legendarization, additionally compared to an account that slightly predates and heavily influences the *CrCast*: the «Cidian interpolation»<sup>12</sup>. This selective reading helps to identify the particularities of the *CrCast*, while its narrative techniques provide significant insights into the work's ideological underpinnings.

## 1 THE BENCHES AT THE CASTILIAN COURT IN TOLEDO

In the epic poem, the hero and the King meet in person on two occasions: during the royal pardon and in Toledo, where they gather to resolve the consequences of the attack that the Infantes of Carrión carry out on their wives, the Cid's daughters, in an act of revenge. The *CMC* details the hero's preparation: he is wearing *calças de buen panno, unos çapatos que a grant huebra son*, a linen shirt white as the sun, covered with *un brial primo de çiclatón, l obrado es con oro* and *una piel vermeja* with gold fringes<sup>13</sup>. This is the most detailed description of anyone's appearance in the poem, and it serves a memorable purpose. After securing new husbands for his daughters—this time, of royal stock—the Cid removes his white, linen coif and unties his beard<sup>14</sup>. This final gesture of triumph<sup>15</sup>, together with the initial preparations, illustrates the poet's capacity to create semiotically charged imagery.

This trial in its post-Alfonsine version is famous for its sensationalist tone<sup>16</sup>, which was extended to materiality as well. At first, no vestimentary cues are given, other than stating that the Cid *guissóse para yr* and his men *todos yuan muy bien vestidos de muy buenos paños e muy buenos caualllos*<sup>17</sup>. Upon arrival, the hero kindly refuses King Alfonso's suggestion to stay in his *palaçio* in Galiana, and the monarch proceeds to the preparations:

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the *CrCast* is also posterior to the *Crónica manuelina* (see Hijano Villegas, «La materia», 150-4; and Hijano Villegas, «El manuscrito», §§67-70), whose critical edition has yet to be published. For this reason, I will only occasionally refer to this work's manuscript *Br*, as cited by Hijano Villegas, «El manuscrito» and Bautista Pérez, «The Poema».

<sup>13</sup> *CMC*, vv. 3085-92. All quotations of the *CMC* are from Montaner's edition.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, vv. 3492-4.

<sup>15</sup> Described as such by Montaner in *ibidem*, 186 and n. 789.

<sup>16</sup> See Bautista Pérez, «The Poema», 432-35.

<sup>17</sup> *CrCast*, III, 175, §635. All quotations are from Rochwert-Zuili's digital edition. The Roman number indicates the king ruler (here III for Alfonso VI), and the Arabic the chapter; in case of a direct quote, the paragraph is also given (§). The occasional translations are mine, improved through the helpful insights of Sarah-Grace Heller.

*Et él enderescó el palacio mayor en esta manera: el suelo estrado de tapetes, e las paredes e lo de çima todo cubierto de paños de oro muy rricos, et pusieron en el mayor lugar la silla real en que sse assentase el rey —la qual silla era muy noble e mu<y> rrica, ca él la ganara en Toledo, que fuera de los reyes dende— et derredor fizieron muy nobles estrados en que sse asentassen los condes e los omnes onrrados que eran venidos a la corte<sup>18</sup>.*

In this spatial representation of power, the royal bench is particularly noteworthy. The oldest mention of this item is one of the *CMC*'s verses, merely informing the audience that Alfonso received it from the *Cid*: *en aqueste escaño quem' diestes vós en don*<sup>19</sup>. The above quoted passage, therefore, acts as a historiographical response to the obscure but important mention of the chair in the epic poem. The insistence on its Toledan origin is not surprising, with the city intrinsically linked to this King's legacy, but the item's specified background makes Alfonso's image aligned with one contemporary discourse: the «Toledanization» of royal memory, based on Sancho IV and María de Molina's close ties to the Toledan archbishopric<sup>20</sup>.

Only when the hero learns how they decorated the palace does he have his young squire bring the *finely turned* ivory bench, obtained in Valencia and now *cubierto de paños de oro muy rricos, et sso el paño vn cabeçal de floxel cubierto de vn tartarý muy noble*<sup>21</sup>. Not only is the object richly described, but the narrator also ensures of the association it will evoke: *todo omne que lo viesse diría que era silla de omne bueno et que pertenesçia para tal qual era el Çid*<sup>22</sup>. The item is also situated *at the best place*, that is, *close* to Alfonso's chair, further aligning the display of royal authority with the *Cid*'s lordly status. The fact that a hundred of his squires are instructed to watch his bench so that no dishonor is done to it<sup>23</sup> underlines the notion of material possessions as stand-ins for absent owners.

Both benches are strategically employed to emanate their glory, but this power and order display is read differently by Count Suero, the uncle-tutor of the Infantes of Carrión (and the *CrCast*'s version of the epic Asur González). When Alfonso and the *Cid*'s opponents assemble on the next day, Suero provokingly states:

*Señor, sea la vuestra merçet que me digades aquel tálamo que pusieron allý çerca la vuestra silla, ;para qual dueña lo pusieron allý, et si verná vestida de almexia e de alquilanes blancos en la cabeça o cómo verná y guardada? Et señor, tal escaño commo aquél, para vós pertenesçe, e mandatlo tomar o quitar de allý*<sup>24</sup>.

The Count is eager to disassociate the owner from an object so prestigious that it should belong to the King, but his plan fails for several reasons. This post-Alfonsine approach is better understood from the intertextual perspective, since in the epic version

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, III, 176, §641.

<sup>19</sup> *CMC*, v. 3115.

<sup>20</sup> For more on the term and the context, see Linehan, *History*, 474-7.

<sup>21</sup> *CrCast*, III, 177, §643.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, 177, §643.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, 176.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 177, §644.

Asur arrives late to the court, dragging his luxurious fur<sup>25</sup>. Now, Suero's insulting remark tries to project and reinforce the scene's material inadequacy by applying the lens of gender. To refer to a seigneurial bench as *tálamo*, that is, a platform on which the newlyweds sit<sup>26</sup>, and then to specify it as intended for the bride, is a clear attempt to feminize the owner. Ironically, Suero wishes to ridicule the only nobleman who has never been defeated in combat, but he only does so in his absence. Furthermore, his attempt to manipulate is literally misplaced, because this type of gathering comes with certain constraints: *Palacio es dicho aquel logar do el rey se ayunta paladinamente para fablar con los homes [...] et por ende conviene que no sean hi dichas otras palabras si non verdaderas et complidas et muy ciertas*<sup>27</sup>.

When one of the Cid's men replies to this remark, Count Suero signals his readiness to physically intervene via his clothes: *Et el conde era omne sañudo e de mala parte, e sobraçó el manto et quiso ferir a Ferrant Alfonso*<sup>28</sup>. King Alfonso halts the escalation and offers a background story of the chair: *Et este escaño ganó él en Valençia del nieto de Alymaymón, que fue rrey e señor de la çibdat de Toledo, et con él muncho oro e muncha plata e munchas piedras preçiosas*<sup>29</sup>. He further states that, since none of the magnates present ever gave him similar gifts: *asentarlo he comigo por onrra d'él*<sup>30</sup>.

Upon entering with 900 knights, the hero —once again— kindly refuses the suggestion to sit next to the King. Alfonso reinstates the prestige of the ivory bench by saying that, from that day on, the Cid should sit only with kings and prelates<sup>31</sup>. Once the trial takes place and the hero secures better marriages for his daughters, he thanks the counts-judges, with the narrator recurring to a rhetorical question: *Et ¿quién vos podría contar qué tan granadamente partió el Çid su aver con todos ante que dende partiesse?*<sup>32</sup>

This encounter demonstrates what great connoisseurs of material communication both men are. If, following Kathryn Starkey, «[c]ourtly attire both declares the status of its wearer and the wearer's acceptance of the conventions of court society»<sup>33</sup>, this conceptualization extends to the two benches. As for the King, even though his chair is not described in detail, its origin is not questioned. The hero's object, in turn, is covered with *paños de oro*, that is, with silk embroidered with gold<sup>34</sup>. There is also a pillow covered with very noble *tartari*, an Asian textile that was considered one of the most precious fabrics in Europe<sup>35</sup>, and Alfonso's statement complements this visual display. In the *CMC*, the poet

<sup>25</sup> *CMC*, vv. 3373-5. In the *CI*, the statement is attributed to Count García Ordóñez (952). All references of the *CI* are from chapters 908-75, which can be found in Ward's digital edition of the *Estoria de España* (manuscript *E2d*).

<sup>26</sup> See Wexler, *Non-Jewish Origins*, 171.

<sup>27</sup> *Las siete partidas*, II.ix.29.

<sup>28</sup> *CrCast*, III, 177, §646.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, 177, §647.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 177, §647.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, 178.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, 188, §708.

<sup>33</sup> Starkey, *Reading*, 57.

<sup>34</sup> This description matches the bench in the *CI* (953). For examples of preserved cloths of gold, see Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 69 and 259.

<sup>35</sup> Rosati, «Panni tartarici», 73-88.

highlighted the importance of the gathering by focusing on the hero's sartorial portrait, while merely alluding to the bench he endowed his lord and king with at some point. By contrast, the semiotic power in the chronicle is explored via the two luxury objects which now have a precise —and shared— origin.

Regarding this aspect, the post-Alfonsine background stories of these items seem to be selective. The *CI* wrongly states that the previous owner of the royal chair was *Rey almemon*, although it was his grandson al-Qadir who inherited the realm and, when Toledo fell, installed himself in Valencia<sup>36</sup>. Since the audience would also know that it was al-Qadir's bad ruling that led to his displacement in the first place, it is interesting to see how both works look for ways to distance the royal bench from this negatively portrayed ruler. The *CI* mentions the emir with whom Alfonso had a harmonious relationship, and the *CrCast* chooses a vague but effective plural: *que fuera de los reyes dende*. Similarly, there is a minor but noteworthy difference in Alfonso's defense of the hero's bench. Unlike the *CI*, which underlines their mutual material benefits<sup>37</sup>, the *CrCast* insists on a Toledanized royal-noble bond.

## 2 FROM PERSIA TO CARDEÑA: MATERIAL ENTANGLEMENTS ACROSS BORDERS

Accounts of military campaigns are often complemented by the great spoils acquired by the Christians, which inevitably imply the opulence of the defeated Muslims. In the *CrCast*, however, the most exquisite cross-cultural gifts the hero receives come from Persia, including items such as myrrh and a balm, later used for his mummification and the posthumous victory against King Bucar. These episodes were long believed to have been written at the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, but the current consensus is to link the intercalated scenes, whose oldest preserved testimony is the *CI*, to the post-Alfonsine *scriptoria*<sup>38</sup>. While this does not exclude the hero's pantheon as a space that instigated or participated in the transmission of the legendary episodes, they were not merely copied into the *CrCast*. As scholars noted, the improbable, quasi-hagiographical dimension was essentially downplayed<sup>39</sup>, but the scenes are better understood when revisited from the perspective of materiality.

When the Cid suddenly receives numerous gifts from Persia, carried by camels and mules, the audience is told the Great Sultan *ovo muy grand sabor de auer gran amor con él*<sup>40</sup>. His ulterior motives are soon admitted to the Cid's *almojarife*: with Antioch fallen and Jerusalem besieged, the Persian ruler feared the never-defeated hero would head

<sup>36</sup> *CI*, 952. Latin and Romance historiography tells the story of the last Toledan rulers in a similar way. See, for example, *CrCast*, III, 39-40 and 58.

<sup>37</sup> According to the King in the *CI*: *este escanno gano el en la lid del quarto con la tienda que me enbio* (952).

<sup>38</sup> For more, see Hijano Villegas, «La materia», 150-60; Bautista Pérez, «The Poema», 425-30.

<sup>39</sup> See Russell, «San Pedro», 60; Catalán and Jerez, *Rodericus*, 88-93.

<sup>40</sup> *CrCast*, III, 197, §742.

toward the east<sup>41</sup>. In addition to costly vessels, cups, richly decorated with precious stones, gold, and silver:

*Otrosí le presentó muchos paños nobles de oro e de seda, de quales los façian en Tartaria e en tierra de Carraui, e con todo esto vna libra de mirra e de bálsamo en vna arqueta de oro —et esto es vngüento muy precioso con que vngen los cuerpos de los reys finados por que non podrescan nin los coma la tierra, e con este vngüento fue después balsamado el cuerpo del Çid<sup>42</sup>.*

Greatly pleased, the Cid asks *si venía y algunas [cosas] que fuese del cuerpo del soldán*, since he would like to kiss them to show honor, just as he would kiss the Sultan on the shoulder if he were present<sup>43</sup>. In turn, the Sultan would give the Cid his horse's head to eat, *segund la costumbre de nuestra tierra*, but the emissary instead offers *vno de los mejores cauallos que hay en esta tierra de Syrya* and kisses the Cid's hand<sup>44</sup>.

Here, despite different customs, there is no miscommunication. The cross-cultural political interaction lies within the framework of «medieval culture of empire», understood by Sharon Kinoshita as «a set of shared courtly forms and practices signifying imperial power»<sup>45</sup>. As for the particularities of the *CrCast*, this chronicle not only adds details, such as pearls, but it also underlines that the fabrics were produced *en Tartaria e en tierra de Carraui*, that is in *Arabia* (ms. *P* and *G*, respectively<sup>46</sup>). In addition to this evocation of remote spaces, the chronicle specifies that the myrrh and balm are used for ointment and embalming of kings. This way, it departs from the *CI* which simply refers to *omnes onrrados*, next to omitting the *CI* comment that the chess board, received from the Sultan, is *still* kept at Cardeña<sup>47</sup>.

The lavish gifts that demonstrate the hero's fame beyond the Castilian and Christian frontiers are soon intertwined with the second weddings of his daughters to the Infantes of Navarre and Aragon. During eight days of marital festivities, *corrían e matauan muchas animalias estrañas que le el soldán enbiara*<sup>48</sup>. Next to the presence of exotic animals<sup>49</sup>, the splendor of the gifts is also confirmed via the admiration the new sons-in-law express and, before they leave Valencia with their wives, they receive half of them. The items from afar, therefore, are turned into the daughters' dowry<sup>50</sup>, but the hero also bestows the

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 199.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, 198, §749.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, 198, §750, see note 715.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, 198, §751.

<sup>45</sup> Kinoshita, *Animals*, 40.

<sup>46</sup> See *CrCast*, III, 198, note 714.

<sup>47</sup> *CI*, 960, similarly in the *Crónica manuelina*, Ms. Br, f.124v (see Hijano Villegas, «El manuscrito», §52).

<sup>48</sup> *CrCast*, III, 201, §765.

<sup>49</sup> For examples of camels as a well-established means of political-cultural communication across realms, see Kinoshita, «Animals».

<sup>50</sup> Within the *arras* previously given to the Infantes of Carrión, the foreign origin was reserved to one sword. Structurally similar to the epic verses (*CMC*, vv. 2571-5), the two departing couples receive: *primeramente, les dio las nobles espadas Colada e Tizona, et muchos paños de oro e de sirgo e de lana, et dioles çient cauallos enfrenados e ensillados, et çient mulas guarnidas, et diez copas de oro, e çient vasos de plata, et seysçientos marcos de plata en tajaderos e en escudillas e en otra baxilla* (*CrCast*, III, 166, §588).



Sultan. To the distant ruler, he decides to send items such as *vna espada muy noble toda guarnida con oro, e vna loriga, e brafoneras, e perpunte*<sup>51</sup>. This way, the gift-giving cycle is completed, with the Persian goods reaching Aragon and Navarre, while the combat-related items, emphatically described as *muchas estrañas cosas de las d'esta tierra*,<sup>52</sup> are sent to the Sultan.

After a five-year ellipsis, King Bucar is launching an attack, and the Cid has a vision of Saint Peter assuring him he will have a posthumous victory<sup>53</sup>. The hero then spends the last seven days drinking the balm and myrrh received from the Sultan, mixed with rose water, and instructs his family how to wash and anoint his dead body with the same ingredients<sup>54</sup>. Next to deciding that the monastery of Cardeña will be his resting place, the Cid pays all the servants and knights accordingly. Somewhat expectedly, there is no mention of the lost bodily control typical of dying people, and his final prayer ensures he leaves the world with *alma lympia*<sup>55</sup>.

Marta Lacomba<sup>56</sup> has analyzed the hero's final days and concluded that his death resembles and reinforces the model of *bonne mort*, previously applied to King Fernando I. While the image of this monarch's penitence is a recurring story in historiography, Fernando's removal of *noble gold cloths* and the crown to put on *paños de sciliçio*<sup>57</sup> is nowhere near the details employed to describe the hero's departure from this world.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, even if the process of embalming does not allude to more mundane practicalities, the hero's piety is extended to four thousand poor people who should be dressed in *estaforte, sayas e pelotes*<sup>59</sup>.

Stating that the Cid looks as if he were alive after the embalming, the chronicle includes a description of his propped-up body:

*E posieron el cuerpo en vna silla muy noble del cauallo Bauieca, e pusieron la silla en vn caualfuste con el cuerpo; e vestieronle vn ganbax a carona de vn cendal delgado. E fizo dos tablas cauadas, [...] e eran foradadas en la silla en guisa que el cuerpo non se podiese reboluer a ningún cabo. E quando fue la medianoche, posieron al Çid ençima del cauallo [...] en guisa que estaua todo el cuerpo tan derecho e tan ygual que semejava que estaua biuo. E tenia calçadas vnas calças pintadas que semejauan vnas brafoneras, e vestieronle vnas sobreseñales de cendal verdes a sus armas e vna capelyna de pargamino pintada, e el escudo de misma manera; e posieronle su espada Tizona en la mano, e tenié el brazo enfiesto e atado ayuso tan sotilmente que era marauilla cómo tenié el espada tan derecha e tan ygual*<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> *CrCast*, III, 204, §771.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, 204, §771.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, 207.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, 208.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, 209, §792.

<sup>56</sup> Lacomba, «Saints cidiens», §19-25.

<sup>57</sup> *CrCast*, I, 29.

<sup>58</sup> Here, it should be mentioned that the miracle of weeping stones usually announces the death of Alfonso VI. The *CrCast* (III, 222) retains this element and elaborates on his pious image, but there are no innovations from the perspective of materiality.

<sup>59</sup> *CrCast*, III, 209, §791.

<sup>60</sup> *CrCast*, III, 211, §797.

Soon after, the armed Christians, white as snow, are led by *vn cauallero blanco e muy grande en cauallo blanco, e traía en la mano siniestra vna seña blanca e en la otra mano vn espada que semejava de fuego*<sup>61</sup>. This vivid image of Santiago de Compostela and the endured loss cause the enemy, including King Bucar, to flee. The collected war spoils are great, and the Cid's family proceeds to Cardeña to fulfill his final wish.

Regardless of the possible trans-Pyrenean influence<sup>62</sup>, the post-Alfonsine imagery of the deceased Cid includes remarkable details, such as a *capellina* made from painted parchment, and a painted hose (the *CrCast*), that is, *a hose patterned with tight rings of black and white (CI)* that look like mail chausses<sup>63</sup>. Unfortunately, neither work engages with the techniques behind the painted parchment or simulated chainmail. This silence further mystifies and increases the visual potency of the scene, but their innovative images are not identical. For example, the *CrCast* departs from the *CI* by adding rose water for the embalming. This scented substance with medicinal properties, usually of Persian origin, was also associated with Virgin Mary, as examples from Alfonso X's *cantigas* confirm<sup>64</sup>. More importantly, the *CrCast* is innovative with regards to colors, fabrics, and the use of heraldic elements. The *CI* first mentions a gambeson made from white linen and then *a rich crimson rope made in the way of the noblest purple in the world*<sup>65</sup>. The latter color seems to be of particular importance in the *CI*, as the account states that the Cid's widow refuses to put him in a coffin covered with crimson fabric and nails of gold, and he is eventually dressed in *pannos de porpola muy noble*<sup>66</sup>. However, the Cid's post-mortem attire in the *CrCast* only refers to a costly fabric called *sendal*<sup>67</sup>. This *fine* silk is the first fabric placed on his body, while the green silk tunic covers his *cota de malla*. Regarding the emblems, the *CrCast* omits the Cid's *capellina* as decorated with his *señales*<sup>68</sup> and saves their use for his final display at the monastery.

It is often not easy to discern what lies behind this type of textual changes. Purple color was a result of an expensive dye that represented royal power and papal authority<sup>69</sup>, but green had a broader array of connotations in the High Middle Ages. This color was linked to faith and immortality, although, conversely, it was quite appreciated in Islamic

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, 211, §801.

<sup>62</sup> Many decades ago, Smith suggested Carolingian sources that include balms and ointments, as well as an elephant sent to Charlemagne from Persia, while Vaquero has read the episode as both a *renovatio* and a response to those legendary materials (Smith, «The Cid as Charlemagne», 523; Vaquero, «La leyenda», 267). See also Henriot, «Santo u hombre ilustre», 106-7.

<sup>63</sup> Here, the *CI* (969) particularly praises the techniques' reliability: *Et tenie calçadas vnas calças entremezcladas de blanco et de prieto a redeziel las menudas que non a omne en el mundo que non cuydasse que eran brafoneras sinon quando pusiessse la mano en ellas. [...] Et en la cabeça vna capellina fecha de pargamino et pintada asus senanales que non a omne que non cuydasse que era de fierro [...]*.

<sup>64</sup> Elies has also observed that myrrh and balsams play an important role in Marian compositions (Elies, «Un odor», 63-5).

<sup>65</sup> *CI*, 969.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, 972.

<sup>67</sup> For more on this imported fabric in the *CMC*, see Montaner's comments in the poem's edition, 903-4.

<sup>68</sup> *CI*, 969.

<sup>69</sup> Petzold, «The Iconography», 442-3.

culture<sup>70</sup>. As for the *CrCast*, it has already alluded to the hero's *seña verde*: *Et ellos estando en esto, vieron venir al Çid Ruy Días con trezientos caualleros e cognosçieron la su seña verde, ca non llegó él a la primera batalla*<sup>71</sup>. The work is innovative in this regard, since it is the oldest one preserved that links the hero to this color<sup>72</sup>. Another way to look at the changes is to relate them to the contemporary context. For example, according to the 1268 sumptuary laws proclaimed by Alfonso X, the best sendal, whether *rreforçado* or *çensillo*, was more expensive than the best *porpola*<sup>73</sup>. More importantly for this heroic matter, sendal seems to be a Christianized fabric, because the Alfonsine court repeatedly prohibited Jews and Muslims from wearing it<sup>74</sup>.

Once at San Pedro de Cardeña, King Alfonso is greatly amazed to see the Cid *tan fresco e tan liso e los ojos tan claros e tan fermosos e tan igualmente abiertos*<sup>75</sup>. However, upon hearing about the embalming, the King's admiration subsides as he relates the custom to the practices of Egyptian royals. On the third day, Alfonso accepts the widow's decision not to bury the hero and orders that the Cid's bench be covered with *vn paño de oro muy noble, e sobr'el paño posieron vn cabezal de flogel cobierto de un tartarýn muy noble*<sup>76</sup>. These instructions actually match how the object was presented at the Toledan court, and the *CrCast* amplifies the account by adding Alfonso's order to make a tabernacle *muy noblemente labrado con oro y con azul, e pintado en las señales del rey de Castilla e de León, e del rey de Nauarra, e las del Çid Canpeador*<sup>77</sup>. It is then through the joint efforts of King Alfonso, Bishop Jerónimo, and the Cid's sons-in-law that the body is moved to the chair, but not before the Cid is dressed in the noble fabric of *tartari*, previously sent by the Grand Sultan. They finally place the sword Tizón in the hero's left hand and cloak strings in his right, leaving him in this impressive position for years. The chronicle emphasizes that fabrics need to be replaced after going bad<sup>78</sup>, but this becomes impossible after the Cid's body moves on one occasion<sup>79</sup>. Eventually, after the tip of his nose falls off, he is first moved and then placed in a tomb by Alfonso X<sup>80</sup>.

The hero's final display is a materialization of cross-confessional interactions, with his realm now symbolically moved from the coastal city to the monastery of Cardeña.

<sup>70</sup> Pastoureau, *Green*, 99.

<sup>71</sup> *CrCast*, II, 10, §43.

<sup>72</sup> Montaner also noted that the *CrCast* links the Cid to the house of Mendoza, whose heraldic devices later used the same color (Montaner Frutos, «La enseña», 47-50).

<sup>73</sup> *Cortes*, doc. XIV, art. 5.

<sup>74</sup> See *Cortes*, doc. XIII, arts. 26-7 and doc. XIV, arts. 7-8.

<sup>75</sup> *CrCast*, III, 215, §816.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, 176, §818.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, 216, §818.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, III, 216.

<sup>79</sup> This movement makes a Jewish visitor convert. For a commented summary of the final scenes, see Henriet, «Santo u hombre ilustre», 102-3.

<sup>80</sup> *CrCast*, III, 219. Here, the *CrCast* refers to 1272, when Alfonso X provisioned the Cid and Jimena with new graves (see Linehan, *History*, 460). The epitaph believed to be commissioned by this king linked the Cid's fame to the ones of King Arthur and Charlemagne (Smith, «The Cid as Charlemagne», 525-31; Henriet, «Santo u hombre ilustre», 99; Catalán and Jerez, *Rodericus*, 93), indicating, therefore, a lasting, cross-cultural dialogue with heroic traditions, as studied by these and other scholars.

Although not described in detail, the innovative ornamental use of blue and gold for the tabernacle matches the widely spread practice of gold castles and blue lions in Castilian-Leonese heraldic attire, featured also on Fernando de la Cerda's *capiello* and Alfonso X's depictions in the *cantigas*<sup>81</sup>. Some elements of the posthumous imagery show the possibility of prolonging the items' «social life»<sup>82</sup>, such as the parchment now painted and repurposed to create a *capellina* and a shield, the reintroduced *tartary muy noble*, and the ivory bench. Back in Toledo, the two chairs enacted harmony, while their origins and the ties between the previous owners evoked the underlying link between the Cid and Alfonso's military achievements. Now, at the King's initiative, the same bench is used to complete the display of the hero's body, with Alfonso also deciding to place the Cidian *señales* next to the royal symbols of Castile-León and Navarre. Their design remains unknown, but the juxtaposition of emblems in the *CrCast* functions as a visual cue of intra-Christian unity and royal appreciation for the Cid.

This imagery results from interwoven royal and spiritual models gradually applied to the hero throughout the chronicle. From a religious point of view, his piety is confirmed at the very beginning via the interaction with the rescued leper-turned-saint. However, Santiago de Compostela's early mention in the *CrCast* may be more telling: In one vision, this saint appears *muy guarnido de todas armas e frescas e muy claras e fermosas*<sup>83</sup>. The fact that the adjective *fresh* is solely used for the Cid after he dies<sup>84</sup> makes an interesting parallel, especially considering this saint's brief but crucial role in the hero's posthumous victory. Nonetheless, as Henriët concluded, the post-Alfonsine depiction of the hero is not one of a *santo*, but of an «hombre ilustre»<sup>85</sup>, and the Cid's body and its immediate materiality confirm this view. Unlike the saints whose bodies even emanate fragrant scents<sup>86</sup>, the hero's body testifies to the integrity of his soul before eventually experiencing a change. A sudden bodily imperfection in the form of a damaged nose makes the clerics *fezieron vna bóueda bien alta e metiéronlo dentro, asý como estaua asentado en su escaño, e vestido sus paños e su espada en la mano*<sup>87</sup>. However, long before that,

<sup>81</sup> For these and other examples, with important references, see Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 54-6, 98-9, 200-9.

<sup>82</sup> The term «social life of things» was first used by Appadurai to propose the idea that we achieve a deeper understanding of objects and the values attached to them if we follow their movements and pay attention to their context. See Appadurai, *The Social Life*.

<sup>83</sup> *CrCast*, I, 14, §65.

<sup>84</sup> Not limited to humans, the adjectives *beautiful* and *clear* are slightly more recurrent in the *CrCast*.

<sup>85</sup> Henriët, «Santo u hombre ilustre», 113.

<sup>86</sup> For example, Saint Peter is introduced as *vna grand claridad, e grand olor e tan sabroso que era vna grand marauilla* (*CrCast*, III, 207, §780, also §784), and, earlier, after Saint Isidore's body is revealed: *salió vn olor tan sabroso en manera de almisque e de bálsamo de los buessos que todos quantos ende estauan prestó de grande salud, tan bien a los moros como a los christianos* (*CrCast*, I, 20, §95).

<sup>87</sup> *CrCast*, III, 219, §829. Generally speaking, detached noses were a well-known form of punishment in medieval times, usually applied to women, often for sexual misconduct. However, this change in the *CrCast*, next to being a Carolingian parallel (see footnote 61), is framed in purely aesthetic terms: *porque paresçia feo* (III, 219, §829). Indeed, although there are accounts of saints with facial disfigurement, iconography did not depict them with detached noses. For commented examples, see Gruebner, *Defaced*, 73-9.

the imported textiles wrapped around the hero's body exhibit signs of decay, preventing them from obtaining the status of cult objects. Their corruptibility, rather, confirms the limitations of this saintlike image.

### 3 PRODUCING AND INTERWEAVING IMAGES AND LEGACIES

The emphasis on martial iconography is expected from the *CMC*, but the *CrCast* expanded the list of singled out items to complement and redefine the Cidian memory. When interacting with Alfonso VI's court, the *CMC*'s exiled hero displays an aura of success, wealth, and opulence through three gift-bearing embassies, during the royal pardon, and at the trial in Toledo. The *CrCast*, representative of the trans-Iberian taste<sup>88</sup>, maintains the poem's general structure, but it also modifies certain aspects. For example, the chronicle's King Junes of Morocco acts as an amalgam of the epic kings Yusuf and Bucar, since he owns both Yusuf's tent and Bucar's sword Tizón<sup>89</sup>. However, when the epic hero refers to the tent King Yusuf left behind as *de las otras es cabo, / dos tendales la sufren con oro son labrados*<sup>90</sup>, he only announces<sup>91</sup> but never sends a similar item to Castile. The *CrCast* amends the poet's oversight by ensuring that Alfonso receives King Junes's tent in the third embassy. Considering that itinerant rulership relied on on-site settings that had ceremonial and public functions, tents played a crucial role in creating those spaces throughout centuries. While this phenomenon was transcultural, numerous records show that medieval Europeans greatly admired these «movable palaces»<sup>92</sup>. This is precisely the reaction King Alfonso expresses: *Et el rey fue muy pagado e dixo que nunca tan noble tienda viera*<sup>93</sup>. Although this is far from the ekphrasis applied to a tent in the *Libro de Alexandre*<sup>94</sup>, Alfonso's admiration in the *CrCast* successfully stands in for a missing depiction<sup>95</sup>.

Soon after in the chronicle, the royal pardon is introduced via the inexpressibility trope: *sy omne vos oviessa a contar los grandes adobos e las grandes noblezas que de amas las partes fueron et fizieron para leuar a estas vistas, sería luenga razón de contar*<sup>96</sup>. The Cid regains Alfonso's good graces and organizes an appetizing banquet that attracts everyone's admiration<sup>97</sup>. This time, precious vessels matter more than their content: *et non ovo j*

<sup>88</sup> For more on this framework according to which luxury goods in the «cross-Mediterranean trade lost their religious association as the desirability of the wares increased», see Feliciano, «Medieval Textiles», 55.

<sup>89</sup> *CrCast*, III, 148. It should be noted that Tizón's trajectory was modified to match the postponed arrival of King Bucar, now represented as Junes's brother who eventually seeks revenge.

<sup>90</sup> *CMC*, vv. 1785-6.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, v. 1790.

<sup>92</sup> Stone, «Movable Palaces», 36.

<sup>93</sup> *CrCast*, III, 149, §503.

<sup>94</sup> See Coussemacker, «Pourquoi décrire».

<sup>95</sup> Another noteworthy example is *la tienda del Miramolín*, made from *sirgo bermejo* (or *colorado*) and *muy ricamente obrada*, which Alfonso VIII gives to the Aragonese King (*CrCast*, VIII, 21).

<sup>96</sup> *CrCast*, III, 151, §523.

<sup>97</sup> Similarly to the poem, *CMC*, v. 2067.

*ninguno que comiesse sinon en plata. Et el rrey e los altos omnes comieron en escodillas e en tajaderos de oro fyno*<sup>98</sup>.

Despite their generic mentions, the use of certain pieces effectively signals their additional meanings. Bowls, for instance, are regularly a part of gifts and festive activities. Nonetheless, on one occasion, the young Cid upsets his knights by willingly eating from the same *escudiella* as the leper he previously rescued, who turns out to be Saint Lazarus<sup>99</sup>. While this image is an early confirmation of his piety, the same object is later used to demarcate the exclusivity and worthiness within his retinue. Namely, only when a vassal named Martín Peláez stops acting like a coward, the hero *dixole que comiesse con él en la escudilla, ca más merescía aquel día que el día primero*<sup>100</sup>.

The interplay of corporeality and materiality in the *CrCast* can be remarkably vivid, like the letter the hero receives from his daughters —*la carta era escrita en sangre de las sus feridas*<sup>101</sup>—, which successfully reinscribes the *afrenta* they endured into parchment. Additionally, the work repeatedly uses this interrelatedness to indicate somebody's traits or inner state, whether or not their bodily expressions are voluntary. For instance, the scene of paying respect to the departed hero confirms the practice of publicly displayed grief: when Sol and Elvira arrive with their husbands, the men wear dark mantles and slashed hoods, and their shields hang backward from the pommels, while Sol and her ladies are swathed in veils (*vestida de estamenna*), because *cuydauan que auían de fazer duelo*<sup>102</sup>. Another example are Diego and Fernando González, the hero's first sons-in-law. Ever since the *CMC*, the Cid's vassals used their cloaks to protect their sleeping lord from a loose lion, while Fernando *metió's so'l escaño*, and his brother *el manto e el brial todo suzio lo sacó*<sup>103</sup>. In the *CrCast*, the courtly framework underlines the contrast and social fall: the brothers play chess and board games when the lion appears<sup>104</sup>. Consumed by fear, Diego tries to squeeze under the Cid's chair<sup>105</sup> but ends up with a ripped cloak and tunic, while Fernando returns from his cover with garments so dirty that they *non olián a musgo*<sup>106</sup>.

As stated earlier, the late thirteenth-century context can provide explanations for some of the chronicle's approaches. For example, the omission of the Cid's opulent appearance before the Toledan trial could have been based on the sumptuary laws passed in 1258. In addition to insisting that, among other things, *que ninguno non traya capa aguadera*

<sup>98</sup> *CrCast*, III, 152, §528.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 7.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, III, 123, §420. For the intercalated *exemplum* of Martín Peláez, see Rochwert-Zuili, «El buen cauallero»; Bautista Pérez, «The Poema», 444.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, 172, §617.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, 214, §809. However, Sol's demonstrative gestures are quickly interrupted when Jimena admonishes her for not respecting the Cid's instructions not to do anything other than crying (*ibidem*, III, 214). For more examples of grief in public, see Martínez Gil, *La muerte vivida*, 99-109.

<sup>103</sup> *CMC*, vv. 2287 and 2291, respectively.

<sup>104</sup> *CrCast*, III, 158.

<sup>105</sup> Diego's spatial inferiority was first suggested by Olson, «Symbolic Hierarchy», 502. This reading is even more applicable to the *CrCast*, considering the Cid takes the lion to the cage and returns to his chair, below from which Diego emerges.

<sup>106</sup> *CrCast*, III, 183, §681.

*descarlata sinon el Rey*<sup>107</sup>, these proclamations aimed to limit *ricos omnes'* display of expensive luxuries<sup>108</sup>. However, the same law, renewed in 1268<sup>109</sup>, proposed fines for wedding celebrations with more than ten guests on each side (not including parents and godparents) and that would last more than two days. This way, the chronicle openly contradicts the Alfonsine provisions by referring to two long weddings: the first celebration lasts a week, the second one eight days and includes 8000 guests. Similarly, the Cid and Alfonso alternate as hosts for eight days after the royal pardon<sup>110</sup>, when the article 16 from the 1258 regulations proposed a significantly more rigorous royal-noble encounters and hospitality.

The *CrCast's* readiness to ignore these prohibitions can be related to another important late thirteenth-century discourse: royal efforts to link extravagance to authority and prestige. In the *Partidas*, Alfonso X provided the following reasoning for a distinguished image of a monarch: *los sabios antiguos establecieron que los reyes vestiesen paños de seda con oro et con piedras preciosas, porque los homes los pudiesen conocer*<sup>111</sup>. Alfonso's son Sancho IV, whose crown is among the rare surviving artifacts<sup>112</sup>, continued this tradition and elaborated on this topic, most notably in the *Castigos del rey don Sancho IV*. Its eleventh chapter features a monarch who wears *pannos cubiertos de oro e de seda [...] fresados en aljófar e con piedras preciosas*, with *pennas blancas arminnas*, and richly decorated shoes<sup>113</sup>. Similarly, the documents from Sancho's reign register repeated purchases of sendal, scarlet, and other sumptuous fabrics, as well as the presence of tailors or *alfayetes*<sup>114</sup>. Even the later use of fabrics for the enthronement of Fernando IV —*vistieronle unos pannos notables de tartari*<sup>115</sup>— matches the exclusivity reserved for Tartar cloths in the *CrCast*. The contemporary taste for rich and heavily embroidered garments, however, was not limited to royal courts. As Ruiz concluded, the repeated efforts to limit excessive textile consumption were unsuccessful, and even at a more local level, people gave preference to imported fabrics «as part of what were, on surface, pious donations»<sup>116</sup>.

In this context, a more spiritualized conceptualization of matter that was contemporary to these narratives should not go unmentioned. For instance, in its description of a knightly investiture, the Alfonsine signification system underlines that the role of spurs *de diestro et de siniestro* is to have the knight perform justly, *de manera que no tuerza á ninguna parte*<sup>117</sup>. Similarly, Ramon Llull's treatise<sup>118</sup> attributes every piece of military equipment with religious or moral meaning, be it the helmet ensuring humility, spurs representing diligence and caution, or swords resembling a cross, symbolizing justice.

<sup>107</sup> *Cortes*, doc. XIII, art. 14

<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*, arts. 14-5.

<sup>109</sup> See *ibidem*, art. 46 and doc. XIV, art. 40, respectively.

<sup>110</sup> *CrCast*, III, 153.

<sup>111</sup> *Las siete partidas*, II.i.5.

<sup>112</sup> For more on the crown and other royal insignia, see Gutiérrez Baños, *Las empresas artísticas*, 74-88.

<sup>113</sup> *Castigos*, 143-4.

<sup>114</sup> For more, see Gutiérrez Baños, *Las empresas artísticas*, 88-98; Ruiz, «Textile Consumption», 106-

10.

<sup>115</sup> *Crónica de Fernando IV*, 9.

<sup>116</sup> Ruiz, «Textile Consumption», 114.

<sup>117</sup> *Las siete partidas*, II.xxi.14.

<sup>118</sup> Llull, *Llibre de l'ordre*, V.4, V.7 and V.2, respectively.

Even Sancho IV's didactic *Castigos* rely on metaphors to explain the reasoning behind the opulent royal image: the pearls and jewels represent the largesse expected from the monarch, while the white ermine fur used as lining exemplifies *la limpieza que el rey deve auer en la su alma*<sup>119</sup>.

Going back to the *CrCast*'s ideology, Bergqvist has recently cautioned against reading the work as «an aristocratic version of the past»<sup>120</sup>. Instead, he proposed a more nuanced approach that distinguishes between the negatively portrayed *ricos omnes* and «a functional relationship between the monarchy and the service aristocracy»<sup>121</sup>. A closer look at the work's materiality supports this argument. For instance, the personalized *señales* of García Pérez de Vargas, a knight who serves Fernando III, are briefly brought to the narrative forefront. Described as *ondas blancas e cárdenas*<sup>122</sup>, they almost cause a conflict with an *infanzón* whose banner has the same design: *¿Cómno trae este cauallero las señales de mis armas?*<sup>123</sup>. Next to this awareness among the members of the lower nobility, even when the *CrCast* mentions banners solely for pragmatic purposes<sup>124</sup>, they are at least alluded to, unlike the magnates' emblems, which remain excluded from the account<sup>125</sup>.

As for the Cid, in addition to a dialogue with spiritual ideals, the analyzed items have confirmed the chronicle's readiness to place the hero as close to the royal sphere as possible. Nonetheless, some of them appear to reveal additional meaning in these material dynamics. The luxurious chair ensures the hero's quasi-regal status in Toledo, but the embassy from Persia enables the Cid to materially distance himself from the Castilian court. This changes in the final scenes, when Alfonso intervenes again. At Cardeña, the finely turned object forms part of the ekphrastic display, but it is no longer at the center of the attention. Moreover, as the lordly chair is neither individualized nor inscribed, it cannot tell its own story.

This is in contrast with heraldic devices, whose semiotic power cannot be disputed. In the final Cidian imagery, however, it is their situatedness that is more telling. Instead of the hero's *señales* appearing on the *capellina* (*CI*), Alfonso helps position his body and orders placing the emblem next to —that is, after— those of Castile-León and Navarre<sup>126</sup>. The repeated involvement of the King in the Cidian imagery in the *CrCast*,

<sup>119</sup> *Castigos*, 144.

<sup>120</sup> Bergqvist, «The Vindication», 78.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*, 80.

<sup>122</sup> *CrCast*, XI, 60, §184.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, 60, §184. Later, they become barely visible in a battle: *Garçi Pérez de Vargas aquel día ante las puertas de Triana, e tanto suffrió e tantos golpes reçebió que las señales de las ondas del escudo e de la capellina mal abés parecían ante los golpes que le dieron (ibidem, 60, §188).*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibidem*, III, 146, §493: *Cuenta la estoria que porque el Çid beuía siempre en guerra, auía ordenado señales cómo se armasen los caualleros, et sabían cuál era la señal de çient caualleros, e cuál la de dozientos, et dende arriba.*

<sup>125</sup> By contrast, the narrator even states how Ibn Hud, the lord of Murcia, *fiçolas señales de las sus armas negras* before expanding his realm (*ibidem*, X, 14, §52).

<sup>126</sup> Francisco Bautista Pérez observed how numerous details reveal «that some of the innovations attributed to the *Crónica de Castilla* actually originated with the *Crónica manuelina*» (Bautista Pérez, «The Poema», 446). This seems to be the case with the painted *armas del rey don Alfonso de Castilla et de Leon, et del rey de Navarra, et del Ynfante de Aragon, et las del Cid Canpeador* (Ms. Br, f. 132v, cited in Bautista Pérez,



therefore, sends a clear message: even if the hero's achievements extend and are acknowledged beyond the Castilian realm, his legacy can only be celebrated when it is —literally and symbolically— aligned with the monarchical power.

There is one final episode related to the Cidian materiality in the *CrCast*, falsely represented as originally from the works of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy<sup>127</sup>. Leaving its forced veracity aside, the scene helps to reflect on the power of narrative strategies and the reliability of the signifying process. Namely, after King Sancho VI of Navarre raids the Castilian kingdom, ten monks, led by the abbot of San Pedro de Cardena, ride out to meet him on his way to Navarre. The monarch does not recognize the banner they carry: *maravillóse que qué seña podría ser aquella, ca en aquella sazón non avía omne bueno que tal seña traxiese*<sup>128</sup>. The abbot explains that the item used to belong to the Cid —*vuestro vissavuelo*<sup>129</sup>— and asks him to hand over the spoils in honor of his ancestor. This way, the episode confirms the lasting effect of somebody's legacy, while at the same time warning against the inherent risk of lost meaning over time. Further examination of the *CrCast*'s narrative —and visual<sup>130</sup>— techniques or comparisons with other works can help identify their uniqueness or more recurring patterns, providing us with deeper insights into a broader game of meanings of the post-Alfonsine society.

#### 4 WORKS CITED

- Appadurai, Arjun (ed.). *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511819582>
- Bautista Pérez, Francisco. «Narrativas nobiliarias en la historiografía alfonsí y post-alfonsí». In *La conciencia de los antepasados. La construcción de la memoria de la nobleza en la Baja Edad*

---

«The Poema», 443). The heraldic display in the *CrCast* is similar, but the *CrCast* writes the Aragonese son-in-law out of the narrative while leaving the one from Navarre, which can be seen as a prelude to the following episode.

<sup>127</sup> *CrCast*, III, 221, §833. See also Bautista Pérez, «The Poema», 444-5, in particular the footnotes 80 and 81.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*, 221, §835.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*, 221, §835.

<sup>130</sup> It is not surprising that illustrations in later manuscripts may align with textual messages, while also conveying additional, even contradictory, meanings. For example, many Cid-oriented illustrations in one of the manuscripts of the *Crónica de Castilla* (Ms. Espagnol 220, Bibliothèque nationale de France) confirm his narrative importance, but there are noteworthy details from the perspective of materiality. Next to the remarkably similar vestments of Alfonso and the Cid, the spatial organization of the court at Toledo confirms the harmony between them, although the hero is notably centralized (compare ff. 104r, 105r, 109l; see also 131r). However, no emblems are depicted at the monastery of Cardena (f. 133r). It is also noteworthy that banners appear on three occasions. The unadorned one in the background of the posthumous battle scene (f. 126l) should be from Santiago de Compostela, although the text clearly says that the saint *traja en la mano siniestra vna seña blanca* (*CrCast*, III, 212, §801). The second time a blank banner appears is during the procession that takes the hero's body to Cardena (f. 129r). Similarly to the text, the last Cid-related visual reference in the manuscript is an image of monks from Cardena carrying his *seña* (f. 134r). While this illustration confirms the importance of the episode, other than a rectangle, the banner has no signs of individualization. For more on these and other images, see Solera López, «El manuscrito».

- Media*, Arsenio Dacosta, José Ramón Prieto Lasa and José Ramón Díaz de Durana Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), 87-117. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20fw6rx.6>
- Bautista Pérez, Francisco. «The *Poema de mio Cid* in 13<sup>th</sup>- and 14<sup>th</sup>-Century Romance Historiography». In *A Companion to the Poema de mio Cid*, Irene Zaderenko and Alberto Montaner (eds.), 412-62. Leiden: Brill, 2018. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004363755\\_016](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004363755_016)
- Bergqvist, Kim. «The Vindication of Sancho II in the *Crónica de Castilla*: Political Identity and Historiographical Reinvention in Medieval Castilian Chronicles». *The Medieval Chronicle* 11 (2017): 64-86. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004351875\\_005](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004351875_005)
- Blašković, Marija. *Los potenciales polifónicos: la nobleza del Cantar de Mio Cid*. Madrid/ Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/ Vervuert, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.31819/9783968690575>
- Burns, E. Jane. *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading through Clothes in Medieval French Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- Cantar de Mio Cid*, ed. Alberto Montaner Frutos. Con un ensayo de Francisco Rico. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2011.
- Castigos del rey don Sancho IV*, ed. Hugo Oscar Bizzarri. Madrid: Iberoamericana/Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert: 2001.
- Catalán, Diego and Enrique Jerez. «*Rodericus*» romanizado en los reinos de Aragón, Castilla y Navarra. Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2005.
- Catalán, Diego. «Monarquía aristocrática y manipulación de las fuentes: Rodrigo en la *Crónica de Castilla*. El fin del modelo historiográfico alfonsí». In *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV)*, Georges Martin (ed.), 75-94. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.cvz.2177>
- Coatsworth, Elizabeth and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (eds.). *Clothing the Past: Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to Early Modern Western Europe*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004352162>
- Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y de Castilla, publicadas por la Real Academia de la Historia*, ed. Manuel Danvila y Collado, vol. 1, 54-63 and 64-85. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1861.
- Coussemacer, Sophie. «Pourquoi décrire des tentes? Le *Roman d'Alexandre* et le *Libro de Alexandre*». *e-Spania* 37 (2020). doi: <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.36041>
- Crónica de Castilla*, ed. Patricia Rochwert-Zuili. Paris: SEMH-Sorbonne (Les Livres d'e-Spania), 2010. Last access 5 July 2024; <http://journals.openedition.org/e-spanialivres/63>
- Crónica de Fernando IV. Estudio y edición de un texto postalfonsí*, ed. Carmen Benítez Guerrero. El Puerto de Santa María: Universidad de Sevilla, 2017.
- Duggan, Joseph J. *Cantar de Mio Cid: Poetic Creation in Its Economic and Social Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511720109>
- Elies, Ivo. «Un odor tan sabroso: For an Olfactive Interpretation of the Cantigas de Santa María». In *Sensual and Sensory Experiences in the Middle Ages: On Pleasure, Fear, Desire and Pain*, Carme Muntaner Alsina et al. (eds.), 45-71. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.
- Estoria de Espanna Digital* v.1.1.1, ed. Aengus Ward. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2020. *E2d*. Last access 3 July 2024; [estoria.bham.ac.uk/edition](http://estoria.bham.ac.uk/edition)
- Feliciano, Maria Judith. «Medieval Textiles in Iberia: Studies for a New Approach». In *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture*, David Roxburgh (ed.), 46-87. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004280281\\_004](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004280281_004)
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando. «El molinismo: un sistema de pensamiento letrado (1284-1350)». In *Estudios de literatura medieval: 25 años de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*,

- Antonia Pérez and Ana Luisa Baquero Escudero (eds.), 43-74. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2012.
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *La historia de la prosa medieval castellana*. 2 vols. Madrid: Cátedra, 1998.
- Gruebner, Valentin. *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages*. New York: Zone Books, 2004.
- Gutiérrez Baños, Fernando. *Las empresas artísticas de Sancho IV El Bravo*. Burgos: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997.
- Henriet, Patrick. «¿Santo u hombre ilustre? En torno al *culto* del Cid en Cardeña». In *El Cid, de la materia épica a las crónicas caballerescas*, Carlos Alvar, Fernando Gómez Redondo and Georges Martin (eds.), 99-119. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2002.
- Hijano Villegas, Manuel. «La *Crónica de Castilla*: tradición e innovación». In *Literatura medieval y renacentista en España. Líneas y pautas*, Natalia Fernández Rodríguez and María Fernández Ferreiro (eds.), 643-52. Salamanca: SEMYR, 2012.
- Hijano Villegas, Manuel. «La materia cidiana en las crónicas generales». In «*Sonando van sus nuevas allent parte del mar*»: *El «Cantar de mio Cid» y el mundo de la épica*, Alberto Montaner Frutos (ed.), 141-67. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pumi.38396>
- Hijano Villegas, Manuel. «El manuscrito Egerton 289 de la British Library y la *Crónica manuelina*». *e-Spania* 25 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.26096>
- Kinoshita, Sharon. «Animals and the Medieval Culture of Empire». In *Animal, Vegetale, Mineral: Ethics and Objects*, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (ed.), 37-65. Washington, DC: Oliphant Books, 2012.
- Lacomba, Marta. *Au-delà du Cantar de Mio Cid. Les épigones de la geste cidienne à la fin du xiiiè siècle*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009.
- Lacomba, Marta. «Saints cidiens dans la Crónica de Castilla, la sainteté au service de la création romanesque». In *Pratiques hagiographiques dans l'Espagne du Moyen-Âge et du Siècle d'Or*, Françoise Cazal et al. (eds.), vol. 2. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pumi.28343>
- Las siete partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio: cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia*. 3 vols. (Reproducción facsímil de la edición de Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, 1807). Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2008. Last access 8 July 2024; <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcf1903>
- Linehan, Peter. *At the Edge of Reformation: Iberia before the Black Death*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198834199.001.0001>
- Linehan, Peter. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198219453.001.0001>
- Llull, Ramon. *The Book of the Order of Chivalry. Llibre de l'ordre de cavalleria. Libro de la orden de caballeria*, ed. and trans. Antonio Cortijo Ocaña. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ivitra.8>
- Martínez Gil, Fernando. *La muerte vivida: muerte y sociedad en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media*. Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 1996.
- Montaner Frutos, Alberto. «La enseña del Cid». *Banderas: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Vexilología* 78 (2001): 39-54.
- Olson, Paul. «Symbolic Hierarchy in die Lion Episode of the Cantar de Mio Cid». *Modern Language Notes* 77 (1962): 499-511. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3042662>

- Pastoureau, Michel. *Green: The History of a Color*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1353/book.112587>
- Petzold, Andreas. «The Iconography of Colors». In *Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, Colum Hourihane (ed.), 437-52. London: Routledge, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315298375-36>
- Rochwert-Zuili, Patricia. «El buen caallero: l'élaboration d'un modèle chevaleresque dans la Chronique de Castille». *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales* 25 (2002): 87-97. <https://doi.org/10.3406/cehm.2002.1232>
- Rodríguez, Ana. «Narrating the Treasury: What Medieval Iberian Chronicles Choose to Re-count about Luxury Objects». *Medieval Encounters* 25/1-2 (2019): 39-58. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700674-12340038>
- Rosati, Maria Ludovica. «*Panni Tartarici*: Fortune, Use, and the Cultural Reception of Oriental Silks in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century European Mindset». In *Seri-Technics: Historical Silk Technologies*, Dagmar Schäfer, Giorgio Riello and Luca Molà (eds.), 73-88. Berlin: Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 2020.
- Ruiz, Teófilo F. «Textile Consumption in Late Medieval Castile: The Social, Economic, and Cultural Meaning of Clothing». *Erasmus: Revista de Historia Bajomedieval y Moderna* 2 (2015): 101-14.
- Russell, Peter. «San Pedro de Cardena and the Heroic History of the Cid». *Medium Aevum* 27/2 (1958): 57-79. <https://doi.org/10.2307/43626728>
- Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Gallimard, 1990. <https://doi.org/10.14375/NP.9782070718450>
- Smith, Colin. «The Cid as Charlemagne in the \*Leyenda de Cardena». *Romania* 97/388 (1976): 509-31. <https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1976.7225>
- Solera López, Rus. «El manuscrito D de la Crónica de Castilla: texto y representaciones emblemáticas». *Emblemata: Revista Aragonesa de Emblemática* 9 (2003): 17-126.
- Starkey, Kathryn. *Reading the Medieval Book: Word, Image and Performance in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Willehalm*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.
- Stone, Caroline. «Movable Palaces». *Saudi Araco World* 6/14 (2010): 36-43.
- Vaquero, Mercedes. «La Leyenda de Cardena enfrentada a diferentes tradiciones carolingias». In *Studies on Medieval Spanish Literature in Honor of Charles F. Fraker*, Mercedes Vaquero and Alan Deyermond (eds.), 265-81. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995.
- Wenzel, Horst. *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*. Munich: Beck, 1995.
- Wexler, Paul. *The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996. <https://doi.org/10.1353/book10471>